A Study of Persian Discourse Structure

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in cooperation with Carina Jahani and Behrooz Barjasteh Delforooz

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Abstract

This work presents a first study of Persian discourse structure(s). It also integrates syntactic analysis with discourse analysis. In order to achieve this, Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) (see Van Valin (1993, 2004) and Van Valin and LaPolla (1997)) is used as the preferred model of syntax, since amongst current formal and functional syntactic theories only this approach has components which link directly to discourse structures. Since there is no general theory of discourse structure available, the main linguistic features that contribute to the formation of a coherent text are studied and analyzed with respect to Persian narrative discourse. An analytical methodology to discourse analysis, as set out in Dooley and Levinsohn (2001), is followed for this purpose. Chapter 2 introduces the basic axioms and principles of RRG and chapter 3 presents the approach to text analysis that is followed. In chapters 4-7 this approach is applied to Persian narrative text and covers coherence and cohesion, thematic groupings, the activation status of referents in a discourse, the discourse-pragmatic structuring of sentences, foreground and background information, semantic relations between propositions, the status of conversations in a narrative discourse, and the coding of participant reference. Appendix 1 contains details of the Persian text-corpus used, appendix 2 contains interlinearized versions of two of the main texts used in the study plus one additional text, and appendix 3 contains the participant reference analysis charts for these two texts.

Keywords: Persian, discourse studies, text linguistics, information structure, phonology, morphology, syntax, descriptive linguistics, Iranian languages

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Preface

While much research has been undertaken into Persian syntax and morphology, not a great deal appears to have been conducted in Persian discourse structures. This was therefore my motivation for beginning such a study in 2003 when I attended a workshop on discourse studies led by Stephen Levinsohn and held at the European Training Programme, UK Campus. At this workshop I was able to research and document some of the features of Persian discourse structure based on a corpus of texts.

Since this initial study I have also researched the nature of =rā marking in Persian and the information structure motivation for variable constituent ordering found in Persian (aka. scrambling). These works were published on the Role and Reference Grammar website: http://linguistics.buffalo.edu/people/faculty/vanvalin/rrg.html. More recently, the possibility has arisen to publish all of these works on different aspects of Persian discourse structure as a single coherent work. This volume is the result. For this purpose I have increased the scope of the research and covered areas of Persian discourse structure not accounted for in my previous works. In this regard, I have appreciated very much the input and comments of Carina Jahani, Behrooz Barjasteh Delforooz, Daniel Paul and Robert Dooley both on the Persian examples and on the grammatical and discourse analysis.

It should also be noted that this work is introductory rather than comprehensive. Although the study does attempt to cover all the main areas of discourse structures following Dooley and Levinsohn’s (2001) approach, the data corpus upon which the research is based is limited to just 16 texts, as cited in appendix 1. Nevertheless, the study reveals interesting patterns of discourse structures that the different authors have used, which may or may not have a wider application. I have also considered it important to include a sample of three interlinearised texts in appendix 2 and participant reference charts for two of these texts in appendix 3.

Finally, I wish to thank my wife and other colleagues who have encouraged and supported me in this endeavour.
### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>actor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAJ</td>
<td>argument-adjunct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADVBL</td>
<td>advverbializer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFD</td>
<td>actual focus domain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARG</td>
<td>core argument</td>
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<tr>
<td>ATTR</td>
<td>attributive</td>
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<tr>
<td>AUX</td>
<td>auxiliary verb</td>
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<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causative</td>
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<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>classifier</td>
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<tr>
<td>CLM</td>
<td>clause linkage marker</td>
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<tr>
<td>CM</td>
<td>countering move</td>
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<tr>
<td>CMPL</td>
<td>complementizer</td>
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<tr>
<td>CMPR</td>
<td>comparative degree</td>
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<tr>
<td>Co</td>
<td>coda (phonological)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COLL</td>
<td>collective noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COP</td>
<td>copula verb</td>
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<tr>
<td>DCA</td>
<td>direct core argument</td>
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<tr>
<td>DEF</td>
<td>definite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DET</td>
<td>determiner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIM</td>
<td>diminutive</td>
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<tr>
<td>DO</td>
<td>direct object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DS.CON</td>
<td>discourse connective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DS.MRK</td>
<td>discourse marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUP</td>
<td>reduplication</td>
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<tr>
<td>EZ</td>
<td>ezāfe</td>
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<tr>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>emphasis</td>
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<tr>
<td>FIP</td>
<td>focus initial position</td>
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<tr>
<td>FOC</td>
<td>focus</td>
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<tr>
<td>IM</td>
<td>initiating move</td>
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<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>imperative mood</td>
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<tr>
<td>IMPERS</td>
<td>impersonal</td>
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<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>indefinite</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Definition</td>
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<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>RPIP</td>
<td>referential phrase initial position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>σ</td>
<td>syllable (phonological)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SBJN</td>
<td>subjunctive mood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG/sg</td>
<td>singular number</td>
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<tr>
<td>SPEC</td>
<td>specific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SU</td>
<td>subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUPR</td>
<td>superlative degree</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>topic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TODP</td>
<td>today’s past tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td>undergoer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIP</td>
<td>very important person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XP</td>
<td>any phrasal category</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>first person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>second person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>third person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>affix boundary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=</td>
<td>clitic boundary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§</td>
<td>section</td>
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<tr>
<td>¶</td>
<td>paragraph</td>
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1. General Introduction

To date, no comprehensive study of Persian discourse structure has been conducted. The works that study any aspect of discourse structure in Persian fall into two main areas: those that consider the nature of ṭā marking on the (direct) object, and those that discuss the relation between constituent (word) order in the Persian sentence and information structure (IS).

With regard to the former, the works of Lazard (1970, 1982), Sādeqi (1970) and Shokouhi and Kipka (2003) present the traditional view that ṭā marks definiteness, while works such as Browne (1970), Karimi (1989), Windfuhr (1987), and Dabir-Moghaddam (1990, 1992) argue that ṭā does not mark definiteness, but instead marks other categories, such as specificity and/or topicalization. With regard to the latter, Ganjavi (2003) and Karimi (2003) argue that variable constituent order (scrambling) in Persian is driven by the syntax (from a generative perspective), while Rezai (2003) analyzes Persian variable constituent order within a Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) framework and argues that the IS categories of topic and focus control constituent order in Persian.

Discourse analysis, or discourse studies, is a general term which has different interpretations for scholars working in different disciplines. For a sociolinguist, it is concerned mainly with the structure of social interaction manifested in conversation; for a psycholinguist, it is primarily concerned with the nature of comprehension of short written texts; for the computational linguist, it is concerned with producing operational models of text-understanding within highly limited contexts. In this work, we take a linguistic approach to discourse analysis and study how various discourse functions, such as cohesion, referentiality, information flow and grounding, are realized by linguistic means in the sentence structure of Persian. In this regard, the study is text-based and draws upon a corpus of narrative texts detailed in appendix 1. All the texts represent modern Persian. Sāšā va ash=e jādūyi ‘Sasha and the Magic Horse’ and Dabir=e arabi=(y)e man ‘My Arabic Teacher’ are oral texts and the rest are written. For some texts, the narrative is in the first person and for most, the narrative is in the third person. Pesarak=e labuforūš ‘The Little Beetroot Vendor’ has two different first person accounts, one incorporated in the other.

This study also attempts to link discourse structures to sentence structure in a coherent way. For this purpose we first of all need a theory of syntax that links to discourse structure as part of its basic architecture. Erteschik-
Shir (2007) examines theories of IS and considers their effectiveness in explaining whether and how IS maps onto syntax in a discourse context. She also compares how the architectures of current formal and functional theories of syntax are able to accommodate IS (topic and focus information) or not. Roughly speaking, the topic element in a sentence denotes an entity that has already been established in the discourse context, and the focus element represents information about the topic that is new or contrastive in the context.

The architecture of grammar posited in the Principles and Parameters model (Chomsky 1981) and developed into the model of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1992, 1995) is singularly inadequate for integrating IS into the syntax. In this model, syntactic computation interfaces with both the phonological component (PF) and the semantic component (LF) and there is no interface between PF and LF, as shown in (1.1). Therefore, the options for the input of topic and focus information are limited to the Lexicon, the Phonetic Form and/or the Logical Form (which is an abstract form of constituent structure). So topic and focus have to be treated as either a type of lexical category, e.g., [+topic], [+focus], or a type of phrasal category, e.g., Topic Phrase, Focus Phrase, or a type of phonetic category, e.g., [+stress], in order to be involved in the syntactic computation. Since topic and focus are discourse-pragmatic categories this is an unsatisfactory means at best of integrating them into the syntax.

(1.1) Minimalism architecture:

```
Lexicon
    \-----
    |     |
    |     |
PF    LF
```

Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG) (see Bresnan 1982, 2001) represents morphosyntactic information by means of syntactic features and connects this information directly to the linguistic expression without intervening abstract levels. This information is divided into relational structure, represented by f-structure (functional structure) and constituent structure, represented by c-structure (constituent structure). F-structure primarily represents grammatical functions (relations), such as subject and object. In LFG, topic and focus are treated as types of grammatical function. The problem with this is that a grammatical function specifies a relationship between a predicate and an argument. But topic and focus are representations of IS. The topic is the part of the proposition that is being talked about in a topic-focus configuration, and a topic is not necessarily a direct or oblique argument of a predicate. Other formal theories of syntax have little to say about how IS is integrated into syntactic structure.
Erteschik-Shir (2007:4-5) also comments on how functional theories of syntax integrate IS. She says RRG (see Van Valin 1993, 2004 and Van Valin and LaPolla 1997) employs an architecture in which grammatical structures are stored as constructional templates, each with a specific set of morphosyntactic, semantic, and pragmatic properties naturally allowing for a linking between the three. In fact, information (focus) structure is a key component of RRG. Other examples of functional approaches are Functional Syntax (Kuno 1987; Kuno and Takami 1993) and Functional Grammar (FG) (Dik 1978, 1991, 1997). However, Erteschik-Shir (2007:5) says both of these functional approaches are lacking in terms of integrating IS with syntax. While Kuno has argued over the years for the need for a large number of functional constraints in syntax, he has not proposed a general theory of the interface between his functional theory and syntax. Dik’s Functional Grammar does offer a well-formulated functional theory, but his syntax is very limited, consisting only of a series of ‘placement’ rules. However, FG has recently been superceded by Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG) (see Hengeveld and Lachlan Mackenzie, 2008). FDG is a functional-typological approach to language that takes (speech) acts in discourse rather than sentences as the basic units of analysis and analyzes discourse acts in terms of independent pragmatic, semantic, morphosyntactic, and phonological modules. These interact to produce the appropriate linguistic forms. Pragmatic functions, such as topic and focus, are assigned to subacts within the hierarchical representation of communicated content.

For the purposes of studying Persian discourse structure and how this interfaces with the syntax, we choose RRG as the model of syntactic representation. As well as having an integrated information structure, only RRG has the means of accounting for the semantic specification of the privileged syntactic argument (PSA) in languages with accusative syntax (where actor is the PSA in transitive clauses) and in languages with ergative syntax (where undergoer is the PSA in transitive clauses). RRG also allows certain discourse functions, such as the activation status of referents, to be specified in the semantic representation.

Chapter 2 introduces the basic axioms and principles of RRG. RRG is fundamentally different to Minimalism (Chomsky 1992, 1995). Minimalism is based on constituent structure, represented abstractly in Logical Form and concretely in the ‘surface form’, which is the actual sentence produced. Thus the syntactic computation maps the abstract construction in LF to the concrete construction. Minimalism is also a ‘production only’ theory of syntax. The architecture of Minimalism, as shown in (1.1), is designed to produce well-formed sentences from the inputs of Lexicon, LF and PF, but this model is not designed to interpret the ‘meaning’ of the sentence. In contrast, RRG is not dependent on constituent structure for its operation. Instead, the basis of syntax in RRG is the predicate-argument relationship in the sentence. It is this relationship that enables one to say something about
something. The syntax of Minimalism is based on phrase structure that is hierarchical and categorical in nature, i.e. $XP \rightarrow \text{(Specifier)}$, $X' \rightarrow \text{(Modifier)}$, $X' \rightarrow \text{(Complement)}$, $X^\circ$, where $X$ is a lexical category. In contrast, RRG syntax has a functionally-based layered structure, i.e. sentence $>$ clause $>$ core $>$ nucleus, where $>$ means ‘has scope over’, and the lexical category of the nucleus is independent of its syntactic function. RRG also has both a syntactic predicate-argument representation and a semantic predicate-argument representation, and the crux of RRG operation is the successful linking of these two representations through appropriate algorithms. The linking algorithms also operate from both semantics $\rightarrow$ syntax and from syntax $\rightarrow$ semantics, so RRG is at once a model of language production and a model of language interpretation. The fact that RRG has a true predicate-argument semantic representation is important with regard to Persian syntax, since in chapter 4 we argue that the orderings of non-core elements are determined by their semantic function in the sentence rather than by their categorial properties. The details of the basic architecture of RRG are outlined in §2.1-§2.5. In addition, RRG has an IS component which allows topic and focus to be mapped onto the sentence from the speech act. This enables the syntax to interact with discourse-pragmatic functions directly. This aspect of the RRG model is outlined in §2.6.

The objects of discourse analysis—discourse, writing, talk, conversation, communicative event, etc.—are variously defined in terms of coherent sequences of sentences, propositions, speech acts or turns-at-talk. Contrary to much of traditional linguistics, discourse analysts not only study language use ‘beyond the sentence boundary’, but also prefer to analyze ‘naturally occurring’ language use, and not invented examples. This is also known as corpus linguistics or text linguistics. In text linguistics, researchers primarily investigate what are the principles and parameters required to make a string of sentences into a coherent unit. Some have developed the notion of discourse grammar, as in FDG for example.

However, textbooks, such as Brown and Yule (1983), Coulthard (1985), Renkema (1993), and Widdowson (2007), indicate that discourse analysis has many different aspects. They also show there is no comprehensive model or theory of discourse structure. Some researchers examine what is required for the hearer to build a coherent mental representation from a text (Johnson-Laird 1983); some investigate the range of cohesive linguistic devices that languages use to produce a text that may be interpreted coherently (Halliday and Hasan 1976); others study the hierarchical structure of texts and the parameters of thematic grouping in texts (Grimes 1975, Givón 1984); some propose schemata for representing the activation states of referents in the mental representation of a text (Chafe 1987, Lambrecht 1994); others identify the information structure of sentences in terms of topic and focus articulation (Andrews 1985, Givón 1990, Lambrecht 1994, Erteschik-Shir 2007), some examine the principles that determine foreground and back-
ground information in a text (Grimes 1975, Hopper and Thompson 1980, Tomlin 1987), many have deliberated on the semantic relationships between propositions in a variety of frameworks (Mann and Thompson 1987, Longacre 1996, Van Valin and LaPolla 1997), and so on.

In view of this, rather than focus on one aspect of discourse structure or follow one theoretical approach to discourse study, for the purposes of studying Persian discourse structure, we prefer to follow the methodology to discourse analysis set out in Dooley and Levinsohn (2001) (henceforth D&L). This work is an introduction to discourse analysis for linguistic field workers. It provides a methodology that has been refined over years of use and applied to many languages around the world. The method follows a functional and cognitive approach and aims to reveal the relevant discourse structures in a given language. The methodology of D&L is set out in chapter 3.1 This covers all of the principal aspects of narrative discourse structure including coherence and cohesion, thematic groupings, the activation status of referents in a discourse, the discourse-pragmatic structuring of sentences, foreground and background information, semantic relations between propositions, the status of conversations in a narrative discourse, and the coding of participant reference.

In chapters 4-17 D&L’s methodology is applied to our Persian text corpus. In chapter 4 the factors that control constituent (word) order in Persian are investigated. Two results are obtained. First, the default order of constituents in the Persian sentence is determined by their semantic specification, i.e. temporal, locative, source, instrument, goal, etc. Second, the motivation for the special placement of the definite direct object in the Persian sentence is based on principles of information flow. There also appears to be a difference in how the goal XP (PP or RP) is used in written and spoken narrative text. In spoken narrative text it occurs after the motion verb virtually by default, but in written narrative text the author can use this placement to indicate main line or foreground events.

Chapter 5 looks at the cohesive devices of the object marker =rā, lexical cohesion, connectives and deixis. With respect to =rā marking, we find that in our text corpus this is always an indication to the hearer/reader to search for an identifiable referent in the discourse context. We also examine the claims in the literature that =rā can be used as a marker of ‘topicalization’ and find that these claims are based on an incoherent understanding of the IS notions of topic and focus. It turns out that =rā can be used to mark either topic or focus. Under deixis we propose the theory that in modern Persian there is a bias or preference for proximal deixis over distal deixis where there is a choice available. Proximal deixis is where the reference point of the report is in some sense near to the happening of the event and distal

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1 Copyright permission has been granted by SIL International to use portions of Dooley and Levinsohn (2001) in chapter 3.
deixis is where the reference point of the report is in some sense far from the happening of the event.

In chapter 6 the notions of foreground and background information are applied to Persian narrative text. It is found that there are some differences in how tense/aspect is used in written and spoken texts to distinguish foreground from background information. Likewise there are significant differences in how the status of speeches are indicated in written and spoken texts.

Chapter 7 compares how participant reference is tracked in a written narrative text and a spoken narrative text. There are differences, and the conclusion is that the referential strategy used in the spoken text relies more on discourse context for maintaining referential identity than the referential strategy used in the written text.

We now need to give an account of the system used for transcribing the Persian language. Some romanized transcription systems in the literature are based on the Persian orthography, which in turn reflects Arabic orthography (e.g. Lambton (1998 [1954]), Moshiri (1988), Mahootian (1997:4), Gilani (1999)), but since the Persian orthography does not accurately represent the phonemes and morphology of the language we will use a transcription system based on the morphophonology of Tehrani Persian.

Table 1.1: Modern Persian consonants in IPA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>labial</th>
<th>labio-</th>
<th>dental-</th>
<th>dental-</th>
<th>post-</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>uvular</th>
<th>glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>plosive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>q (G)</td>
<td>(ʔ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>affricate</td>
<td>b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tf̚</td>
<td>dʒ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>І̞</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>І̟</td>
<td>(ɣ)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flap</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glide</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From works such as Windfuhr (1987:526), Lazard (1992:7-46), Thackston (1993:xv-xix), and Mahootian (1997:286-342) we can establish that the consonant phoneme inventory of spoken modern Persian is as set out in Table 1.1. The International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) is used in each case for phonemic representation. For most of the consonants, their phoneme status is
uncontroversial, but two of the consonant phonemes have issues with regard to
their phonemic status, viz. /q (G)/ and /(ʔ)/.

Mahootian (1997:288-289) says this about /q (G)/:

There is some question about the phonemic status of /q/, whether stop
or fricative or even whether voiced or voiceless. In any case, there are
several varieties. Following the most common analysis, we classify
the phoneme /q/ as a voiced dorso-uvular (uvular) stop (IPA /G/),
which is often spirantized into the voiced dorso-uvular fricative [ʁ]
between voiced segments. It is important to note that the variation is
not a matter of purely phonological conditioning, since a word
containing /q/ can be pronounced as either an occlusive or spirant: e.g.
aqa ‘man/sir’ can be pronounced [aGa] or [aʁa]. However, /q/ cannot
be a fricative word-initially. Thus, qermez ‘red’ is pronounced
[Germez], not *[ʁermez].

Also, some speakers of Tehrani Persian have a post-velar fricative [ɣ] as a
variant of /q/ preceding the so-called short vowels e, a, o, even in word
initial position. Even so, we follow Mahootian’s analysis here and treat all
these varieties as representing the single phoneme /q/ with the orthographic
repesentation of q.²

The phonemic status of the glottal stop [ʔ] is also controversial, hence the
parentheses. Jahani (2005) argues that, while the glottal stop is regarded as a
phoneme in most descriptions of modern Persian phonology, on testing the
speech of native speakers it was found that in most instances it is not a stable
phoneme. In word initial position, the glottal stop varied with Ø-pronun-
ciation and in syllable coda position it varied with lengthening of a preceed-
ing vowel or consonant, or the insertion of a glide. Thus we treat the glottal
stop in modern Persian as sub-phonemic and represent its phonetic
manifestion only. Therefore we do not represent it in word initial position in
the transcription where it is represented thus in the orthography. For the
incidents where the glottal stop is manifested by lengthening of the preced-
ing phoneme, we represent the lengthening, as in these examples: ba:d
‘then’, e:lām ‘announce’, ya:ni ‘that is’, ma:lam ‘apparent’, ma:ni ‘meaning’
ma:reke ‘battlefield’, ta:rif ‘narration.’ The glottal stop is most stable in
word medial, syllable onset position following a consonant and in this case is
represented, as in these examples: da:fe ‘time’, ba:lid ‘he devoured’, al:ʔan
‘now’, ja:m?iat ‘crowd.’ A notable exception to this principle is bel(ʔ)axare
‘finally’, where the [ʔ] is omitted in speech. The glottal stop also occurs in
syllable onset position following a vowel, as in these examples: mazra:ʔe

² In other dialects of Persian such as that of Kerman and also in Khorasan, the uvular plosive
and corresponding fricative sounds can be distinguished as separate phonemes. But in Tehrani
Persian they are not separate phonemes.
cases this phonological environment spans a morpheme boundary, as in these examples with ezāfe: anvāʔ=e ‘way.PL=EZ’, moqeʔ=e ‘time=EZ.’

Where the glide /j/ occurs as a full phoneme it is represented by y, as in these examples: yek ‘one’, yale ‘staggering’, yād ‘memory’, bāyad ‘must’, tarbiat ‘education.’ But where /j/ is epenthetic at a morpheme boundary it is represented as such by (y), as in these examples: gedā-(y)ān ‘beggar-PL’, mi-gu-(y)ād ‘IPFV-say.PRES-3sg’, mi-gu-(y)id ‘IPFV-say.PRES-2sg’, mi-gu-(y)im ‘IPFV-say.PRES-1pl’, na-(y)āvard-am ‘NEG-bring.PAST-2sg’, māhi=(y)e ‘fish=EZ’, jā=(y)i ‘place=IND’, pā=(y)aš ‘feet=PC.3sg’, šaqiqe-hā= (y)am ‘temple-PL=PC.1sg.’ Note that in the transcription ‘-’ represents an affix boundary and ‘=’ represents a clitic boundary.

Table 1.2: Modern Persian vowels in IPA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>close</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>e [ɛ]</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We agree with many who have described the phonology of modern Persian that the language has six vowel phonemes as given in Table 1.2. These are the three front vowels /i, e, æ/ and the three back vowels /u, o, ō/. We represent these vowels in the transcription respectively as: i, e, a, u, o, ō. The Persian orthography represents i, u, ō by the letters also used for Arabic long vowels and represents e, a, o by strokes or symbols above or below letters. For this reason the Persian vowels have traditionally been divided into two sets; the long vowels i, u, ō and the short vowels e, a, o. However, Windfuhr (1979:134-137) says that much research into the phonetic quality (tenseness) and quantity (length) of Persian vowels has failed to establish a coherent phonological distinction between the traditional long and short sets. The idea that one set is phonologically derived from the other set is therefore not plausible. So we represent all as full phonemes.

Mahootian (1997:295) says that modern Persian has at least two diphthongs, [eɪ] and [oʊ], where the [i] and [u] are offglides. We also record a third diphthong [ʊ] in our data. Windfuhr (1979:137) notes that the analysis and phonological representation of vowel and offglide sequences in modern Persian has been historically debatable. Lambton (1953), for example, has five diphthongs: ei, ai, āi, ui, ou, Lazard (1992) proposes only two: ey and ow, and Krámský (1939) argues that there are none. We propose that all

---

3 The works we have consulted include Lazard (1992), Windfuhr (1979), Thackston (1993), Mahootian (1997), Rafiee (2001) and Mace (2003).
vowel + offglide sequences in modern Persian can be interpreted as VC sequences.

Firstly, there is distributional evidence that [ei] and [ou] can be interpreted as vocalic units. They have the same distribution as the corresponding monophthongal vowels [e] and [o]. The vowels and the diphthongs can occur in word initial, medial and final position, as illustrated in (1.2). There are also minimal pair contrasts, as in (1.3). This is prima facie evidence that [eɪ] and [ou] are vocalic units and should be added to the vowel phoneme inventory in Table 1.2.

(1.2) Word initial

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persian</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ebn</td>
<td>‘son’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ostād</td>
<td>‘master’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persian</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eib</td>
<td>‘problem’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oʻzā</td>
<td>‘conditions, states’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Word medial

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persian</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>del</td>
<td>‘heart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kot</td>
<td>‘jacket’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persian</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>meʻl</td>
<td>‘preference’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doʻr</td>
<td>‘around’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Word final

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persian</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>be</td>
<td>‘to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čo</td>
<td>‘like’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persian</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>peʻi</td>
<td>‘follow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>joʻa</td>
<td>‘barley’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1.3) Minimal pair contrasts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persian</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ke</td>
<td>‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sel</td>
<td>‘tuberculosis’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>‘two’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persian</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>keʻi</td>
<td>‘when’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seʻl</td>
<td>‘flood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doʻu</td>
<td>‘run (noun)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


This strongly suggests that the sequences [i]C and [u]C function as syllable final CC clusters in words like e’d ‘problem’, ke’f ‘pleasure’, me’l ‘inclination’, be’n ‘interval’, qe’r ‘apart’, be’t ‘couplet’, and go’l ‘word, saying’ go’m ‘people, nation’, do’r ‘around’, jo’r ‘oppression’, mo’j ‘wave’, zo’q ‘taste’, jo’z ‘nut’. If we accept this analysis, what consonants would [i] and [u] be? /j/ occurs as an independent phoneme in word initial position, but /w/ does not occur as a phoneme in Persian. However, the non-velar labial consonant /v/ does occur in word initial position. Is there any evidence that [i] and [u] are represented in syllable initial position by [j] and [v], respectively?

The examples in (1.4) and (1.5) show that it is possible for [i] and [u] to be represented in Persian syllable structure by [i] and [v], respectively. Where [e’] combines with i ‘indefinite’ or e ‘ezāfe’, as in (1.4), the result is that [i] becomes the semi-vowel y [j]. Where [o’] combines with i ‘indefinite’ or e ‘ezāfe’, as in (1.5), the result is that [u] becomes the consonant v or the semi-vowel y [j].

(1.4) ne’i ‘pipe, flute, reed’

\[
\begin{align*}
ne’i + i & \rightarrow ne + yi \\
ne’i + e & \rightarrow ne + ye \\
šê’i & \text{‘thing’} \\
šê’i + i & \rightarrow še + yi \\
šê’i + e & \rightarrow še + ye
\end{align*}
\]

(1.5) jo’u ‘barley, grain of barley’

\[
\begin{align*}
jo’u + i & \rightarrow jo + vi / yi \\
jo’u + e & \rightarrow jo + ve / ye
\end{align*}
\]

These examples are taken primarily from Lambton (1954) as she provides the pronunciation.
There are several advantages to analyzing the vowel + offglide sequences [eɪ] and [oʊ] as instances of VC. First, it is a more economical phonological analysis than analyzing them as vocalic units. The latter analysis would require two additional vowel phonemes in the vowel inventory. An alternative analysis is presented in Mahootian (1997:295-296). She finds there is a case for analyzing [eɪ] as VC because the [i] occurring between vowels is syllabically assigned to the second vowel as [j]. However, she says this does not work for [oʊ] + V sequences because they do not syllabify to [o] + [w]V. Thus she analyzes [oʊ] as a phonemic unit. But Mahootian’s analysis is non-sequitur since there is no [w] phoneme in the language and the sequence [w]V could not occur anyway. Also to analyze [eɪ] as VC and [oʊ] as phonemic is phonologically inconsistent. A second advantage is that a VC analysis accounts for why [eɪ] and [oʊ] are only exceptionally followed by a CC cluster, as in loan words for example. Treating [eɪ] and [oʊ] as unitary phonemes does not account for this phonological distribution.

Therefore we represent [eɪ] and [oʊ] as ey and ow, respectively, in the transcription. As mentioned, the vowel + offglide sequence [uɪ] also occurs in our text corpus in the lexical item 珺bār ‘stream’. Since [uɪ] + V can resyllabify to [u] + [j]V, as illustrated in (1.6), we represent [uɪ] as the VC sequence uy.

(1.6) 珺 ‘stream; gutter; small irrigation channel’

珺 + i →珺 + yi
珺 + e →珺 + ye

It is also interesting to note that in all the examples of syllable final CC clusters given above there is no instance of a long vowel i, u, or ă occurring with a CC cluster. Only a short vowel e, a, or o can occur with a CC cluster. This indicates that in the phonological system of Persian the long vowels are bimoraic and count as two morae, i.e. VV, while the short vowels count as one mora. If we accept this bimoraic value of the long vowels then the possible syllable types become as illustrated in (1.7)-(1.11). Only the syllable rhyme counts for syllable weight so the moraic value of each syllable type is only calculated on the V or C contents of the rhyme. It would seem that the syllable in Persian can only have a maximum weight of three morae, but this analysis provides for two additional syllable types, namely (C)VV in (1.8) and (C)VVC in (1.10). This analysis thus gives a phonological account for the traditional distinction in Persian between the long vowels i, u, and ă and the short vowels e, a, or o. However, because of the historical vowel shifts short i > e and short u > o, there are no longer simple
long-short correspondences in modern Persian. The VV representations for the long vowels in (1.8) and (1.10) are purely phonological and we will still transcribe these vowels with a single symbol.

(1.7) (C)V : one mora

\[ \text{σ} \]
\[ \text{Rh} \]
\[ \text{Nu} \]
\[ \text{e j ā r e} \]
\[ \text{m a g a s} \]
‘rent, hire’

(1.8) (C)VV : two morae

\[ \text{σ} \]
\[ \text{Rh} \]
\[ \text{Nu} \]
\[ \text{u u} \]
\[ \text{b ā ā} \]
‘he, she’

(1.9) (C)VC : two morae

\[ \text{σ} \]
\[ \text{Rh} \]
\[ \text{Nu Co} \]
\[ \text{e j r ā} \]
\[ \text{n o h} \]
‘execution’

(1.10) (C)VVC : three morae

\[ \text{σ} \]
\[ \text{Rh} \]
\[ \text{Nu Co} \]
\[ \text{ā ā n} \]
\[ \text{m i i x} \]
‘that’

‘nail’
A full listing of the transcription representation for all the phonemes is given in Table 1.3. Where we use data from sources other than our text corpus we follow our own transcription system.

Table 1.3: Transcription representation of Persian phonemes

Consonants: /p/: p, /b/: b, /m/: m, /f/: f, /v/: v, /t/: t, /d/: d, /z/: z, /n/: n, /l/: l, /r/: r, /ʃ/: c, /dʒ/: j, /ʒ/: z, /k/: k, /g/: g, /y/: y, /x/: x, /q/: q, /h/: h, /ʔ/: Ø, :, ?.
Vowels: /i/: i, /e/: e, /æ/: a, /u/: u, /o/: o, /ɑ/ː: ā.

Appendix 1 contains details regarding the Persian text-corpus used. Appendix 2 contains interlinearized versions of two of the main texts used in the study, viz. Māhi siāh=e kučulu ‘The Little Black Fish’ by Samad Behrang and Sāšā va asb=e jāduyi ‘Sasha and the Magic Horse.’ With regard to the first text, we interpret māhi siāh=e kučulu ‘the little black fish’, the main protagonist in the story, as female. This is for several reasons. Firstly, the English translation is female. Secondly, all of the other main participants in the story are understood to be female, i.e. māhī=(y)e pir the old fish who tells the story to her children and grandchildren, mādar the mother of the little fish, qurbāqe the frog who the little fish encounters in the pond is addressed as xānom bozorg ‘noble lady’ and she has children, mārmulak the lizard who gives little fish the xanjar ‘dagger’ to fight with says at the end of their encounter that she has to go because her children have woken up, and when māhīxār ‘heron’ catches little fish she says that
she is being taken to be fed to heron’s children. Also when the little fish encounters *kafče māhihā* ‘the skimmer fish’ she says she must speak to *mādar=ešān* ‘their mother’.

In addition appendix 2 contains an interlinearized version of *Pesarak=elabuforuš* ‘The Little Beetroot Vendor’ also by Samad Behrangi. Appendix 3 contains the participant reference analysis charts for the two main texts. These charts form the basis for the analysis of participant reference strategies in oral and written Persian set out in chapter 7.
2. Introduction to RRG Syntax and Semantics

As explicated in Van Valin (1993, 2004) and Van Valin and LaPolla (1997), RRG does not depend on the notion of constituent structure and does not require abstract levels of syntax such as Logical Form. Instead, RRG posits a direct mapping between the semantic representation of a sentence and its syntactic representation: there are no intermediate levels of representation such as ‘D-structure’ or syntactic argument structure. It is a truly ‘minimalist’ theory. The general organization of RRG is presented in Figure 2.1 (from Van Valin 2004:134).

![Figure 2.1: Organization of Role and Reference Grammar](image)

In this chapter the basics of the semantic and syntactic representations will be presented. We will also show how RRG relates to ‘discourse-pragmatics’ as illustrated in Figure 2.1. For more detailed presentations on all of these aspects of RRG see Van Valin and LaPolla (1997) (henceforth VVLP) and Van Valin (2004).

2.1 The Syntactic Representation of Sentences

Clause structure is not represented in RRG in terms of X-bar syntax or even traditional immediate constituency structure; rather, it is captured in a functionally-based theory known as the ‘layered structure of the clause’ (LSC). The essential components of this model of the clause are (i) the NUCLEUS, which contains the predicate, (ii) the CORE, which contains the nucleus plus the arguments of the predicate in the nucleus, and (iii) the PERIPHERY, which contains the adjunct modifiers of the core.
The structure of a simple English clause is given in Figure 2.2. Note that there is no VP constituent in this structure of the clause, and there is no need for it. The grammatical functions of the syntactic arguments are mapped directly from the semantic arguments in the logical structure of the predicate. RRG posits the referential phrase (RP) to represent nominal arguments.

Figure 2.2: The layered structure of the clause in English

The semantic units underlying the layered structure of the clause are summarized in Table 2.1 (from Van Valin 2004:5). The semantic notions of predicate and argument are taken from formal logic with reference to a function and in RRG the corresponding syntactic notions are nucleus and core argument.

Table 2.1: Semantic units underlying the syntactic units of the layered structure of the clause

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic Element(s)</th>
<th>Syntactic Unit(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Predicate</td>
<td>Nucleus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argument in semantic representation of predicate</td>
<td>Core argument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-arguments</td>
<td>Periphery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predicate + Arguments</td>
<td>Core</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predicate + Arguments +Non-arguments</td>
<td>Clause (=Core + Periphery)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A second important component of the RRG theory of clause structure is the theory of OPERATORS. Operators are closed-class grammatical categories like aspect, negation, tense, and illocutionary force. Operators are represented in a separate projection of the clause. This is exemplified in Figure 2.3.
For a full account of clause and RP operators see VVLP and Van Valin (2004).

Figure 2.3: An English sentence with both constituent and operator projections

Figure 2.4: Abstract LSC including extra-core slots and detached positions
Investigation of the world’s languages reveals that the extended layered structure displayed in Figure 2.4 is sufficient to account for the syntactic structures found in these languages. The PreCore Slot (PrCS) is used for WH word placement in many languages. It is also a special position for topicalized and focal elements. The PostCore Slot (PoCS) is used for WH words in some SOV languages. It can also be a special position for focal elements. The Left Detached Position (LDP) is typically used for clarification or afterthought. Note too that the sentence vs.
clause distinction is important in RRG. The extra-core slots of PrCS and PoCS within the clause behave differently to the extra-clause slots LDP and RDP in the sentence. Essentially, elements in the extra-core slots still function as arguments or modifying peripheral items within the clause, whereas elements in the extra-clause slots are outside of the domain of the clause.

The key part of the syntactic representation are the syntactic templates. A selection of syntactic templates for English are given in Figure 2.5. All of these core templates may be realized as simple sentences; Core-1 would be the structure of an imperative like *Open the door!* Core-2 could be the structure of a sentence like *The book is lying on the table.* Core-5 is the structure for sentences containing verbs like *give* or *put*, e.g. *James gave flowers to Mary* or *Edward put the file on the desk.* These templates can also be combined. Core-1 combined with the precore slot template would provide the structure of a WH-question like *Who ate the pie?* Core-5 combined with the left-detached position template would yield a sentence like, *As for the file, Edward put it on the desk.* Syntactically speaking, templates combine to form more complex structures in a way that is formally equivalent to phrase structure rules in a constituent structure based syntax. Template combining is subject to semantic constraints. The resulting combinations must be able to be linked to a semantic representation by means of a set of very contrained linking principles, as explicated in §2.2.

2.2 The Semantic Representation of Sentences

The semantic representation of a sentence is based on the lexical representation of the verb or other predicating element. It is a decompositional representation based on Vendler’s (1967) theory of Aktionsart. Verbs are classified into states, achievements (punctual change of state with end result), accomplishments (process change of state with end result) and activities. A modified version of the representational scheme proposed in Dowty (1979) is used to capture these distinctions. In addition RRG proposes a fifth class of semelfactives: punctual events which have no result state.

(2.1) a. States: *be sick, be tall, be dead, love, know, believe, have*

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

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

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

    e. Semelfactives: *flash, cough, tap, glimpse*

There is a derivational relation between two classes which is very important cross-linguistically, namely that between activities and what are
called ACTIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS, the telic use of activity verbs. This
general pattern relates activity verbs of motion (e.g. run), consumption (e.g. eat), and creation (e.g. paint) to the corresponding active accomplishment verbs, (e.g. run to the park, eat the cake, and paint the picture, respectively.

Table 2.2: The semantic features of the verb classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Static</th>
<th>Dynamic</th>
<th>Telic</th>
<th>Punctual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>[+static], [+dynamic], [+telic], [+punctual]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activity</td>
<td>[+static], [+dynamic], [+telic], [−punctual]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement</td>
<td>[+static], [+dynamic], [+telic], [+punctual]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semelfactive</td>
<td>[+static], [+dynamic], [+telic], [+punctual]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accomplishment</td>
<td>[+static], [+dynamic], [+telic], [−punctual]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active accomplishment</td>
<td>[+static], [+dynamic], [+telic], [+punctual]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These verb classes can be defined in terms of four features: [+static], [+dynamic], [+telic], [+punctual], as illustrated in Table 2.2 (from Van Valin 2004:33). Each of these six classes also has a causative counterpart, as in (2.2).

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

The sentences in (2.2) illustrate how verbs can have different Aktionsart interpretations. Some verbs can have more than one Aktionsart interpretation in different contexts. For example, in (2.3a) walk is an activity verb and in (2.3b) it is an active accomplishment. This verb would be listed in the lexicon as an activity verb, and lexical rules would derive the other uses from the basic activity use (see VVLP, §4.6).
We walked all day.
She walked to the shops.

The system of lexical decomposition builds on the one proposed in Dowty (1979). Unlike Dowty’s scheme, the RRG system treats both state and activity predicates as basic. The lexical representation of a verb or other predicate is termed its LOGICAL STRUCTURE [LS]. State predicates are represented simply as predicate′, while all activity predicates contain do′. Accomplishments, which are durative, are distinguished from achievements, which are punctual. Accomplishment LSs contain BECOME, while achievement LSs contain INGR, which is short for ‘ingressive.’ In addition, causation is treated as an independent parameter which crosscuts the five basic and derived Aktionsart classes, hence the ten classes in (2.2). It is represented by CAUSE in LSs, as shown in (2.10). Some English verbs with their logical structures are given in (2.4)-(2.10).

(2.4) STATES
Pat is a fool.   be′ (Pat, [fool′])
The cup is shattered.   shattered′ (cup)
Kim is in the library.    be-in′ (library, Kim)
Dana saw the picture. see′ (Dana, picture)

(2.5) ACTIVITIES
The children cried.   do′ (children, [cry′ (children)])
Carl ate pizza.       do′ (Carl, [eat′ (Carl, pizza)])

(2.6) ACHIEVEMENTS
The window shattered.   INGR shattered′ (window)
The balloon popped.    INGR popped′ (balloon)

(2.7) SEMELFACTIVES
Dana glimpsed the picture.   SEML see′ (Dana, picture)
Mary coughed.     SEML do′ (Mary, [cough′ (Mary)])

(2.8) ACCOMPLISHMENTS
The snow melted. BECOME melted′ (snow)
Mary learned French. BECOME know′ (Mary, French)

(2.9) ACTIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS
Chris ran to the park. do′ (Chris, [run′ (Chris)]) & INGR be-at′ (park, Chris)
Carl ate the pizza. do′ (Chris, [eat′ (Chris, pizza)]) & INGR consumed′ (pizza)
(2.10) **CAUSATIVES**

*The dog scared the boy.*  \[\text{do}' (\text{dog}, \emptyset) \text{ CAUSE } \text{feel}' (\text{boy}, \text{afraid}')\]  

*Max melted the ice.*  \[\text{do}' (\text{Max}, \emptyset) \text{ CAUSE } \text{BECOME melted}' (\text{ice})\]  

*The cat popped the balloon.*  \[\text{do}' (\text{cat}, \emptyset) \text{ CAUSE } \text{INGR popped}' (\text{balloon})\]  

*Felix bounced the ball.*  \[\text{do}' (\text{Felix}, \emptyset) \text{ CAUSE } \text{do}' (\text{boy}, \text{bounce}' (\text{ball})))\]

The lexical representations for each type of verb in (2.2) are given in Table 2.3 (from Van Valin 2004:45). By convention the components of LS are expressed in English.

Table 2.3: Lexical representation of *Aktionsart* classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb class</th>
<th>Logical structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td><strong>predicate’</strong> (x) or (x, y)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activity</td>
<td>\text{do}' (x, [<strong>predicate’</strong> (x) or (x, y)])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement</td>
<td>INGR <strong>predicate’</strong> (x) or (x, y) or \text{INGR do}' (x, [<strong>predicate’</strong> (x) or (x, y)])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semelfactive</td>
<td>SEML <strong>predicate’</strong> (x) or (x, y) or \text{SEML do}' (x, [<strong>predicate’</strong> (x) or (x, y)])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accomplishment</td>
<td><strong>BECOME</strong> <strong>predicate’</strong> (x) or (x, y) or \text{BECOME do}' (x, <strong>predicate’</strong> (x) or (x, y))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active accomplishment</td>
<td>\text{do}' (x, [<strong>predicate’’</strong> (x, (y))) &amp; INGR <strong>predicate’’</strong> (z, x) or (y))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causative</td>
<td>\alpha \text{ CAUSE } \beta , where \alpha , \beta \text{ are LSs of any type}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Full semantic representations of sentences also contain lexical representations of the RPs, adjuncts, and grammatical operators like tense and aspect; see VVL, §4.4, 4.7.

2.3 **Semantic Macroroles and Lexical Entries for Verbs**

The semantic interpretation of an argument is a function of its position in the LS of the predicate, and, as will be seen below, the linking system refers to an element’s LS position. Thematic relations as such play no role in the theory; the traditional thematic role labels are used only as mnemonics for the LS argument positions, e.g. ‘theme’ is the mnemonic for the second
position \( y \) in a two-place locational LS like \textbf{be-at}' \( x, y \). In RRG thematic relations or \( \theta \)-roles are defined in terms of the argument positions in the logical structures of state and activity predicates, as shown in (2.11) and (2.12) (from Van Valin 2004:55).

(2.11) STATE VERBS

A. Single argument:

- State or condition: \textbf{broken}' \( x \) \( x = \text{PATIENT} \)
- Existence: \textbf{exist}' \( x \) \( x = \text{ENTITY} \)

B. Two arguments:

- Pure location: \textbf{be-loc}' \( x, y \) \( x = \text{LOCATION}, y = \text{THEME} \)
- Perception: \textbf{hear}' \( x, y \) \( x = \text{PERCEIVER}, y = \text{STIMULUS} \)
- Cognition: \textbf{know}' \( x, y \) \( x = \text{COGNIZER}, y = \text{CONTENT} \)
- Desire: \textbf{want}' \( x, y \) \( x = \text{WANTER}, y = \text{DESIRE} \)
- Propositional attitude: \textbf{consider}' \( x, y \) \( x = \text{JUDGER}, y = \text{JUDGEMENT} \)
- Possession: \textbf{have}' \( x, y \) \( x = \text{POSSESSOR}, y = \text{POSSESSED} \)
- Internal Experience: \textbf{feel}' \( x, y \) \( x = \text{EXPERIENCER}, y = \text{SENSATION} \)
- Emotion: \textbf{love}' \( x, y \) \( x = \text{EMOTER}, y = \text{TARGET} \)
- Attributive: \textbf{be}' \( x, \{\text{pred}'\} \) \( x = \text{ATTRIBUTANT}, y = \text{ATTRIBUTE} \)
- Identificational: \textbf{be}' \( x, \{\text{pred}'\} \) \( x = \text{IDENTIFIED}, y = \text{IDENTITY} \)
- Equational: \textbf{equate}' \( x, y \) \( x, y = \text{REFERENT} \)

(2.12) ACTIVITY VERBS

A. Single argument:

1. Unspecified action: \textbf{do}' \( x, \emptyset \) \( x = \text{EFFECTOR} \)
2. Motion: \textbf{do}' \( x, \{\text{walk}' \( x)\} \) \( x = \text{MOVER} \)
3. Static motion: \textbf{do}' \( x, \{\text{spin}' \( x)\} \) \( x = \text{ST-MOVER} \)
4. Light emission: \textbf{do}' \( x, \{\text{shine}' \( x)\} \) \( x = \text{L-EMITTER} \)
5. Sound emission: \textbf{do}' \( x, \{\text{gurgle}' \( x)\} \) \( x = \text{S-EMITTER} \)

B. One or two arguments:

1. Performance: \textbf{do}' \( x, \{\text{sing}' \( x, (y)\)\} \) \( x = \text{PERFORMER}, y = \text{PERFORMANCE} \)
2. Consumption: \textbf{do}' \( x, \{\text{eat}' \( x, (y)\)\} \) \( x = \text{CONSUMER}, y = \text{CONSUMED} \)
3. Creation: \textbf{do}' \( x, \{\text{write}' \( x, (y)\)\} \) \( x = \text{CREATOR}, y = \text{CREATION} \)
4. Repetitive action: \textbf{do}' \( x, \{\text{tap}' \( x, (y)\)\} \) \( x = \text{EFFECTOR}, y = \text{LOCUS} \)
5. Directed perception do′(x, [see′(x, (y))]) x = OBSERVER, y = STIMULUS

6. Use do′(x, [use′(x, y)]) x = USER y = IMPLEMENT

The thematic roles given in (2.11) and (2.12) are correlated with the argument positions in logical structure in Figure 2.6 (from Van Valin 2004:58). Agents are willful, controlling, instigating participants in states of affairs. Patients are strongly affected participants. These are endpoints on the continuum and the other role-types are ordered with respect to them.

**Figure 2.6:** Thematic relations continuum in terms of LS argument positions

The DO of lexicalized agency always co-occurs with the do′(x, … which defines effector and its subtypes, and accordingly the first two columns are closely related to each other. All of them express participants which do something. At the other end of the continuum fall patient and theme, etc. The single argument of state predicate′(x) includes those participants which are crushed, killed, smashed, shattered, broken, destroyed, etc., while the second argument of predicate′(x, y) includes those participants which are placed, moved, thrown, given, possessed, transferred, seen, heard, loved, etc. In terms of affectedness, the former type of participant is much more affected than the latter, hence the placement of the single argument of state predicate′(x) at the end of the hierarchy. Into the middle of the continuum falls the first argument of predicate′(x, y). If it is contrasted with the first argument of do′, it is clear that seeing, thinking, believing, possessing, etc. are less agent-
like than are speaking, doing, moving, performing, consuming, hence their placement to the right of effector, etc. If, on the other hand, the contrast is with the second argument of predicate′ (x, y), then the reverse conclusion follows. Seeing, thinking, liking, believing, etc. involve some kind of internal activity (mental, emotional or perceptual) on the part of the participant, whereas being seen, being thought about, being liked or being believed does not require any action or effort of any kind on the part of the participant. Hence the participant denoted by the first argument is more active and hence more agent-like than the participant referred to by the second argument, and accordingly, the first argument is closer to the agent end of the hierarchy than the second argument. Thus, the positioning of the different argument positions in the continuum reflects the semantic contrasts among them.

In addition to static locations, e.g. be-at′ (x[location], y[theme]) and possession, e.g. have′ (x[possessor], y[possessed]), there are also change of location and possession arguments. ‘Goal’ may be defined as the location argument in the following logical structure configuration: ... INGR/BECOME be-at/in/on′ (x[location], y[theme]). ‘Recipient’ may be defined as the possessor argument in the following configuration: ... INGR/BECOME have′ (x[possessor], y[possessed]). ‘Source’ may be defined as the location or possessor argument in either of the configurations: ... INGR/BECOME NOT be-at′ (x[location], y[theme]) or ... INGR/BECOME NOT have′ (x[possessor], y[possessed]).

RRG posits two generalized semantic roles or SEMANTIC MACROROLES, which play a crucial role in the linking system. The two macroroles are ACTOR and UNDERGOER, and they are the two primary arguments of a transitive predication; the single argument of an intransitive predicate can be either an actor or an undergoer, depending upon the semantic properties of the predicate. The basic distinction is illustrated in the German examples in (2.13).

(2.13) German

   ‘The boy ate the cake.’

b. Der Hund [SU, ACTOR] ist um das Haus herumgelaufen.
   ‘The dog [SU, ACTOR] ran around the house.’

c. Der Hund [SU, UNDERGOER] ist gestorben.
   ‘The dog [SU, UNDERGOER] died.

   ‘The cake [SU, UNDERGOER] was eaten by the boy [ACTOR].’
In (2.13a), *der Junge* ‘the boy’ is the actor and *den Kuchen* ‘the cake’ is the undergoer of the transitive verb *aufessen* ‘eat up.’ In the sentences with intransitive verbs, (2.13a) and (2.13c), *Der Hund* is an actor with the activity verb *herumlaufen* ‘run around’ and an undergoer with the accomplishment verb *sterben* ‘die.’ Actor is not equivalent to syntactic subject, nor is undergoer equivalent to syntactic direct object, as the examples in (2.13c) and crucially (2.13d) show. In both of these sentences the syntactic subject is an undergoer, and in the passive sentence in (2.13d) the actor is an oblique adjunct. In an English clause with an active voice transitive verb, the actor is the initial RP (the traditional subject) and the undergoer, when it occurs, is always the direct RP immediately following the verb. In an English passive construction, the undergoer is the subject and the actor, if it occurs, is in an adjunct PP in the periphery.

![Figure 2.7: Macroroles as generalizations over specific thematic relations](image)

Actor and undergoer are generalizations across specific semantic argument types, as defined by LS positions. This is illustrated in Figure 2.7. The *x* argument of all of these verbs functions as the actor, regardless of whether it is the first argument of the generalized activity verb *do'* (conventionally labeled ‘effector’), as with *kill, put* and *present*, or the first argument of a two-place state predicate, as with *see*. With two-place transitive verbs like *kill* and *see*, the *y* argument is the undergoer. With three-place verbs like *put* and *present*, on the other hand, the situation is potentially more complex. In *James [ACTOR] put the book [UNDERGOER] on the shelf, the shelf* is the location argument of the *be-LOC'* ((y), x) predicate when it is transitive and *the book* is the second argument, therefore undergoer. But in *James [ACTOR] put the book [UNDERGOER] down, the be-LOC' (x) predicate is intransitive and has no location argument. In *Gareth [ACTOR] presented the prize [UNDERGOER] to William, the prize* is undergoer, but in *Gareth [ACTOR] presented William [UNDERGOER] with the prize, William* is the undergoer. The relationship between LS argument positions and macroroles is captured in the Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy [AUH] in Figure 2.8 (from Van Valin 2004:61).

The basic idea of the AUH is that in a LS the leftmost argument in terms of the hierarchy will be the actor and the rightmost will be the undergoer. This was true for *kill, see* and *put* in Figure 2.7. It was not true for *present,*
however, and this reflects a fundamental asymmetry in the AUH: the leftmost argument in a LS (in terms of the AUH) is always the actor, but the rightmost argument is only the default choice for undergoer.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTOR</th>
<th>UNDERGOER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st arg of DO</td>
<td>1st arg of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do′ (x, …)</td>
<td>pred′ (x, y)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘⇒’ = increasing markedness of realization of argument as macrole
Arg of DO = verbs that lexicalize agency, e.g. murder
do′ (x, … = activity verbs
pred′ (x, y) = non-active verbs
pred′ (x) = state verbs

Figure 2.8: Actor-undergoer hierarchy

Transitivity in RRG is defined semantically in terms of the number of macroroles a predicate takes. This is termed ‘M-transitivity’ in RRG in order to distinguish it from the number of syntactic arguments a predicate takes, its ‘S-transitivity.’ The three M-transitivity possibilities are: transitive (2 macroroles), intransitive (1 macrorole), and atransitive (0 macroroles). The principles determining the M-transitivity of verbs are given in (2.14) (from Van Valin 2004:63).

(2.14) Default Macrorole Assignment Principles

a. Number: the number of macroroles a verb takes is less than or equal to the number of arguments in its LS.
   1. If a verb has two or more arguments in its LS, it will take two macroroles.
   2. If a verb has one argument in its LS, it will take one macrorole.

b. Nature: for predicates which have one macrorole,
   1. If the verb LS contains an activity predicate, the macrorole is actor.
   2. If the predicate has no activity predicate in its LS, it is undergoer.

If a verb is irregular and has exceptional transitivity, it will be indicated in its lexical entry by ‘[MRα]’, where ‘α’ is a variable for the number of macroroles. Examples of lexical entries for some English verbs are given in (2.15).

(2.15) a. kill [do′ (x, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME dead′ (y)]
   b. receive BECOME have′ (x, y)

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c. own  \textit{have}' (x, y)
d. belong (to)  \textit{have}' (x, y) [MR1]
e. see  \textit{see}' (x, y)
f. watch  \textit{do}' (x, [\textit{see}' (x, y)])
g. show  [\textit{do}' (w, Ø)] \text{CAUSE} [\textit{BECOME} \textit{see}' (x, y)]
h. run  \textit{do}' (x, [\textit{run}' (x)])
i. drink  \textit{do}' (x, [\textit{drink}' (x, y)])

A major claim in RRG is that no syntactic subcategorization information of any kind is required in the lexical entries for verbs. For regular verbs, all that is required is the LS and nothing more, as in all except (2.15d). For most irregular verbs, only the macrorole number needs to be specified. The prepositions that mark oblique arguments with verbs like \textit{show} are predictable from general principles and need not be listed in the lexical entry (see also Jolly, 1993; VVLP, §7.3.2). All of the major morphosyntactic properties of verbs and other predicates follow from their LS together with the linking system (see below).

2.4 Syntactic Functions, Case and Preposition Assignment

The linking between semantics and syntax depicted in Figure 2.1 has two phases: first, the determination of semantic macroroles based on the LS of verb or predicate in the clause, and second, the mapping of the macroroles and other arguments into syntactic functions. The traditional grammatical relations have no theoretical status in RRG; rather, RRG posits a single, construction-specific grammatical relation, which is termed the PRIVILEGED SYNTACTIC ARGUMENT [PSA] of the construction. It subsumes the notion of ‘syntactic pivot’ used in earlier work in RRG. The non-PSA syntactic arguments in the clause are referred to as DIRECT or OBLIQUE CORE ARGUMENTS. The PSA for most (but not all) English constructions is the traditional subject. Languages have selection hierarchies to determine the PSA; the two main ones are given in (2.17) (from Van Valin 2004:100).

(2.16) Privileged Syntactic Argument Selection Hierarchy:
\[ \text{arg of } \text{DO} > 1\text{st arg of } \text{do}' > 1\text{st arg of } \text{pred}' (x, y) > 2\text{nd arg of } \text{pred}' (x, y) > \text{arg of } \text{pred}' (x) \]

(2.17) Accessibility to Privileged Syntactic Argument Principles:
\begin{enumerate}
  \item Accusative constructions: Highest ranking direct core argument in terms of (2.16) [default]
  \item Ergative constructions: Lowest ranking direct core argument in terms of (2.16) [default]
\end{enumerate}
c. Restrictions on PSA in terms of macrorole status:

1. Languages in which only macrorole arguments can be PSA:
   German, Italian, Dyirbal, Jacaltec, Sama, …
2. Languages in which non-macrorole direct core arguments can be PSA:
   Icelandic, Georgian, Japanese, Korean, Kinyarwanda, …

The PSA selection hierarchy in (2.16) (from Van Valin 2004:100) is the actor part of the AUH. For a language like English, (2.17a) captures the fact that in an active voice clause with a transitive verb, the actor is the PSA, whereas for a language like Dyirbal (Dixon 1972), in an active voice clause with a transitive verb the undergoer is the PSA, following (2.17b). These are the default choices; it is possible for an undergoer to serve as PSA in a passive construction in an accusative language like English or German, and it is likewise possible for an actor to serve as PSA in an antipassive cons-

---

**SYNTACTIC FUNCTIONS:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PSA</th>
<th>Direct Core Arguments</th>
<th>Oblique Core Arguments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Privileged Syntactic Argument [PSA] Selection:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highest ranking MR = default (e.g. English)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lowest ranking MR = default (e.g. Dyirbal)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SEMANTIC MACROROLEs:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>undergoer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arg of 1st arg of 2nd arg of Arg of state</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DO</td>
<td>do' (x, …)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transitivity = No. of Macroroles [MR α]
M-Transitive = 2
M-Intransitive = 1
M-Atransitive = 0

Argument Positions in **LOGICAL STRUCTURE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Class</th>
<th>Logical Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>STATE</td>
<td>predicate' (x) or (x, y)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACTIVE</td>
<td>do' (x, [ predicate' (x) or (x, y)])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACHIEVEMENT</td>
<td>INGR predicate' (x) or (x, y)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEMELACTIVE</td>
<td>SEML predicate' (x) or (x, y)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACCOMPLISHMENT</td>
<td>BECOME predicate' (x) or (x, y)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACTIVE ACCOMPLISHMENT</td>
<td>do' (x, [ pred1' (x, (y))]) &amp; BECOME pred2' (z, x) or (y)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUSATIVE</td>
<td>α CAUSE β, where α, β are LSs of any type</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2.9: Summary of RRG linking system
struction in syntactically ergative languages like Dyirbal and Sama (Philippines; Walton 1986).

Languages also differ with respect to whether the PSA must be a macro-role: German, Italian, Dyirbal, Jakaltak (Mayan) and Sama restrict PSA selection to actors and undergoers only, while Icelandic, Georgian, Japanese, Korean and Kinyarwanda allow non-macrorole direct core arguments to function as PSA (see VVLP, §7.3.1.1).

The linking system relating semantic and syntactic representations is summarized in Figure 2.9 (from Van Valin 2004:129). Syntactic functions like PSA and direct core arguments represent the syntactic pole of the system. These are structurally instantiated in the LAYERED STRUCTURE OF THE CLAUSE. The LOGICAL STRUCTURE represents the semantic pole.

The technical details of the linking algorithm are developed in VVLP: chapter 7 presents the linking algorithm for simple sentences, while chapter 9 presents the one for complex sentences. Both Figures 2.1 and 2.8 contain double-headed arrows; this means that the linking system not only maps semantic representations into syntactic representations, but it also maps syntactic representations into semantic representations. This is, after all, part of what language users must do when they are producing and comprehending speech. Only the semantics to syntax mapping will be presented in this discussion.

Case assignment rules are formulated with reference to the linking system. The basic rules for direct core arguments in accusative languages are given in (2.18).

(2.18) Case marking rules for accusative languages:
   a. Highest ranking core macrorole takes nominative case.
   b. Other core macrorole takes accusative case.
   c. Non-macrorole direct core arguments take dative as their default case.

In a language like English without RP case marking, there are rules for preposition assignment. The rules for to, from and with are given for illustration in (2.19).

(2.19) Preposition assignment rules for English
   a. Assign to to non-MR x argument in LS segment:
      … BECOME/INGR pred′ (x, y)
   b. Assign from to non-MR x argument in LS segment:
      … BECOME/INGR NOT pred′ (x, y)
   c. Assign with to non-MR y argument if, given two arguments, x and y, in a logical structure, with x lower than or equal to y on the Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy, y is not selected as a macrorole.
The rules in (2.19b, c) do not cover all of the uses of from and with, and they are presented for illustrative purposes only. For more information on assignment of adpositions see VVLP (1997:376-384).

2.5 Linking Algorithms

The linking algorithm is central to a theory like RRG that posits only one level of syntactic representation, for it must be able to deal not only with canonical clause patterns, i.e. those in which the default correlations between syntactic and semantic structure exist, but also with the non-canonical patterns as well. The linking between the semantic and syntactic representations in terms of logical structures of verbs, the assignment of semantic macroroles to verbal arguments and the linking of macroroles to syntactic core/oblique arguments is summarized in Figure 2.9.

The linking between semantic and syntactic representations is governed by a very general constraint, the Completeness Constraint, which is stated in (2.20) (from Van Valin 2004:129-130).

(2.20) Completeness Constraint:
All of the arguments explicitly specified in the semantic representation of a sentence must be realized syntactically in the sentence, and all of the referring expressions in the syntactic representation of a sentence must be linked to an argument position in a logical structure in the semantic representation of the sentence.

The semantic representation of a sentence is built around the logical structure of the predicator, usually a verb, and it is put together in the lexicon. For the semantics-to-syntax linking, the information in the semantic representation is crucial for the selection of the syntactic template(s) constituting the syntactic representation. These are stored in the syntactic inventory (see Figure 2.5 for some English examples). There are principles governing the selection of the appropriate core template; they are given in (2.21) (from Van Valin 2004:130).

(2.21) a. Syntactic template selection principle:
The number of syntactic slots for arguments and argument-adjuncts within the core is equal to the number of distinct specified argument positions in the semantic representation of the core.

b. Language-specific qualifications of the principle in (a):
1. All cores in the language have a minimum syntactic valence of 1.
2. Argument-modulation voice constructions reduce the number of core slots by 1.
3. The occurrence of a syntactic argument in the pre/postcore slot reduces the number of core slots by 1 [may override (1) above].

The semantics to syntax linking algorithm is set out in (2.22) (from Van Valin 2004:136).

(2.22) Linking algorithm: Semantics → Syntax

1. Construct the semantic representation of the sentence, based on the LS of the predicator.
2. Determine the actor and undergoer assignments, following the Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy in Figure 2.8.
3. Determine the morphosyntactic coding of the arguments
   a. Select the PSA, based on the PSA selection hierarchy and principles in (2.16)-( 2.17).
   b. Assign the XPs the appropriate case markers and/or adpositions.
   c. Assign the agreement marking to the main or auxiliary verb, as appropriate.
4. Select the syntactic template(s) for the sentence following the principles in (2.21).
5. Assign XPs to positions in the syntactic representation of the sentence.
   a. Assign the [-WH] XPs to the appropriate positions in the clause.
   b. If there is a [+WH] XP in the logical structure of a clause in the potential focus domain,
      1. assign it to the normal position of a non-WH-XP with the same function, or
      2. assign it to the precore or postcore slot, or
      3. assign it to a position within the potential focus domain of the clause (default = the unmarked focus position).
   c. A non-WH XP may be assigned to the precore or postcore slot, subject to focus structure restrictions (optional).
   d. Assign the XP(s) of LS(s) other than that of the predicator in the nucleus to
      1. the periphery (default), or
      2. the precore or postcore slot, or
      3. the left-detached position.

We can now illustrate how the semantics to syntax linking works with an English sentence such as (2.23).

(2.23) Yesterday Mary did not give James the book in the library.
Step 1: Construct semantic representation of sentence.

Following the linking algorithm in (2.22) the first step is to construct the semantic representation of (2.23). The LSs for the verb and the adverbial elements extracted from the lexicon are given in (2.24).

(2.24) \[\text{give} \quad \langle \text{do}'(w, \emptyset) \rangle \text{ CAUSE } \langle \text{BECOME have}'(x, y) \rangle \]
\[\text{in} \quad \langle \text{be-in}'(x, y) \rangle \]
\[\text{yesterday} \quad \langle \text{yesterday}'(x) \rangle \]

As already indicated, RRG takes a primarily lexical approach to the analysis of three-place predicates and the coding alternations they enter into. In RRG’s system of lexical decomposition, the general semantic representation for such a predicate is \[\langle \text{do}'(w, \emptyset) \rangle \text{ CAUSE } \langle \text{BECOME predicate}'(x, y) \rangle.\] In the case of give the \langle \text{predicate}'(x, y) \rangle expresses possession. The preposition in expresses a locative state. Adverbs, such as yesterday, are treated as one-place predicates and may take a logical structure or any sub-part as their argument. Therefore the semantic representation of the sentence can be constructed as (2.25). For illustration purposes this also includes the semantic representation of the IF, TNS and NEG operators.

(2.25) \[\langle \text{IFDEC(TNSPAST(yesterday')} \langle \text{NEG(be-in}')(v, \langle \text{do}' (w, \emptyset) \rangle) \text{ CAUSE [BECOME have}'(x, y)\rangle)\rangle \rangle \]

Step 2: Determine actor and undergoer assignments.

The actor Mary is assigned to the first argument position in the activity predicate \langle \text{do}'(w, \emptyset) \rangle and the marked undergoer James is assigned to the first argument position in the state predicate \langle \text{have}'(x, y) \rangle. Book is assigned to the remaining argument position in the \langle \text{have}'(x, y) \rangle predicate. [Note: the unmarked arrangement would be \textit{…gave the book to James with book as the undergoer.}] Library is assigned to the argument position in the \langle \text{be-in}'(v, \ldots) \rangle state locative predicate.

Figure 2.10: Assignment of actor and undergoer macroroles

Step 3: Determine morphosyntactic coding of arguments.

English is an accusative language and Mary is the highest ranking argument in the PSA hierarchy. So Mary is assigned PSA status and nominative case. Accusative case is assigned to the other arguments. 3sg agreement with the PSA is assigned to the verb.
(2.26) Case assignment rules for English
   a. Assign nominative case to the highest-ranking macrorole argument.
   b. Assign accusative case to the other macrorole arguments.

(2.27) Finite verb agreement in English
   The finite verb agrees with the highest-ranking macrorole argument.

Step 4: Select the appropriate syntactic templates from the syntactic inventory.

The syntactic template selection principle determines that the number of arguments in LS matches those in the template structure(s). The three templates illustrated in (2.28a-c) would be sufficient to account for all the required argument and adjunct positions in (2.23). (2.28b) provides the three core argument positions as well as a position for the peripheral adverbial PP. (2.28a) provides a position for the adverbial yesterday in the PrCS and (2.28c) provides positions for the contents of the adverbial PP in the library. RRG distinguishes between predicative PPs, which have their own predicate-argument structure, and non-predicative PPs where the RP in the PP functions as an oblique core argument of the verb. See VVLP (1997:52-53) for more information.

(2.28)  
   a. PreCore Slot Template

   ![PreCore Slot Template Diagram]

   b. Core-7 Template

   ![Core-7 Template Diagram]
Step 5: Assign XPs to positions in the sentence.

Mary as PSA:NOM is assigned to the PSA position in the clause. James is assigned to the argument in the post-verbal position, since this is the remaining macrorole position. Book is assigned to the remaining argument position in the core. Library is assigned to the argument position in the predicative PP. The lexical output of yesterday' is assigned to the PrCS.

Figure 2.11: Summary of the five semantic → syntax linking steps
2.6 RRG and Discourse Structures

RRG incorporates the theory of information structure outlined by Lambrecht (1994). Lambrecht argues that there is a distinction between (i) the *pragmatic states* of the denotata of individual sentence constituents in the minds of the speech participants, and (ii) the *pragmatic relations* established between these referents and the propositions in which they play the role of predicates or arguments. The pragmatic states that Lambrecht proposes are: active, accessible and inactive and the pragmatic relations are topic and focus.

2.6.1 Pragmatic States

The first major distinction between the pragmatic states of referents of expressions is whether they are identifiable or nonidentifiable to the addressee. Lambrecht (1994) establishes identifiability of reference as a category of IS within the domain of discourse distinct from existential presupposition. In other words, the principles of information theory only operate within an established domain of discourse and referential access only applies to referents established in that domain; not to referents outside that domain. Lambrecht also critically distinguishes the universal pragmatic category of identifiability from the non-universal grammatical category of definiteness found in some languages. In §2.6.1.1 we discuss the notion of identifiability and how it relates to definiteness and specificity. We also show how definiteness is handled at both the syntactic and semantic level in RRG. In §2.6.1.2 we describe the three activation states of referents in a discourse of active, accessible or inactive, and how they are accounted for within RRG.

2.6.1.1 Identifiability

Lambrecht (1994) says that discourse referents are syntactically expressed in argument categories, such as noun phrases, pronouns, various kinds of tensed or non-tensed subordinate clauses, and certain adverbial clauses. They may be either entities or propositions. A proposition may acquire the status of a discourse referent once it is assumed by a speaker to be known by the addressee, i.e. once it has been added to the set of pragmatic presuppositions in the discourse register. The mental representation of such a propositional referent may then be stored in the register together with the representations of entities. To illustrate how propositional referents can be expressed via a pronoun or subordinate clause consider (2.29) from a cereal box.

(2.29) This package is sold by weight, not by volume … If it does not appear full when opened, it is because the contents have settled during shipping and handling.
In (2.29) the referent of the first *it* is the entity designated by the antecedent RP *this package*, i.e. the cereal box; the referent of the second *it* is the proposition (or state of affairs) expressed in the antecedent clause *it does not appear full when opened*. While the representation of the entity (i.e. the cereal package) exists in the mind of the addressee prior to its linguistic expression, the representation of the propositional referent is created via the clausal antecedent itself (unless the state of affairs described is already known to the reader, in which case it is reactivated). By the time they are anaphorically referred to with definite pronouns, both constitute discourse referents, which may serve as arguments in a predicate-argument structure.

When a speaker wishes to make an assertion involving some entity which he assumes is not yet represented in the addressee’s mind, it is necessary for him to create a mental representation of that entity via a linguistic description, which can then be anaphorically referred to in subsequent discourse. The creation of such a new representation can be compared to the referential ‘file’ metaphor in the discourse register, to which further elements of information can be added to. In Heim’s (1988) theory of ‘file-change semantics’ it is proposed that in any given discourse the identifiability of referents is controlled by the metaphor of a filing system. An addressee may be supposed to have an empty file: a collection of zero file cards. As soon as the speaker performs an utterance, the addressee puts one card into the file for each entity (real-world or discourse referent) mentioned in the utterance. So for the utterance *A man delivered a box*, the addressee would write ‘is a man’ and ‘delivered 2’ on card 1, and on card 2 ‘is a box’ and ‘delivered by 1.’ This leads to the instructions: ‘For every indefinite (novel to the addressee), start a new card. For every definite (familiar to the addressee), update an old card. ‘To account for the difference between entities for which the speaker assumes a file has already been opened in the discourse register and those for which a file does not yet exist, Lambrecht (1994) proposes the cognitive category of identifiability. This is preferable to ‘known’ or ‘familiar.’

The distinction between identifiable and non-identifiable referents is conceptually related to the distinction between pragmatically presupposed and asserted propositions. A presupposed proposition is one of which the speaker and the hearer are assumed to have some shared knowledge or representation at the time of utterance. An asserted proposition is one of which only the speaker has a representation at the time of utterance. Lambrecht (1994) asserts that there is an important difference in perspective between the logical (semantic) view of existential presupposition and the information-structure (pragmatic) view of identifiability. In the domain of IS the relevant property of an identifiable referent is not that it is presupposed to exist but that the speaker assumes that it has a certain representation in the mind of the addressee which can be evoked in a given discourse. Identifiability is treated as a category in its own right. The concepts of
identifiability and existential presupposition do not necessarily exclude each other; they merely represent different theoretical perspectives on the same or a similar phenomenon.

Lambrecht is careful to distinguish identifiability as a pragmatic/cognitive category from definiteness as a grammatical/formal category. And likewise non-identifiability (cognitive/pragmatic) from indefiniteness (grammatical/formal). He says:

‘An important grammatical correlate of the cognitive distinction between identifiable and unidentifiable referents is the formal distinction made in many languages between DEFINITE and INDEFINITE noun phrases. The grammatical category of definiteness is a formal feature associated with nominal expressions which signals whether or not the referent of a phrase is assumed by the speaker to be identifiable to the addressee. In many languages this category is regularly expressed via the contrast between a definite and an indefinite article or other determiners (typically possessive or demonstrative).’ (Lambrecht, 1994:79)

Lyons makes an extensive cross-linguistic survey of definiteness and concludes (1999:274-275) ‘…that definiteness stricto sensu is not a semantic or pragmatic notion as assumed by almost all writers on the subject, but rather a grammatical category on a par with tense, mood, number, gender, etc. But, like these, it is the grammaticalization (that is, representation in grammar) of some category of meaning.’ Lyons observes that definiteness has a number of semantic and pragmatic distinctions, such as identifiability and inclusiveness, situational and anaphoric deixis, and specific and non-specific reference. However, Lambrecht argues that while not every language has the grammatical category of definiteness the cognitive category of identifiability is assumed to be universal, and is imperfectly and non-universally matched by the grammatical category of definiteness. In addition there are a range of pragmatic criteria that according to which a speaker can assume that a particular referent is identifiable to the addressee:

1) Uniqueness. There is only one referent which can be appropriately designated with that RP. For example, proper names, titles, mom, the sun. There is only one referent in the universe of discourse. Unique referents can also include generic RPs where the class of all entities can be designated with an expression identifying a unique referent.

2) Shared knowledge between speaker and addressee.

3) Deictic reference. A particular referent can be saliently present in the external or internal discourse world. Demonstratives like this and that can be used to refer to entities either within the discourse or external to the discourse.
4) Possessive reference. A referent can be deictically identifiable because it is ‘inalienably possessed’ or otherwise anchored in the individuality of one of the interlocutors, as in your left leg or my sister’s second ex-husband.

5) Frame reference. When a particular entity is mentioned it establishes a whole frame of identifiable referents. E.g. if a restaurant is introduced into the discourse the speaker can readily refer to the waitress, the menu, the chef, etc.

6) Anaphoric reference. Once a referent is established in the discourse it can be referred to anaphorically as identifiable.

In his cross-linguistic study Lyons (1999) finds that the categories of definiteness [+Def] and indefiniteness [−Def] are primarily indicated formally by articles, such as the and a in English; although he analyzes a as a cardinal article rather than as an indefinite article. Other categories, such as demonstratives, proper nouns, possessives, personal pronouns and universal quantifiers, can also indicate [+Def] but this is a secondary function.

Regarding identifiability, an important semantic distinction is specific vs. non-specific reference. In I am looking for a book the indefinite RP a book can be specific or non-specific depending on whether the speaker is looking for a particular book (specific) or any book (non-specific). This semantic difference can be made explicit in anaphoric contexts. In (2.30) the identity of the book that a book refers to is known to the speaker but not the addressee. Whereas in (2.31) neither the speaker nor the addressee can identify the referent of a book in the first clause.

(2.30) I was looking for a book [specific] and I found it/the book I was looking for. [definite anaphor]

(2.31) I was looking for a book [non-specific] and I found one/a book. [indefinite anaphor]

In pragmatic terms, a specific indefinite RP is one whose referent is identifiable to the speaker but not to the addressee, while a non-specific indefinite RP is one whose referent neither the speaker nor the addressee can identify at the time of the utterance. This is tantamount to saying a non-specific indefinite RP is one which has no referent at all. According to Lyons (1999:57-59) some Polynesian languages have specific vs. non-specific articles. In Samoan, for example, le is the specific article and the reference may be definite (identifiable) or indefinite (non-identifiable). The non-specific article is se and the reference is indefinite (non-identifiable) or else the identity of the item is thought to be irrelevant to the issue being discussed or obvious to the addressee.

Tok Pisin (Papuan New Guinea) also marks a specific vs. non-specific contrast in RPs rather than a definite vs. indefinite contrast. In (2.32), (a) and
(b) are marked by *wanpela* ‘a/one’ and *dispela* ‘this’ respectively, while (c) and (d) are unmarked.

(2.32) a. Em i gat wanpela buk. [specific - indefinite]
    b. Em i baim dispela buk. [specific - definite]
    c. Em baim buk. [non-specific - indefinite]
    d. Dok smat. [generic (non-specific) - definite]

In (2.32a) the referent of ‘book’ is not identified but *wanpela* specifies a particular book. In (2.32b) *dispela* also specifies a particular book but indicates that the referent of ‘book’ can be identified. In (2.32c) and (d), on the other hand, the reference is non-specific, i.e. no particular ‘book’ is referred to in (c) and no particular ‘dog’ is referred to in (d). However, in (2.32d) the speaker assumes the addressee can identify the notion ‘dog’ as the set of all dogs, so the reference is definite. In Tok Pisin a specific reference indicates an individuated entity. This is a different notion of specificity than that in which a specific reference is where the referent is identifiable to the speaker but not to the addressee. However, it is the Tok Pisin and Samoan type of specific vs. non-specific contrast that appears to be more commonly encoded grammatically in languages.

**Figure 2.12:** Definiteness as a phrasal operator in the referential phrase

Within RRG (VVLP 1997:58), definiteness is regarded as a grammatical category which is expressed primarily via articles and demonstratives. In the syntactic representation, definiteness along with deixis are treated as locality operators which modify the RP as a whole. They are primarily concerned with expressing the location of the referent with respect to a reference point,
usually the interlocutors (deictics), and with indicating the speaker’s assumption about the identifiability of the referent by the addressee (definiteness). These operators are usually expressed formally by determiners (i.e. articles and demonstratives). They are the RP analogues of the illocutionary force indicators in clauses. They both have to do with the discourse-pragmatic properties of the RP or clause, and they are both the outermost operators.

The diagrams in Figure 2.12 illustrate how definiteness is represented in syntactic structure as an operator with scope over the whole noun phrase. This syntactic structure has a corresponding semantic representation and partial logical structures for the books and a book are given in Figure 2.13. The specification is [+Def] for the books and [–Def] for a book.

\[
\langle \text{DEIC} \\rightarrow \text{RP} \rangle
\]

Figure 2.13: Semantic representations of definiteness within the noun phrase

\[
\langle \text{DEIC} \\rightarrow \text{RP} \rangle
\]

Figure 2.14: Definiteness for demonstratives and possessor constructions
As mentioned above, other categories can be [+Def]. Figure 2.14 illustrates how demonstratives and possessor RPs are definite operators in the RP. In Figure 2.14 RPIP is referential phrase initial position. English is unusual cross-linguistically and allows the expression of two types of possessive RPs in a single RP headed by a deverbal noun (one marked by genitive case and the other by the possessive preposition of), e.g. the English RP *the enemy’s destruction of the city* has the genitive case possessive *enemy’s* and the *of*-possessive of the city. Most languages only have one type of possessive RP construction. VVLP (1997:60-61) say that the generative analysis (Chomsky 1970, Jackendoff 1977) of treating the prenominal genitive RP as ‘subject’ of the RP and the [of RP] as the ‘object’ is not a universal feature across languages. In most languages only one genitive RP is allowed. The analogy with sentence structure also breaks down for English. It is possible to have an adjunct as the prenominal genitive RP, such as *yesterday’s bombardment of the city by the enemy*, which would be impossible as subject in a sentence.

For this and other reasons, it is proposed in RRG to treat the prenominal genitive RP as filling the noun phrase initial position (RPIP). Thus *Fred’s* in *Fred’s books* is in the RPIP. The genitive RP in the RPIP cannot cooccur with a determiner: both *the [Fred’s books]* and *the [the enemy’s destruction of the city]* are ungrammatical, and it can be substituted by a genitive pronoun, e.g. *Fred’s books ↔ his books*. Thus the prenominal genitive RP is interpreted as definite. To express the indefinite interpretation the *of*-construction has to be used, e.g. *a book of Fred’s.*

Demonstratives like *this* and *that* are a sub-type of pronoun, and when they occur as RP modifiers, they occur in the RP-initial position, just like possessive pronouns like *my* and *his*. Hence an RP like *that book* would have the same structure as *Fred’s book* with *that* replacing *Fred’s*. Since demonstratives are pronominal in nature, unlike articles, they can occur as referring expressions on their own, as in *That irritates me*. In such a structure, *that* would function as the referring expression in the nominal nucleus. These two possibilities are presented in Figure 2.14 for *that book*. The corresponding semantic representations for *that book* and *Fred’s books* are given in Figure 2.15. The underline on *book* indicates that this is the head of an RP. Without the underline a logical structure such as *have‘* (Fred, book) would be the LS for the sentence *Fred has (a/the) book.*

*that book*
\[
\langle \text{DEF}^+ \langle \text{DECL} \langle \text{DISTAL} \langle \text{NEG} \langle \text{QNT} \langle \text{NUM} \langle \text{NASP} \langle \text{COUNT} \langle \text{book} \ (z) \rangle \rangle \rangle \rangle \rangle \rangle \rangle
\]

*Fred’s books*
\[
\langle \text{DEF}^+ \langle \text{NEG} \langle \text{QNT} \langle \text{NUM} \langle \text{NASP} \langle \text{COUNT} \langle \text{have‘} \ (Fred, \text{book}) \rangle \rangle \rangle \rangle \rangle \rangle
\]

Figure 2.15: Semantic representations of definiteness for demonstratives and possessors
2.6.1.2 Activation

When a referent is introduced for the first time into the discourse, it is a ‘new’ referent, and in many languages will be coded as an indefinite RP. A new referent may also be introduced ‘anchored’ to some more identifiable referent, as in a guy I know from school, and in these cases the language may often allow it to be used as a topic. Prince (1981) uses the terms ‘brand-new’ unanchored referent and anchored referent to distinguish these two types of ‘new’ referent. In further mentions of a referent after its introduction it will of course be treated as identifiable.

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Figure 2.16: The cognitive states of referents in discourse

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Figure 2.17: Linking the cognitive states to the semantic representation
If a referent is identifiable to the addressee, then it will be in one of three activation states: *active*, if it is the current focus of consciousness, *accessible*, if it is textually, situationally or inferentially available by means of its existence in the physical context or its relation to something in the physical or linguistic context but is not yet the current focus of consciousness, or *inactive*, if it is in the hearer’s long-term memory, yet not in his short-term memory (i.e. not in either the focus or periphery of consciousness). These terms are taken from Chafe (1987).

A summary of the distinctions among the activation states of referents is given in Figure 2.16. (from LaPolla 1995:305, based on Lambrecht 1994:109) and an illustration of how these activation states are connected to the semantic representation is given in Figure 2.17. In this case, *Sandy*, the actor macrorole, is marked as active, which means that this referent is the current focus of the discourse, and *Robin*, the nonmacrorole argument, is marked as accessible, which means that access to this referent is available in the domain of discourse or situational context of the discourse.

### 2.6.2 Pragmatic Relations

In his theory of IS, Lambrecht (1994) identifies TOPIC and FOCUS as the two primary information statuses that referring expressions may have in an utterance. These terms are used as labels for discourse-pragmatic functions only and not for the structural positions in which they may be manifested.

#### 2.6.2.1 Topic

First of all, Lambrecht (1994) draws a clear distinction between sentence or clause topic and discourse topic. Sentence topic can be defined in terms of IS as it relates to the structure of the sentence. But what constitutes the topic of a discourse is dependent on factors, such as, textual cohesion (e.g. Halliday and Hasan, 1976), textual coherence and grounding (e.g. Tomlin, ed., 1987), and thematic continuity/discontinuity in a discourse (e.g. Givón, ed., 1983). Lambrecht (1994) adopts the definitions for topic and comment proposed in Gundel (1988):

‘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. A predication, P, is the comment of a sentence S, iff in using S the speaker intends P to be assessed relative to the topic of S.’

(Gundel 1988:210)

In order to determine whether an entity is a topic in a sentence or not it is necessary to take into account the discourse context in which the sentence occurs. Consider the canonical subject-predicate construction in (2.33).

(2.33) The children went to school.
The sentence in (2.33) could be construed as having a topic-comment IS where the *children* is the topic and *went to school* is the comment on that topic. However, such a construal depends on the communicative intention the speaker had in making the statement and the state of mind of the addressee with respect to the referent in question. A sentence such as (2.33) can have a number of interpretations depending on the (discourse) context in which it occurs. In (2.34) the sentence in (2.33) has been placed in different discourse contexts. In each context the sentence has the same subject-predicate syntactic structure. What varies is the information structure.

(2.34) a. (What did the children do next?) The children went to SCHOOL.
   b. (Who went to school?) The CHILDREN went to school.
   c. (What happened?) The CHILDREN went to SCHOOL!
   d. (John was very busy that morning.) After the children went to SCHOOL, he had to clean the house and go shopping for the party.

Only in the reply in (2.34a) can we say that the referent of the subject RP *the children* is properly ‘what the sentence is about’, such that this RP represents the topic of the sentence. The statement in the answer in (2.34a) pragmatically presupposes that the children in question are a matter of standing current interest and concern and asserts about these children that they went to school. Formally, topic-comment sentences such as (2.34a) are minimally characterized by the presence of a focus accent on some element of the predicate, at least in languages like English.

By contrast, the statement in the answer in (2.34b) is not to be construed as a statement about the children. Instead its communicative function is to provide the referent solicited by the word *who* in the preceding question. In context (b) the reply pragmatically presupposes that ‘someone went to school’ and it asserts that this ‘someone’ is ‘the children.’ Lambrecht calls sentences such as (2.34b) IDENTIFICATIONAL SENTENCES, since they serve to identify a referent as the missing argument in an open proposition. Here the subject RP *the children* is not a topic but a particular type of focus expression called ARGUMENT FOCUS. The non-topic status of this subject is formally marked by prosodic prominence on the subject RP, while the inclusion of the rest of the proposition in the pragmatic presupposition is marked by the absence of prominence on the predicate.

The subject in the reply in (2.34c) is also non-topical. But in contrast to (2.34b) the proposition that someone went to school is not pragmatically presupposed here. The answer in (2.34c) is not construed as primarily conveying information about the children. Instead its function is to inform the addressee of the event involving the children as participants. Lambrecht calls the pragmatic function of such sentences EVENT-REPORTING. In (2.34c) the pragmatic presupposition required by the reply is merely that something happened. The formal marking of event-reporting in (2.34c) is by prominent
accent on the subject RP and on school in the predicate. However, this does not unambiguously mark event-reporting in English. The reply in (2.34c) could still have a topic-comment reading, for example, if used in reply to the question ‘What did the children and parents do?.’ The reply to this question could involve two subjects as ‘contrastive topics’ as in (2.34c’).

(2.34) c’ The CHILDREN went to SCHOOL and the PARENTS went to WORK.

The context in (2.34d) also exemplifies a situation in which the subject the children is not the topic of the sentence. But the reason here is not that the RP is part of the focus of the assertion, as in (2.34b) and (c), but that it is an argument in a proposition which itself is pragmatically presupposed. Specifically, it is part of an adverbial clause and as such this proposition is assumed to be already known to the addressee and provides the temporal background for the proposition expressed in the main clause. In this sense the subject the children is not a topic of the sentence as a whole. Nevertheless, it is a topic in the sense that the proposition in the adverbial clause is indeed about the children. The difference between (2.34d) and (2.34a) is that in (d) this aboutness relation is not new to the addressee; it is not asserted, but is itself presupposed.

2.6.2.2 Focus

The morphosyntactic means for expressing the discourse-pragmatic status of elements in a sentence is called ‘focus structure’, and the approach to focus structure used in RRG is based on Lambrecht (1994). He proposes that there are recurring patterns of the organization of information across languages, which he calls ‘focus types.’ The three types relevant to this discussion are presented in (2.35), with data from English, Italian and Japanese; focal stress is indicated by small caps.

(2.35) Focus structure in English, Italian and Japanese (Lambrecht 1994)

a. Q: What happened to your car? Predicate Focus
   A: i. My car/It broke DOWN. English
      ii. (La mia macchina) si è ROTTA. Italian
      iii. (Kuruma wa) KOSHOO-si-ta. Japanese

b. Q: What happened? Sentence Focus
   A: i. My CAR broke down. English
      ii. Mi si è rottA la MACCHINA. Italian
      iii. KURUMA ga KOSHOO-si-ta. Japanese

c. Q: I heard your your motorcycle broke down. Narrow Focus
   A: i. My CAR broke down. English
      ii. Si è rottA la mia macchina./ Italian (Lit: ‘broke down my car’/)
iii. KURUMA ga koshoo-si-ta.  

‘it’s my car which broke down’)

Japanese

Predicate focus corresponds to the traditional topic-comment distinction, with a topical subject RP and a focal predicate phrase which receives the focal stress. It is universally the least marked or default focus structure. In English, the subject would most likely be an unstressed pronoun, while in both Japanese and Italian it would most likely not occur at all; if it were overt, it would be preverbal in Italian and marked by the topic-marker wa in Japanese. Sentence focus is a topicless construction in which the entire sentence is focal. In English, the subject receives the focal stress, while in Italian the subject appears postverbally and with focal stress; in Japanese both the subject RP and predicate are stressed, and the subject is marked by ga rather than wa. Narrow focus involves focus on a single constituent, in these examples, the subject. In English this is signalled by focal stress on the subject or by a cleft, e.g. *It was my CAR that broke down*. Italian likewise has two options: postposing the subject or a cleft. In Japanese narrow focus is indicated by focal stress on the subject, which is marked by ga.

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**Figure 2.18: Predicate focus in English and Italian**

RRG makes an additional distinction between the *potential focus domain* [PFD] and the *actual focus domain* [AFD] (Van Valin 1993). The AFD is the part of the sentence which is in focus; Lambrecht refers to it simply as the ‘focus domain.’ The PFD is the part of the sentence in which a focal element may potentially be found. In English, for example, the entire main
clause is the PFD; in (4a) the AFD is *broke down*, in (2.35b) it is the whole clause *my car broke down*, and in (2.35c) it is the subject RP *my car*. In Italian, on the other hand, a focal subject cannot occur preverbally, as (2.35b,c) show; rather, it must appear postverbally, either after the main verb or after the copula in a cleft. There is a restriction on the PFD in Italian that English lacks: focal core arguments must occur postverbally. This contrast between Italian and English is represented in Figure 2.18.

These are representations of predicate-focus constructions in English and Italian, and note that the AFD is the same in both. Where they differ is in the PFD: in English it encompasses the entire clause, while in Italian it is limited to the verb and elements following it. Japanese is like English in having the whole clause within the PFD.

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**Operator Projection**

**Constituent Projection**

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Figure 2.19: Constituent, operator and focus structure projections onto the clause

Languages employ different grammatical means for indicating the various focus constructions; syntax, morphology and prosody are all used. English makes use of both prosodic and syntactic devices. The basic mechanism is
accentuation, with the main sentence stress falling on the primary focal element. English allows the focal stress to fall on any constituent in a clause, which represents the principal assertion, and consequently the contrasts among the three focus types can be signalled solely prosodically. English also has syntactic ways to mark focus as well. Inversion may play a role in the presentational sentence focus construction, as in *there arose a violent storm*, and an *it*-cleft can be used to express narrow focus, e.g. *it was my car that broke down*. Figure 2.19 displays the constituent, operator and focus projections for the sentence in Figure 2.11 which illustrated the semantic to syntax linking for this same sentence.

Focus structure also affects the type of referring expression that is selected to fill a variable position in LS, because the kind of referring expression that is chosen reflects the status of the referent in the discourse context. Zero coding is the least marked coding for a topic referent, while realization as an indefinite RP is the least marked coding for a focal referent. While indefinite RPs can be topics under special contextual circumstances, it is impossible for a focal referent to be realized as zero. Figure 2.20, illustrating the markedness of referring expressions, is taken from Van Valin (2004:73).

![Figure 2.20: Markedness of referring expressions](image-url)
3. Introduction to Text Linguistics

Text linguistics, also known as discourse analysis, seeks to analyze texts beyond the level of the sentence, typically but not necessarily in their situational context. Text linguistics tends to focus on the patterns of how information flows within and among sentences by looking at aspects of texts like coherence, cohesion, the distribution of topics and comments, and other discourse structures. Much as syntax is concerned with the structure of sentences, text linguistics is concerned with the structure of texts.

The approach to text analysis we will follow in this work is outlined in Dooley and Levinsohn (2001). It is a practical approach and addresses issues commonly confronted by field linguists working with relatively unresearched languages. Rather than applying a rigid theory or surveying a variety of approaches—of which there are many—it provides a methodology for text analysis that has been refined over many years of application to a variety of different languages. D&L take a functional and cognitive approach to discourse analysis. They assume that the way a text is linguistically organized reflects how the discourse content is stored as a mental representation in the mind. They also take into account that a discourse occurs in a context. Other things that go into the hearers’ mental representation of a discourse are their prior knowledge of the way things happen in the real world and their expectations of what the speaker means to say. In addition, such knowledge and expectations will be based heavily on culture-specific experience.

The dimensions of discourse structure we cover in this chapter include:

- coherence
- cohesion
- thematic groupings and thematic discontinuities
- activation status of discourse referents
- discourse-pragmatic structuring of sentences, e.g. topic and focus
- foreground and background information
- signaling relations between propositions, i.e. connectives
- the reporting of conversation
- participant reference
3.1 Coherence

Crystal (1992:25) says ‘Discourse: a continuous stretch of (especially spoken) language larger than a sentence, often constituting a coherent unit such as a sermon, argument, joke, or narrative.’ How does a stretch of language, usually in the form of a string of sentences, form a coherent unit? The difference between a coherent text and a non-coherent one can be demonstrated by comparing (3.1) with (3.2).

(3.1) On the afternoon the telegram arrived, Jerry Westerby was hacking at his typewriter on the shaded side of the balcony of his rundown farmhouse, the sack of old books dumped at his feet. The envelope was brought by the black-clad person of the postmistress, a craggy and ferocious peasant who with the ebbing of traditional forces had become the headman of the ragtag Tuscan hamlet. She was a wily creature but today the drama of the occasion had the better of her, and despite the heat she fairly scampered up the arid track. In her ledger the historic moment of delivery was later put at six past five, which was a lie but gave it force. The real time was five exactly. (John leCarré, *The Honourable Schoolboy*)

(3.2) The baying of the hounds and the screaming of the chickens echoed below me, as I quickly scanned the tracks leading towards the hole—this was going to be a hectic breakfast. I thought I’d better eat a full meal because of the task ahead and the difficulties I might encounter. But it was only when I had cooked myself a steak, and that piece of shark meat that had been ignored by everyone, that I discovered that I could only pick at these tidbits, having, as I now recalled, breakfasted, lunched and dined to repletion already. Rather than throw the food away, I rang up my husband at work and asked him to bring home some colleagues to dine with us. (D&L 2001:22)

Although (3.1) is an extract from a longer text (i.e., a book) it forms a coherent unit. A reasonable interpretation of this text would be that it describes a particular event and some of the circumstances surrounding that event. The event in question is the arrival of a telegram mentioned in the first subordinate clause. The opening sentence sets the scene for the rest of this short discourse. The scene is of a man called Jerry Westerby sitting at a table (or possibly a desk) typing on a typewriter using a two-finger method (this would be the interpretation of the word *hacking*). There is also a sack of old books at his feet, which the reader will understand has already been introduced into the discourse because it is qualified by definite article *the*. On the basis of this interpretation the reader will start to build a mental representation of the discourse. The rest of this text extract provides more information on the circumstances surrounding the arrival of the telegram, in particular who delivered it (the postmistress) and when (at five o’clock in the...
afternoon). Thus (3.1) is coherent because all the pieces of the scene described in the individual sentences by the writer cohere together to form a unitary whole.

Notice that coherence is achieved despite the fact that a full interpretation is not possible because some information is missing. For example, the thread that binds this text together is the telegram, i.e. spoken of as if already known to the reader, and the content of this clearly important telegram is not revealed. Nothing more is said about who Jerry Westerby is. Nothing more is said about the sack of old books dumped at his feet. From the text, the location of this event can be determined as a farmhouse in a Tuscan hamlet; but the Tuscan hamlet is not named. The event can be discerned as important because of the expressions but today the drama of the occasion had the better of her and the historic moment of delivery. But no account is given of the nature of this importance.

Now consider (3.2). The interpreter of this text would expect the opening sentence(s) to establish what the text is about, as with (3.1). However, the opening sentences of (3.2) provide ambiguous information as to what the text is about. Is it about baying hounds and screaming chickens or a hole with tracks or is it about breakfast? What is the location of the event? Is the scene inside a home with the hounds and chickens under the floor? Does the hole with the tracks leading to it relate to the hounds and the chickens? Or is the scene outside and the hole with the tracks does not relate to the hounds and the chickens? Are the hounds attacking the chickens? What has breakfast got to do with this chaotic scene? What is the task ahead and the difficulties that the text refers to? Immediately, the interpreter finds it problematic to start to build a coherent mental representation from the information the text presents.

The reader might continue on to see if the rest of the text clarifies the interpretation, but it does not. Instead of continuing the threads of hounds and chickens and a hole with tracks, the text develops the thread of ‘breakfast’, but in an unexpected direction. In what situation does a person have steak and shark meat for breakfast? And what sort of a person would have such a breakfast? In what circumstances do steak and shark meat go together as a meal? Because hounds and chickens were introduced at the beginning, the interpreter could justifiably think the situation being described is located on a farm of some sort—although tracks leading towards the hole suggests a hunter and a hunting party. Then the author refers to steak and shark meat, which would normally be regarded as representing large portions of food, as ‘tidbits’, and reveals that he (or possibly she) has already eaten breakfast, lunch and dinner. At this point, the text loses credibility entirely. Something regarded as large is referred to as small, and as well as not having an interpretable location setting, it no longer has an interpretable time setting. From the text, the time setting would appear to be at once both early morning (when breakfast is normally eaten) and evening (when breakfast, lunch and
dinner have been eaten), i.e. a temporal setting outside of every day reality. The final sentence identifies the narrator as female which is also contrary to the expectation that has been developed in the text that this person is male.

Thus (3.2) has many strands that are incoherent. The opening sentences which establish ‘what the text is about’ are incoherent, the location and temporal settings are incoherent, the details of the events are incoherent, for example, baying hounds do not normally coincide with screaming chickens and the eating of steak does not normally coincide with the eating of shark meat in every day experience. The gender of the main participant is also incoherent. The initial part of the text refers to tracks and to steak and shark meat. Tracks invoke the concept of a hunter and hunters are typically male, and one would normally expect the eater of steak and shark meat to be male. But the final sentence identifies the participant as female. Because of all these incoherencies the interpreter of the text is not able to build a coherent mental representation of the text.

Johnson-Laird (1983:370) maintains that a necessary and sufficient condition for a discourse to be coherent, as opposed to a random sequence of sentences, is that it is possible to construct a single mental model from it. Thus a text is coherent if, for a certain hearer on a certain hearing/reading, he or she is able to fit its different elements into a single overall mental representation. When a text fails to cohere, the hearer in effect says ‘I am unable to construct an overall mental representation for it at this time.’

Coherence is often regarded as a property of a text but, as we have demonstrated, coherence is what a certain hearer/reader is able to do with the text at a certain time. This allows a single text to cohere for some hearers/ readers but not for others, as often happens when there are differences in culture or other background. For example, (3.1) might not cohere for a hearer/reader who is not familiar with the concept of ‘telegram.’ Although the text tells that it is something delivered by a postmistress like a letter. Alternatively, in the case of a single hearer, the notion of coherence allows a text to fail to cohere at one time but cohere later on, or cohere initially and stop cohering when certain new material is added. For example, the term fraction used in (3.3) might cause an incoherent interpretation to anyone who initially understands this term to mean ‘a number, or algebraic expression, which is the quotient of two integers or algebraic expressions.’ Whereas, in this text, fraction is used to refer to what is produced from a certain stage in the fractional distillation of petroleum.

(3.3) **kerosene:** A fraction of petroleum which is burnt in turbine engines. It is a mixture of hydrocarbons with a range of roughly 11 to 14 carbon atoms. The old name for this fraction was ‘paraffin’, but that fell into disuse due to confusion with the homologous series of paraffins (now called alkanes). In the early decades of the 20th century, this fraction was much used both for heating and lighting
D&L (2001:24) say that a text comes with the presumption of coherence: that is, if a speaker is presenting something as a text, the hearer is entitled to assume that it will yield a coherent interpretation and will direct his or her efforts accordingly. If you processed (3.1) as coherent, and tried to process (3.2) as coherent, then you were acting on this presumption, which is foundational to successful communication.

A mental representation for a text does not usually come full-blown into the hearer’s mind. Rather, it is shaped in successive stages by trial and error. In the initial stages of the text, the hearer posits a tentative representation for it. Then he or she amplifies and modifies that representation, updating it as the discourse unfolds, so that each item of information is accommodated in a plausible way.

D&L (2001:25) also work with the notion of contextualization developed by Fillmore (1981), who uses this term to talk about the hearer’s progressive attempt to develop a viable mental representation for a text. Two types of contextualization apply: internal and external. In internal contextualization, the hearer attempts to construct a mental representation for the content of the text itself. D&L call this type of contextualization the hearer’s text world. In external contextualization, the hearer tries to understand what the speaker is trying to accomplish by producing the text. This is the speaker’s communicative intent. It is the real-world context for the text, a mental representation in which the text world is embedded, and thus includes the speaker, hearer(s), and all circumstances that are relevant to the purpose of the text.

3.2 Cohesion

In §3.1 we showed that the coherence of a text is determined by how the interpreter of the text can link the sentences together to form a conceptual unit and interpret it within a single mental representation. We also argued that coherence is not a direct property of the text, but is instead what the interpreter can do with the text. Does this mean there are no linguistic expressions in the text that relate to its interpretation and enable an interpreter to construct a coherent mental representation? Not at all. The speaker will plant linguistic signals in the text as clues to assist the hearers to develop an adequate mental representation.

This phenomenon is called cohesion and with respect to text analysis D&L (2001:27) define it as ‘the use of linguistic means to signal coherence (see Grimes 1975:112ff; Halliday and Hasan 1976; de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981:3; Brown and Yule 1983:191ff).’ Signals of cohesion indicate how the part of the text with which they occur links up conceptually with some other part.
In this section we will briefly describe some of the different the types of cohesive devices commonly found in languages. The list given in (3.4) is taken largely from Halliday and Hasan (1976), a seminal work in discourse cohesion, and as amplified by Brown and Yule (1983, section 6.1).

(3.4) Common types of cohesion

Descriptive expressions which allude to entities mentioned earlier in the text

Identity
repetition (whole or partial)
lexical replacement
pronouns
other pro-forms
substitution
ellipsis

Frame reference

Lexical relations
hyponymy (type of)
part-whole
collocation
synonyms
generals
opposites

Morphosyntactic patterns
consistency of inflectional categories (tense, aspect, etc.)
echoic utterances
discourse-pragmatic structuring

Signals between propositions

Intonation patterns

Sections 3.2.1-3.2.7 are taken mainly from D&L (2001:28-34).

3.2.1 Descriptive Expressions

D&L (2001:28) cite DESCRIPTIVE EXPRESSIONS as the most obvious kind of cohesion, though other works on cohesion do not treat such expressions as a separate type. With expressions such as the following day, in the next room, and the girl’s brother, there is an allusion to an entity mentioned earlier in the text, or at least to an entity that the speaker assumes the hearer already has in his or her mental representation. For the expressions listed, the
earlier entities could be the preceding day, a certain room, and the girl. The cohesion lies in the fact that the new entity is explicitly linked to the earlier entity, and thus contributes to coherence.

3.2.2 Identity

D&L (2001:29) classify cohesive devices under identity as those which link to identical forms, identical meanings, or identical reference or denotation.

In LEXICAL REPETITION, an entire expression, or at least a recognizable part of it is repeated. This typically applies to proper names. For example, Jerry Westerby in (3.1) is the repetition of a name first introduced near the beginning of the book. (3.5) illustrates the full repetition of a proper name and (3.6) illustrates a partial repetition. In (3.7) the term computer has a specific reference to the items listed in its first usage and a generic reference in its second usage. With computer breaker the speaker does not have a specific computer in mind. So here it is the meaning of computer that is identical in the two occurrences and it is this repetition of meaning that provides a cohesive link in the text.

(3.5) The Prime Minister recorded her thanks to the Foreign Secretary. The Prime Minister was most eloquent.

(3.6) Dr. E. C. R. Reeve chaired the meeting. Dr Reeve invited Mr. Phillips to report on the state of the gardens.

(3.7) Towering in front of them is a 20-foot high mound of dead and discarded computer technology: obsolete word processors, damaged printers, virus-infected micros, last decade’s state of the art. The thankless task of Eduardo and Miguel is to smash up everything in order to salvage a few components that will be sent to England to recover their gold content. Being a computer breaker is a monotonous $4.50-an-hour job in the underground economy (from Salkie 1997:3-4).

In LEXICAL REPLACEMENT, the forms in question differ, but the referent or denotation is the same:

(3.8) Ro’s daughter is ill again. The child is hardly ever well.

An expression such as the child will be successful in referring to Ro’s daughter if, at that point, the accessible part of the hearer’s mental representation contains just one entity which this expression fits (taking into account also what is said about the child).

PRONOUNS also involve identity of reference (i.e. coreference), generally without identity of form.
(3.9) Ro said she would have to take Sophie to the doctor.

There are other kinds of pro-forms besides pronouns, such as pro-verbs (do, do...it), pro-adverbs: manner (thus), place (here, there), time (then), pro-determiners (such), pro-clauses (no, so) and demonstratives (this, that, these, those). An example of the pro-verb do...it from Halliday and Hasan (1976:126) is given in (3.10).

(3.10) I told someone to feed the cat. Has it been done?

Halliday and Hasan (1976:88) use the term SUBSTITUTION for a kind of partial identity of denotation: two things are of the same type, but are different instances (tokens) of that type.

(3.11) Jules has a birthday next month. Elspeth has one too.

ELLIPSIS can be thought of as either coreference by means of zero or ‘substitution by zero’ (Halliday and Hasan 1976:143). More precisely, according to Halliday and Hasan (1976:144), ‘ellipsis occurs when something that is structurally necessary is left unsaid.’ Elided material must be, in some sense, informationally given so as to be recoverable, and in general cannot be the main point (focus) of the utterance. Coreference ellipsis is represented by Ø in (3.12).

(3.12) Jules has a birthday next month and Ø is planning a big celebration.

The substitution type of ellipsis is illustrated by (3.13).

(3.13) Hans is a freshman. I am Ø too.

3.2.3 Frame Reference

In FRAME REFERENCE, when a particular entity is mentioned it establishes a whole frame of identifiable referents. For example, if a restaurant is introduced into the discourse, the speaker can readily refer to the waitress, the menu, the chef, etc. D&L (2001) do not include frame reference as a cohesive device but it is related to their identity category in that the linked lexical items belong to the same cognitive frame.

Brown and Yule (1983:239) give the example in (3.14) of the instructions a person might receive on how to vote. The frame of reference invoked by the lexical expression the polling station includes that of a clerk who will check if you are eligible to vote at that polling station.

(3.14) When you go to the polling station tell the clerk your name and address.

3.2.4 Lexical Relations

D&L (2001:30) say many pairs of lexical items are related in ways that do not involve identity. They give three examples.
In **HYPONYMY**, one thing is a subtype of another. For example, daffodils are a subtype of flower; *daffodil* is a hyponym of *flower*.

(3.15) *Flowers* have always been interesting to me. *Daffodils* are my favourite.

Another important relationship cited by D&L (2001:30) is the **PART-WHOLE** one.

(3.16) *The human body* is an intricate mechanism. *The arm*, for example, is used for different kinds of leverage.

**COLLOCATION** is ‘the habitual co-occurrence of individual lexical items’ (Crystal: 1997:69), e.g., by virtue of belonging to the same lexical set.

(3.17) *Monday* is not my favourite day. *Tuesday* is only slightly better.

Salkie (1995) exemplifies the additional relationships of synonymy, generals and opposites.

SYNONYMS are different words with identical or at least similar meanings. Example (3.18) is taken from Halliday and Hasan (1976:278) where *ascent* and *climb* are synonyms.

(3.18) Accordingly, … I took leave, and turned to *the ascent* of the peak. *The climb* is perfectly easy …

A **GENERAL** is a word with a very general meaning used to refer back. Examples in English are *stuff*, *thing* for count nouns, *person* or *people* for humans, and *creature* for animals.

(3.19) Take your *medicine*. It is beautiful *stuff*.

Halliday and Hasan (1976:279) show that there is a continuum of lexical cohesion involving pairs of lexical relations. In (3.20), for example, there is (1) same item repeated, (2) a synonym, (3) a superordinate or hyponym, (4) a general noun, (5) a personal pronoun. Each of the second items have the same reference as the first item, *the ascent*. For the nominals this is indicated by the definite article *the*. In descending order, each of the second items are less specific and more general than the preceding item. In this way they form a continuum.

(3.20) I turned to *the ascent* of the peak. \[
\begin{align*}
\text{The ascent} & \\
\text{The climb} & \\
\text{The task} & \\
\text{The thing} & \\
\text{It} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

is perfectly easy.

**OPPOSITES** can be gradable antonyms which express Oppositions along a scale or gradient: they do not refer to absolute qualities, or complementary
antonyms which express oppositions where the denial of one member of the pair implies the assertion of the other member, or antonyms which represent converses or relational opposites. Here one member of the pair refers to the converse relation referred to by the other member. Examples from English of gradable antonyms are: narrow:wide, small:large, tall:short, weak:strong, examples of complementary antonyms are: alive and dead, male and female, open and shut, and examples of converse antonyms are: over and under, give and receive, sell and buy, husband and wife.

(3.21) Gradable antonyms (Salkie 1995:24)
The composition of living organisms is very different from their surroundings. Whereas the environment consists of relatively simple substances such as gases, water and minerals, living organisms are made up of very complex molecules.

(3.22) Complementary antonyms
Answer: You would have four sheets of paper. The odd pages of a book are on the right side, and the even pages are on the left. Therefore, pages 47 and 48 are opposite sides of the same sheet of paper.

(3.23) Converse antonyms (Salkie 1995:24-25)
The European Commission proposal, published next month, aims to promote equal treatment of the sexes in the labour market by making it easier for both parents to work and care for children.

3.2.5 Morphosyntactic Patterns

D&L (2001:30) say morphosyntactic patterns offer many opportunities for cohesion. They illustrate three types.

First, a sequence of clauses and sentences can show CONSISTENCY/IDENTITY OF INFLECTIONAL CATEGORIES, e.g. tense marking, as in (3.24).

(3.24) The jumper landed sideways on the slope. The right ski snapped just in front of the boot.

The fact that the two verbs in (3.24) have simple past tense suggests that they are both events within the main narrative sequence.

Second, a kind of morphosyntactic repetition, whole or in part, is found in ECHOIC UTTERANCES. An echoic utterance is one which copies all or part of an earlier utterance, and it is obvious that the speaker intends it to do so. The echoic utterance calls attention back to the earlier utterance in order to imply a comment about it. (3.25) is an example from Sperber and Wilson (1986:237-43).

(3.25) Speaker A: It’s a lovely day for a picnic.
Speaker B: *It’s a lovely day for a picnic*, indeed.

Third, cohesion in morphosyntactic patterns includes what in §3.6 are described as discourse-pragmatic structuring. The pattern illustrated in (3.26) is what D&L call a point of departure plus predication and is from a text in Mbyá Guaraní, a language of Brazil.

(3.26) a. *Long ago*, there were two houses.
    b. *In one of them* lived a newlywed.
    c. *In one lived* his father-in-law.

The italicized points of departure in (3.26a-c) serve to link the following predication to something that the hearer is assumed to have already in his or her mental representation. The expression long ago in (3.26a), for instance, references a time frame which is grounded in the present.

### 3.2.6 Signals between Propositions

D&L (2001:31) quote Behaghel’s law, which states, ‘items that belong together mentally are grouped together syntactically’ (MacWhinney 1991: 276). One application of Behaghel’s law is that, when two sentences are adjacent, or two clauses are adjacent within a sentence, then, other things being equal, the propositions they embody should be interpreted as being in a close conceptual relation. (Other things that may not be equal would include a signaled break of some kind between the two.) Thus, juxtaposition can suggest cohesion, even though by itself it does not signal a specific conceptual relation.

Conceptual (semantic) relations between propositions are sometimes referred to as COHERENCE RELATIONS. At times these are rendered explicitly by conjunctions or other linguistic markers. This is the case in (3.27), which D&L take from a computer software brochure:

(3.27) For the first time, you can display Help and work on your document at the same time. *For example*, you could display and read the procedure for creating a glossary entry at the same time you create one in your document.

In (3.27), the expression *for example*, may not be strictly necessary so that the hearer/reader can build a coherent interpretation linking the sentences, but it makes the intended interpretation easier and surer.

### 3.2.7 Intonation Patterns

D&L (2001:32) also note that intonation can also be used as a cohesive device in spoken discourse. One can often tell from the intonation alone when a speaker is ‘winding down’ his or her talk. That involves cohesion,
since it places an utterance with the overall scheme (e.g., near the end) of the discourse.

3.3 Cohesion and Coherence

Since coherence is a matter of conceptual unity and cohesion is linguistic form, it is in principle possible to have one without the other. Crystal (1992:119) says that cohesive devices can link sentences together, but such linking does not necessarily produce a coherent text. It is possible to invent a sentence sequence that is highly cohesive but nonetheless incoherent, as in (3.28).

(3.28) A week has seven days. Every day I feed my cat. Cats have four legs. The cat is on the mat. Mat has three letters.

The incoherent and therefore uninterpretable text in (3.2) nevertheless has cohesive links. The primary cohesive linking relates to food, i.e., breakfast ← full meal ← cooked...a steak and...shark meat ← breakfasted, lunched and dined ← throw the food away ← to dine with us.

It is also possible to have a text that is coherent but has little or no overt cohesive linking. Consider the nursery rhyme in (3.29). The four sentences in the rhyme have little to cohesively link them together, yet this short text can be readily interpreted as an expression of delight by the speaker that he is about to be married. The only cohesive device in the rhyme is the repetition of me, but this is not because it refers back in the text. Whereas third person pronouns, such as he and she, are anaphoric and refer backwards in a text, first and second pronouns, such as me and you, are not anaphoric but refer directly to the speaker or hearer, respectively. Thus me is cohesive solely because of its rhyming repetition.

(3.29) A bird in the air, a fish in the sea
A bonnie wee lassie came singing to me
The sun in the sky, the moon in a tree
The bells in the steeple are ringing for me

(Iona and Peter Opie, Puffin Book of Nursery Rhymes)

Brown and Yule (1983:196-197) claim that it is easy to find coherent texts which display few, if any, explicit markers of cohesive relations. On this basis they conclude that overt linguistic cohesion is not necessary for a text to be coherent. Similarly, they also give examples of texts, such as (3.28), that have cohesive devices but are not coherent.

Yet D&L (2001:33) say cohesion is pervasive in discourse, and this suggests that it carries a heavy communicative load. Its importance to coherence is the importance of what we say to what we mean. That is, cohesion represents ‘hard data’ to guide the hearer toward an adequate mental representation. Since cohesion is valuable for the hearer, knowledge of how
to furnish the right kinds of cohesion is also valuable for the speaker. Thus understanding how cohesive devices are used in a particular language to produce coherent texts is an important aspect of text analysis.

3.4 Thematic Groupings and Thematic Discontinuities

Thematic groupings in texts reflect the cognitive need for conceptual chunking. We process information better if we can chunk it. Crystal (1987: 119), for example, demonstrates that paragraphs are often highly cohesive entities and thereby readily represent a thematic grouping. The sentences in (3.30) are linked cohesively and form a coherent thematic grouping which give an account of a person called James looking out of a window and thinking he has seen a fox. Now compare (3.31). Here the same sentences are reordered, yet they still form a coherent thematic grouping.

(3.30) 1. James looked out of the window  
2. He thought he saw a shape in the bushes  
3. Could it be a fox?  
4. Mark had told him about the foxes  
5. However, nobody had seen one for months.

(3.31) 5. However, nobody had seen one for months  
2. He thought he saw a shape in the bushes  
4. Mark had told him about the foxes  
1. James looked out of the window  
3. Could it be a fox?

The main difference between (3.30) and (3.31) is in the placement of the countering connective however. This connective is used in English when a comment is added which is surprising or seems to contradict what has just been said. In (3.30), however indicates that nobody had seen one for months counters what is said in sentences 1-4. But in (3.31), however indicates that the whole paragraph is counter to whatever has been said previously. Effectively, in (3.30) however marks the end of the paragraph and in (3.31) however marks the beginning of the paragraph.

Givón (1984:245) says that thematic structure can be based on four unities: unity of time, unity of place, unity of action and unity of participants. Given these four unities, the hierarchical structure of narrative discourse may be more likely to be maintained within any particular discourse unit than across its boundary within another unit. In other words, where the dimensions of time, place, action and participant cast are the same between sentences in a text these sentences are more likely to be part of the same thematic unit. But if there is a discontinuity in any one of these dimensions across sentences then this is more likely to be a boundary between thematic units.
Table 3.1: Dimensions of thematic continuity/discontinuity in narrative (based on Givón 1984:245)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>Continuity</th>
<th>Discontinuity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>time</td>
<td>events separated by at most only small forward gaps</td>
<td>large forward gaps or events out of order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>place</td>
<td>same place or (for motion) continuous change</td>
<td>discrete changes of place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>action</td>
<td>all material of the same type: event, nonevent, conversation, etc.</td>
<td>change from one type of material to another</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>participants (vs. props)</td>
<td>same cast and same general roles vis-à-vis one another</td>
<td>discrete changes of cast or change in relative roles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The properties of these dimensions of thematic continuity/discontinuity are given in Table 3.1. The time dimension is continuous if it involves small forward movement in time and is discontinuous for large forward gaps or for events out of the order of the narrative timeline. The place dimension is continuous for the same place or for continuous change in place, as in a journey, for example, and is discontinuous for a discrete change in place setting. The action dimension is continuous where it is the same type of action or event from sentence to sentence and is discontinuous where there is a change from one type to another. The participant dimension is continuous where the events involve the same cast of participants with the same general roles, e.g. actor and undergoer, and is discontinuous where there is a change of cast and/or participant roles.

Thus, in narrative text the speaker will typically begin a new thematic grouping when there is a significant discontinuity in at least one of these four dimensions, and usually in more than one. Within a thematic grouping, there is usually continuity along all four dimensions. A new thematic grouping occurs when the speaker moves on in one dimension of the state of affairs or, perhaps, creates a new state of affairs.

TIME is especially important in narrative. Narrative events are typically in sequence, so there are continual small changes in time from one event to the next, even within a thematic grouping. Significant time gaps, however, generally result in new groupings. In fact, groupings in narrative are generally correlated more closely with time than with any other thematic dimension. As a result, expressions of time are commonly associated with the beginning of narrative groupings, especially when they are sentence-initial. For example, the text in (3.1) begins with *On the afternoon the telegram arrived, ….*
Another kind of temporal discontinuity is a \textit{flashback}, it is ‘set in a time earlier than the main action’ (\textit{Oxford English Dictionary}). In English, flashbacks commonly have the pluperfect (\textit{had...-ed}), as in (3.32).

(3.32) Belly-crawling clear of the garage before it disintegrated, Jim \textit{had hooked} his muscular arms around the base of a pine tree
(from a text in D&L 2001)

\textit{Place} can also be important in narrative, with or without a change of time. In (3.33), there is a preposed expression of place.

(3.33) \textit{About halfway there}, there was some nice couple…
(from a text in D&L 2001)

Expressions of either time or place can indicate new thematic groupings, especially when they are preposed, as in (3.32) and (3.33). The reason for this is that, cross-linguistically, preposed expressions often constitute special cohesive ties linking the following predication to something in the preceding context. This only needs to happen when the link has to be changed or updated in some way. Hence, preposed expressions often signal the onset of new thematic units; in narrative, preposed adverbial expressions most commonly play that role. Conversely, when adverbial expressions are present but not preposed, no significant discontinuity is being signaled, and no new thematic grouping is being signaled either (Levinsohn 2000:14). This is illustrated with (3.34) from a text in D&L (2001).

(3.34) So, we got on a lovely train \textit{in Duluth}.

One common change of \textit{action} that is marked cross-linguistically is when a story moves from reported conversation to nonspeech events. Changes in action are often marked by the use of a sentence-initial conjunction such as ‘so’ or ‘then.’ Shifts from thought to action may be similarly marked. Another common change of action is between events and non-events.

\textit{Participants} are obviously important in discourse, and patterns of participant reference will be dealt with in §3.10. The introduction of a participant (with a full noun phrase) is sometimes the occasion of a new thematic grouping, as in the story of the Three Little Pigs.

(3.35) The first little pig…
The second little pig…
The third little pig…

D&L (2001:40) say that participants can be usefully distinguished from \textit{props}, which have a passive role in a story; they never \textit{do} anything significant (Grimes 1975:43ff). For example, the \textit{telegram} in (3.1) is a prop. Participants, on the other hand, take an active role. For this reason, participants are usually either persons or personifications, e.g., animals given
human qualities. Participants and props often use different patterns of reference, some of which pattern with respect to thematic groupings.

In relation to the four major dimensions of thematic continuity, D&L (2001:40) give (3.36) as a listing of the linguistic signals typical of thematic boundaries.

(3.36) Linguistic signals typical of thematic boundaries:

*Initial in a grouping*, it is common to find:
- a preposed expression, especially one of time, place, or topic
- particles (‘Well,’ ‘Now’), or the absence of the normal particle
- sentence connectors (‘Then,’ ‘So’) or the absence of the normal connector
- participants referred to by full noun phrases instead of pronouns, etc.

*Initial or final in a grouping*, it is common to find:
- changes in tense/aspect of verbs
- summary (‘That’s what they did’) or evaluation (‘So that was exciting’)

*Between groupings in an oral text*, it is common to find:
- pause, hesitation, or break in timing
- change in pitch of intonation contour

3.5 Activation Status of Discourse Referents

In §2.6.1.2 we discussed the activation statuses of referents in a discourse proposed by Lambrecht (1994:93-100). These were summarized in Figure 2.16 reproduced below.

![Figure 2.16: The cognitive states of referents in discourse](image-url)
From Lambrecht (1994), D&L (2001:55) define activation states as follows: A ‘concept’ may be in any one of three activation states: active, accessible and inactive. An ACTIVE concept is one ‘that is currently lit up, a concept in a person’s consciousness at a particular moment.’ An ACCESSIBLE concept is one ‘that is in a person’s peripheral consciousness, a concept of which a person has a background awareness, but one that is not being directly focused on.’ An INACTIVE concept is one ‘that is currently in a person’s long-term memory, neither focally nor peripherally active.’ D&L (2001:56) also say accessible concepts are of three kinds:

- Firstly, a concept may be accessible ‘through deactivation from an earlier state, typically by having been active at an earlier point in the discourse.’
- Secondly, a concept may be accessible because it ‘belongs to the set of expectations associated with a schema’ (Chafe 1987:29).
- Finally, there are concepts ‘whose accessible status is due to their presence in the text-external world’ (Lambrecht 1994:99).

3.5.1 Activation Status: Three Processes

D&L say activation is one example of the cognitive status of concepts. They consider these activation statuses in terms of the processes of activation, deactivation and maintenance.

In ACTIVATION, a concept goes from inactive or accessible to active status.

- The activation of a concept from inactive status, resulting in ‘new information’, ‘evidently exacts a greater cost in terms of cognitive effort than any other kind’ (Chafe 1987:31). It is only accomplished by expending weighty coding resources (e.g., heavy stress).
- The activation of a concept that was previously only accessible generally does not require heavy coding. It does, however, require a mention of the concept and, if the language has the means to do so, it requires a signal of its former accessible status, such as the definite article in English.

DEACTIVATION ‘probably exacts no cost at all’, since a concept is being allowed simply to revert from the active to the accessible state.

MAINTENANCE refers to keeping a concept in an active status, and is an in-between process as regards coding resources. Maintaining a concept in active status requires a minimum of coding resources, provided there is no ambiguity. Hence, ‘given concepts are spoken with an attenuated pronunciation’, are often pronominalized, and sometime undergo ellipsis (Chafe 1987:26).
From these processes, D&L show that the amount of coding material required varies directly with the cognitive effort required. In particular, heavier coding is used where the cognitive status undergoes more change.

D&L also introduce Chafe’s ONE NEW CONCEPT AT A TIME CONSTRAINT. In informal oral narrative, ‘only one concept can be changed from the in-active to the active state during any one initial pause’ (Chafe 1987:31f). The activation of a concept that was previously accessible is not bound by this constraint, however. Furthermore, there are common types of written material where the constraint does not hold, since in such writing ‘it is hard to find anything like idea [intonation] units’ (Chafe 1985b:107)

3.5.2 Definiteness

Whereas Chafe gives a three-way opposition for activation status, there is a closely related two-way opposition that some languages encode: definite versus indefinite reference. A DEFINITE REFERENT is one which the speaker assumes that the hearer will be able to identify, i.e. to be able to locate in his or her current mental representation. An INDEFINITE REFERENT is one for which the speaker is instructing the hearer to create a slot (Chafe 1976:55).

Even in languages which commonly signal this distinction, some expressions are indeterminate. For example, in I saw this big buck, the demonstrative this is a definite form but the reference of big buck is definite or indefinite depending on the context.

3.5.3 Generic Reference

In a GENERIC REFERENCE, the speaker has in mind a particular class of entities: Deer are beautiful animals. Since the speaker also expects the hearer to be able to identify the class, generic reference has much in common with definiteness and are often encoded the same as definites in language, e.g. The deer is a beautiful animal. In many languages, topics in a topic-comment structure must be either definite or generic. On the other hand, some languages treat generics as a subclass of indefinites.

3.5.4 Referential Status

Whereas definiteness has to do with whether the hearer can be expected to identify the referent, referential status has to do with whether the speaker is attempting to make a specific reference. That is, a referential entity is one for which the speaker is using an instantiated slot in his or her mental representation; a nonreferential or nonspecific entity is one for which the speaker is not using such a slot. Thus, a speaker who says I saw a/the/this big buck is being referential (on any of these three possibilities), since he or she has a specific buck in mind. However, if the speaker says I went deer hunting, there is nothing to indicate that he or she has a specific deer in mind.
As with definiteness, there are also indeterminate forms in referentiality: the noun phrase *a deer* in *I'm going to look for a deer* could be intended either referentially or nonreferentially, depending on whether the speaker had a specific deer in mind. It is common to find nonreferential expressions incorporated with the verb (e.g., *deer hunting*).

3.5.5 More on Activation Status

D&L (2001:59) say the three activation states discussed by Chafe (active, accessible, inactive) are linguistically attested in all languages. However, it must be recognized that boundaries between states are likely to be fuzzy. Perceptually, there are bound to be many degrees of activation of entities; simply note that entities gradually fade from consciousness after being activated, unless their active status is maintained. Yet, in talking about them, speakers must choose from a range of discrete coding devices (e.g., pronouns). So the activation status of a concept is, in the final analysis, what the speaker chooses to present it to be, rather than what the analyst feels that it should be.

3.6 Discourse-Pragmatic Structuring of Sentences

The term discourse-pragmatic structure used in D&L (2001) is the same as information structure. D&L (2001:61) say that the same semantic (propositional) content can be expressed in different ways and exemplify this with (3.37).

(3.37) Joe milked the goat
The goat was milked by Joe
The goat, Joe milked
It was the goat that joe milked
It was Joe who milked the goat
Joe’s the one who milked the goat
The one who milked the goat was Joe
What Joe did to the goat was milk it
What Joe did was milk the goat
What got milked by Joe was the goat.

The reason why languages can have this kind of variation in expression is that the speaker can relate the pieces of information in a proposition in different ways to what the hearer is already aware of, i.e., to his or her current mental representation. This results in different forms of DISCOURSE-PRAGMATIC STRUCTURING which is a type of cohesion, as noted in §3.2.5. In all communication, the speaker guides the hearer in adding material to his or her mental representation; semantic content relates to what is added, whereas discourse-pragmatic structuring relates to *where* it is added and *how* it relates to what is already there.
In particular, some pieces of information merely point to something already present in the hearer’s mental representation, while other pieces are intended to change what is there. The next section begins with this difference.

3.6.1 Focus and Scope of Focus

D&L (2001:62) adopt Lambrecht’s concepts of IS outlined in §2.6.2. Specifically, D&L recognize Lambrecht’s three types of focus structure of SENTENCE FOCUS, where the whole sentence is in focus, PREDICATE FOCUS, where the predicate of the sentence is in focus, and ARGUMENT FOCUS, where an argument constituent of the sentence is in focus.

However, D&L point out that while Lambrecht’s types of scope for focus serve well as answers to questions in English, variations of constituent order within a predicate focus are often found in text material. Consequently, D&L identify a smaller constituent as focus. For this reason, they use the term COMMENT as an alternative for ‘predicate focus’, and speak of the smaller focused constituent as FOCUS PROPER or simply ‘focus’.

3.6.2 Focus, Topic, and Sentence Articulation

D&L use the different types of sentence as in Andrews (1985:77ff). In sentences with TOPIC-COMMENT articulation, topic is the entity that the utterance is primarily about (Dik 1978:130), while part or all of the comment is the focus, depending on the context. If (3.38) has topic-comment articulation, your daughter is topic and just killed a bear is comment, comprising predicate focus.

(3.38) Your daughter just killed a BEAR.

In most languages, the topic regularly precedes the comment in sentences with topic-comment articulation; new (inactive) topics apparently are not final in any language (Gundel 1988:229).

D&L treat focus and topic as pragmatic roles by analogy to semantic roles such as agent and patient. They are also called pragmatic functions (Dik 1978:128) or pragmatic relations, as discussed in §2.6.2.

Sentences with presentational articulation serve ‘to introduce an entity whose semantic role is normally expressed with the subject function’ (Andrews 1985:80; see also Lambrecht 1994:39 and Givón 1990:742ff). The intonation nucleus is generally on that entity, as in (3.39), which introduces (activates) the entity ‘bear.’

(3.39) There’s a BEAR in here!

D&L say that while many, perhaps all, languages have presentational sentences in which such a noun phrase occurs with a verb of existence,
appearance, or emergence, it is also possible to have presentational sentences with no special syntax.

(3.40) (Watch out!) That CHIMNEY’s falling down!

Cruttenden (1986) calls (3.40) an event sentence: it describes an event but is also presentational, as if drawing attention to the subject chimney effectively draws attention to the event. In both (3.39) and (3.40), the (notional) subject has the intonation nucleus, but the entire sentence presents new information (Cruttenden 1986:83; Lambrecht 1994:143f).

In sentences with FOCUS-PRESUPPOSITION articulation (Chomsky 1971:199ff; Andrews 1985:79f; Givón 1990, chapter 16), just one concept is being asserted and the rest of the information is presupposed; the focused material fills a slot in an already-activated propositional framework. For example, (3.38) would have focus-presupposition articulation in answer to a question such as ‘What did my daughter just kill?’; the presupposition would be ‘Your daughter just killed X’, where X is an unfilled slot in the mental representation.

In many languages, an element with argument focus is simply fronted (and given the intonation nucleus). This sounds odd in English, especially if the focused element is new, indefinite information.

(3.41) Focus | Presupposition
A BEAR your daughter killed.

However, English has a special syntactic construction to achieve the same pragmatic effect. (3.42) is called a CLEFT sentence: it has two clauses, the first of which contains the focused concept. According to Gundel (1988:231), ‘every language has cleft constructions.’

(3.42) Focus | Presupposition
It was A BEAR that your daughter killed.

In focus-presupposition structuring, the presupposition is typically spoken with little stress, due to its typically being given (activated) information. In fact, it is often shortened or omitted altogether, as in (3.43). The focus, however, cannot undergo ellipsis, since the utterance then would be missing its communicational ‘point.’

(3.43) (Who killed the bear?)

a. Focus | Presupposition
Your DAUGHTER did.

b. Focus | Presupposition
Your DAUGHTER Ø.
3.6.3 General Signals of Focus

Signals of focus can be phonological, morphological or syntactic. D&L (2001:65) say English is like many other languages in that the intonation nucleus (primary sentence stress) always falls within the focused constituent (Gundel 1988:230). Only a few languages, mostly tonal, do not use intonation as a signal of focus. D&L also note that written language poses a significant problem for discourse-pragmatic analysis in general: not only are spoken signals often unavailable or grossly misrepresented in written language, but the information structure is generally more complex (Chafe 1985b:111f). In fact, the written form of a language will often have different discourse-pragmatic strategies to the spoken form.

D&L (2001:65) say the unmarked position for the intonation nucleus in English is on the final lexical item of the utterance (Cruttenden 1986:82). (This is not quite accurate. The intonation nucleus in English is on the final constituent in the core.) Expressions are sometimes maneuvered to final core position in order for the intonation nucleus to fall on them, thus being clearly indicated as the focus proper (Bolinger 1952). D&L (2001:66) say this seems to be the motivation for (3.44b) as opposed to (3.44a).

(3.44) a. I gave a book to JAMES yesterday.
   b. I gave James A BOOK yesterday.

Some languages signal focus by means of special particles. D&L (2001:66) illustrate this with Ifè, a Yoruboid language spoken in Togo. In (3.45) the particle *ni* signals contrastive focus on the pronoun *òngu* ‘he’ (in contrast to someone else).

(3.45) Yoruboid language, Ifè

| Focus— |  
| òngu  | *ni*  | dzé  | ifó-mi | ē  |
| 3sg.EMPH | FOC | be | older.brother-1sg.POS | DEF |
‘HE’s the one who is my older brother.’

In Amele (Roberts 1987) the question particle *fo* can be used to signal marked focus. (3.46a) is a regular yes-no question with the question marker *fo* at the end of the sentence. Here the whole clause is in question focus. However, (3.46b) is a focused question with contrastive focus on *cabi=na* ‘to the garden’, in contrast to somewhere else.

(3.46) Amele (Papuan)

a. | —Focus— |  
| Ija=na  | caja  | cabi=na  | nu-i-a=fo  |
| 1sg=of | woman | garden=to go-3sg-TODP=QU |  
‘Did my wife go to the garden?’
All languages, in fact, appear to have modifiers that collocate with, hence help to signal, argument focus (Jackendoff 1972:249, Givón 1990:715). This is the case with the English noun modifier even.

\[
\text{(3.47) Even JAMES didn’t care to eat it.}
\]

D&L (2001:66) say most languages have special construction with an item in argument focus followed by the remainder of the clause, which provides the associated presupposition. The cleft construction of (3.42) is one example. When this means that the argument focus item is out of its normal position in the clause, it is said to be FRONTED; the focus is thus positionally marked. We can therefore think of a FRONTED POSITION which precedes the core of the clause (Van Valin 1993:5). Fronted items still take part in clause syntax; they retain case marking, for example. They may also have a pragmatic role other than focus: they may be topic, for instance, as in (3.48) from D&L (2001). In (3.48c) the topics are contrastive. Thus, fronting is commonly associated with prominence or saliency rather than with a particular pragmatic role. In some languages, two elements can be fronted: the first is generally a salient topic, and the second an element in argument focus.

\[
\text{(3.48) a. Mayan languages; here Tz'utujul (verb initial)}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Topic/\(\text{Pt of Dep}\) – Focus –} \\
\text{Ja gáarsa cheq ch'uu' neeruutij} \\
\text{the heron only fish eat} \\
\text{‘It’s only fish that the heron eats.’} \\
\text{[more literally, ‘The heron, it’s only fish that it eats.’]}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\text{b. Mbyá Guaraní (S V Complement)}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{– Topic –} \\
\text{yma-gua kuery ma mombyry ete i-kuai} \\
\text{long.ago-NOM COLL boundary far really 3-live.PL} \\
\text{‘The people of long ago, really far away they lived.’}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\text{c. Koiné Greek (VSO)}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Topic} \\
\text{Su pistin echeis} \\
\text{you faith you have}
\end{array}
\]
‘You have faith, I have works. (James 2.18)

3.6.4 Overall Structuring

D&L (2001:67-68) explain that the three types of articulation (topic-comment, presentational, focus-presupposition) discussed in §3.6.3 are manifestations of the discourse-pragmatic structure of the sentence. They adopt a version of this structure based on the extended layered structure of the sentence in RRG displayed in Figure 2.4. This schema is illustrated in Figure 3.1 and is adapted from Van Valin (1993) and Dik (1978).

LEFT-DISLOCATED ELEMENTS can include vocatives, short replies (Yes, No), exclamations, and some points of departure (see §3.6.4.1). RIGHT-DISLOCATED ELEMENTS can include vocatives, tag questions, and tails (see §3.6.4.2).

Dislocated elements are a type of adjunct in information structure, and more than one can occur in each position (Radford 1988:532f).

![Figure 3.1: The discourse-pragmatic structure of the clause](image)

3.6.4.1 Point of departure

D&L’s notion of POINT OF DEPARTURE (PoD) is from Beneš (1962). It designates an initial element, often fronted or left-dislocated, which cohesively anchors the subsequent clause(s) to something which is already in the context (i.e., something accessible in the hearer’s mental representation). It ‘sets a spatial, temporal, or individual domain within which the main predication holds’ (Chafe 1976:50). It is backward-looking, in the sense of locating the anchoring place within the existing mental representation, but is forward-looking in that it is the subsequent part of the sentence which is anchored in that place.
(3.49) Mandarin Chinese (Li and Thompson 1976:462)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individual pt of dep</th>
<th>—Topic—</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nei-xie shùmu</td>
<td>shù-shen</td>
<td>dà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>those tree</td>
<td>tree-trunk</td>
<td>big</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Those trees, the trunks are big.’

D&L distinguish PoD from (sentence) topic (see §3.6.2). In (3.49) from Mandarin Chinese, the initial noun phrase establishes an individual PoD and the following clause has a topic-comment articulation.

However, D&L note that PoDs and topics have similar characteristics. First, they both make reference to something which is currently accessible to the hearer, so as to anchor the clause (or clause core) at that place in the mental representation. Second, because PoDs and topics are accessible they will usually be definite or generic, rather than indefinite.

D&L also point out that PoDs and sentence topics are distinct from DISCOURSE TOPIC or DISCOURSE THEME (Reinhart 1982:2). Suppose we are talking about Mike’s house:

(3.50) Mike’s house was so comfortable and warm! He really didn’t want to leave, but he couldn’t afford the rent, you know. And it had such a nice garden in the back!

In the mini-discourse in (3.50), the discourse-level topic is established in the first sentence: it is Mike’s house. In the following sentence, a new ‘local’ topic is established on the sentence level: he (Mike). But the discourse-level topic is still Mike’s house, which is why the last comment does not seem out of place. There can, in fact, be discourse topics for different levels of discourse: thematic unit, episode, or the entire text; sentence topics, of course, are always associated with a particular sentence.

3.6.4.2 Tail

TAILS are right-dislocated elements which are ‘meant to clarify or modify (some constituent contained in) the predication’ (Dik 1978:153). D&L illustrate this notion with (3.51).

(3.51) a. —Clause— —Tail—
    He’s a nice chap, your brother.

b. —Clause— —Tail—
    James gave that book to a girl, in the library.

c. —Clause— —Tail—
    James won’t even be invited, eh…Bill I mean.

The tail in (3.51c) is a ‘repair device’ and the one in (3.51b), may be an ‘afterthought.’ In many languages, however, noun phrase tails like (3.51a)
are a regular, deliberate construction type (Givón 1990:760-762), and hence may represent a grammaticalization of final ‘repair’ expressions.

3.6.5 Contrast

D&L (2001:71) say material in focus typically either (1) adds new information or (2) changes part of an already-activated propositional framework by replacement or by selecting between alternatives. Possibility (1) is illustrated in examples (3.39), (3.42), and (3.43). Possibility (2) involves CONTRAST, which we discuss in this section.

A contrastive statement (which in this discussion is labeled C) differs in one or more particulars from an already-activated propositional framework (labeled P). Contrast having just one point of difference with P is called SINGLE-DIFFERENCE CONTRAST; contrast with two (or more) points of difference is called DOUBLE- (or MULTIPLE-) DIFFERENCE CONTRAST (terminology adapted from Chafe 1976; the latter type corresponds to ‘parallel contrast’ in Dik et al. 1981). In either type, a point of difference with P becomes the focus of C.

In SINGLE-DIFFERENCE CONTRAST, the one difference becomes the focus in C (Givón 1990:699) and is, in fact, narrow focus. Statement C may either replace the existing filler of a slot in P (e.g., to correct misinformation) or select between alternatives to fill an empty slot. In (3.52), C replaces the filler of a slot in P.

(3.52) I didn’t say “except”, I said “Accept”.

In (3.52), P is ‘I said Xcept,’ where X is a syllabic variable. The existing filler is the syllable ex-; the replacement is ac-. The particular intonation pattern in the clause of (3.52), indicates anticipatory or TEMPORARY FOCUS (Levinsohn 2000:55-56).

In (3.53), C selects between alternatives to fill an empty slot.

(3.53) a. Was it my son or my daughter that killed the bear

    ((P) ‘X killed the bear’; X = ‘my son’ or ‘my daughter.’)

    b. (C) Your daughter.

Note that C in (3.53) has, formally, the same narrow focus structuring as (3.43). Nevertheless, (3.43), an answer to the question “Who killed the bear?” is not contrastive; the underlying proposition has an empty slot but with no apparent list of alternatives in view. (3.53) makes a selection from an activated list of alternatives.

In DOUBLE-DIFFERENCE CONTRAST, P has two slots that are already filled, and C supplies other fillers. One of the two points of difference with P is chosen as the focus of C; the other one is commonly taken as a topic or other PoD and is generally given secondary stress, if not its own separate contour.
(3.54) presents contiguous sentences from a Tzotzil (Mayan) text (Aissen 1992:49).

(3.54) a. There was a man and a woman, newlyweds.
   b. The husband leaves, he goes, he travels.
   c. — Topic/Pt of Departure — — Comment —
      a ti antz-e jun=jo'on ta=xkom…
      TOP DET woman-ENCLITIC happily stays
      ‘The wife stays at home happily…’

In this case, the two filled slots of the first proposition P are the subject ‘the husband’ and the predicate ‘leaves, goes, travels.’ P is verbalized as (3.54b), and, in this instance, has the same topic-comment articulation as C (3.54c). The propositional framework common to P and C is ‘X Y-ed.’ In C, the X-difference becomes topic and the Y-difference becomes focus. In both slots, C replaces the fillers that P had.

3.6.6 Signals of Overall Structuring

Here D&L (2001:73) describe the types and forms of linguistic signals of discourse-pragmatic structure. This is primarily intonation contours.

In a focus-presupposition structure the focus has the intonational focus, while the presupposition carries little or no stress. This matches their discourse-pragmatic function. The focus expresses the added information and therefore takes the more prominent intonation. Dislocated elements, with their own intonation contours (and often secondary stress), are intermediate in phonological prominence, and their task of relocating a cohesive tie is intermediate in newsworthiness between focus and presupposition. Sentence topics at times have their own contour and secondary stress, depending on their activation status.

Separate intonation contours will indicate boundaries between constituents, and they are often accompanied by a pause. Pause can either be unfilled, or filled with morphemic material. A particular kind of pause filler is called a spacer (Dooley 1990:477ff). Spacers tend to be short expressions with little or no stress, whose lexical meaning has sentence scope. They may have a default grammatical position in the sentence but alternatively can be placed between constituents with distinct discourse-pragmatic roles. In English, however functions as a spacer. Its default grammatical position is at the beginning of the sentence. When it occurs after the subject, it separates it from the rest of the sentence and signals that it is also a PoD.

3.6.7 Marked versus Unmarked Structuring

D&L (2001:74) say some discourse-pragmatic configurations are susceptible to a variety of interpretations, and become general-purpose, default constructions; others are used only for specific discourse-pragmatic
purposes. Constructions of the first kind are UNMARKED CONFIGURATIONS, those of the second kind are MARKED CONFIGURATIONS. Unmarked configurations represent an ‘automatic pilot’ mode of information transfer: consecutive bits of information are being added to the mental representation in routine, predictable ways. Marked configurations represent a more ‘hands-on’ approach, being used when information transfer becomes nonroutine. Perhaps the incoming information is to be added at a new place in the mental representation; perhaps the speaker suspects that some faulty idea has slipped into the representation and needs to be corrected, etc.

It has often been claimed that, cross-linguistically, topic-comment articulation is the unmarked configuration (see Lambrecht 1994:126). Recent studies, however, have turned up languages for which that may not be the case: Ojibwa (Tomlin and Rhodes 1979), Ute (Givón 1983:141-214), Seneca (Chafe 1985a), and others (see Payne 1992:6). In some of these languages, focus-presupposition (in that order) seems to be the most common configuration.

Mithun (1987) claims that this difference is due to a more fundamental distinction. Some languages, such as English, are SYNTACTICALLY BASED: their clause constituents tend to be ordered according to grammatical rules, with real-time extragrammatical motivations surfacing only rarely. (These are also known as fixed or rigid word order languages.) For such languages, Mithun (p. 325) finds that the unmarked configuration is indeed topic-comment, with subject as topic; hence, the unmarked topic-comment configuration is subject-predicate in subject-initial languages which are syntactically based. Other configurations are marked ones, being used only for special purposes. marked structuring in these languages include focus-presupposition and presentational. They also include what she calls marked topic-comment, in which the topic is indicated linguistically as being the PoD.

In languages in which the topic/PoD is already sentence initial, it may be marked with a separate intonation contour, secondary stress, and spacers. Marked topic constructions are reserved for either double-difference contrast (see above) or a change in subtopics within an already-established referential field: both uses involve node-switching (see Aissen 1992:76f). For marked topics, the order topic-comment is cross-linguistically normative, reflecting the fact that the topic is also the PoD.

In PRAGMATICALLY BASED (free or flexible word order) languages, the order of clause constituents is less often motivated by purely syntactic conditions, but is highly responsive to discourse-pragmatic factors. In this type of language, it may be questioned whether an unmarked, neutral configuration exists. The most likely candidate is quite often one in which constituents ‘appear in descending order of newsworthiness’ (Mithun (187:325), e.g., when focus-presupposition occurs in that order.
All of the pragmatically based languages studied by Mithun have verb agreement for all subcategorized arguments, and the verb often occurs alone as a clause. In languages in which there is verb agreement for only some of these arguments or the verb does not occur alone, constituent order may not be as flexible (pp. 324f).

3.6.8 Discourse Function of Configurations

Although it is becoming clear that languages differ along the lines noted by Mithun, it is also becoming apparent that certain correspondences between discourse-pragmatic configurations and discourse functions are highly predictable across languages. Some correlations that have highly universal status are summarized in Table 3.2 (Andrews 1985; Gundel 1988; Givón 1990).

Table 3.2: Configurations and common discourse functions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Configurations</th>
<th>Common discourse functions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>point of departure</td>
<td>onset of thematic groupings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>double-difference contrast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unmarked topic + comment</td>
<td>maintaining established topic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marked topic/point of departure + comment</td>
<td>switch in subtopics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>double-difference contrast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>presentational</td>
<td>introduction of prominent entities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>focus + presupposition</td>
<td>single-difference contrast adding a new item of information to a given framework</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tail</td>
<td>clarification, afterthought</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.7 Foreground and Background Information

Several different types of binary contrast are recognized in the literature with regard to the status of information in a discourse context. The following apply primarily at the sentence level.

TOPIC and COMMENT are widely recognized. Topic is the part of the proposition that is being talked about. Comment is what is said about the topic.

THEME and RHEME from the Prague School approach of functional sentence perspective. In this theory, the theme is defined as the part of a sentence which adds least to the advancing process of communication, in
other words, it expresses relatively little (or no) extra meaning, in addition to what has already been communicated. The rheme, by contrast, carries the highest degree of communicative dynamism.

PRESUPPOSITION-ASSERTION. A presupposition is a special kind of implicit information that can be derived from a sentence. The assertion is that which is explicitly stated as the proposition.

GIVEN-NEW information. ‘Given’ refers to information already supplied by the previous linguistic context, whereas ‘new’ information has not been previously supplied. Given and new applies to the sentence but the context for establishing the given vs. new status of the information is the discourse.

3.7.1 Foreground and Background

The notion of FOREGROUND and BACKGROUND information applies primarily at the discourse level. K. Callow (1974:52-53) relates foreground in a discourse to thematic information: ‘this is what I’m talking about.’ Thematic material ‘carries the discourse forward, contributes to the progression of the narrative or argument … develops the theme of the discourse.’ In contrast, non-thematic or background material ‘serves as a commentary on the theme, but does not itself contribute directly to the progression of the theme … [it] fills out the theme but does not develop it.’

Foreground information should be distinguished from ‘foregrounding’ which refers to relative prominence in discourse, often involving deviance from a linguistic norm; the analogy is of a figure seen against a background. D&L (2001) use the term ‘highlighting’ for relative prominence in discourse to avoid confusion.

D&L (2001) say the terms foreground and background describe parts of a text which, respectively, do or do not extend the basic framework of the mental representation. If only the foreground were available, the resulting representation might be complete in its general outline, but would be sketchy. Background aids in internal and external contextualization.

Foreground and background have linguistic correlates. Hopper & Thompson (1980:252) identify a range of morphosyntactic devices with different degrees of transitivity (using the term in a broader sense than having a direct object). High transitivity correlates with foreground, low transitivity with background, as illustrated in Table 3.3.

Consider (3.55) (from Hopper & Thompson 1980:253):

(3.55) a. Jerry likes beer.
   b. Jerry knocked Sam down.

(3.55b) is much higher in transitivity than (3.55a) because it has action kinesis, telic aspect, and punctuality, while the O (Sam) is totally affected and is high in individuation (i.e., is referential, animate, and a proper noun).
Because of this, Hopper & Thompson predict that (3.55b) is much more likely than (3.55a) to occur as foreground.

Nevertheless, although there appears to be a general correlation between transitive morphosyntax and foreground information, the correlation between any single parameter and foregrounding is only partial; the relationship with grounding may be indirect, correlating more closely with other factors (DeLancey 1987:54f).

Table 3.3: Scale of transitivity of a clause (A = agent, O = object)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>High transitivity</th>
<th>Low transitivity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participants</td>
<td>2 or more</td>
<td>A &amp; O 1 participant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I saw the man</td>
<td>I fell</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinesis</td>
<td>action</td>
<td>non-action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I hugged Sally</td>
<td>I like Sally</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspect</td>
<td>telic</td>
<td>atelic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I ate it up</td>
<td>I am eating it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punctuality</td>
<td>punctiliar</td>
<td>durative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I kicked it</td>
<td>I carried it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volitionality</td>
<td>volitional</td>
<td>non-volitional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I wrote your name</td>
<td>I forgot your name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affirmation</td>
<td>affirmative</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I did it</td>
<td>I didn’t do it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mode</td>
<td>realis</td>
<td>irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I did it</td>
<td>I would do it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agency</td>
<td>A high in potency</td>
<td>A low in potency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George startled me</td>
<td>The picture startled me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affectedness of O</td>
<td>O totally affected</td>
<td>O not totally affected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I drank the milk</td>
<td>I drank some of the milk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individuation of O</td>
<td>O highly individuated</td>
<td>O non-individuated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fritz drank the beer</td>
<td>Fritz drank some beer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.7.2 Events

The foreground-background distinction offers a binary choice. Grimes (1975) provides finer distinctions, at least for narrative. ‘The first distinction made in the analysis of discourse is between events and nonevents’ (Grimes, 35); this is a way of talking about foreground versus background which applies specifically to narrative. An EVENT is an action or happening which
extends the basic structure of the mental representation. It is presented as happening at a particular time and place, and is generally told in temporal sequence with other events.

Events in a narrative make up what is sometimes called the event line (story line, main line, time line). The event line is the foreground, the basic framework for internal contextualization.

It is sometimes useful to distinguish between two kinds of events, here referred to as primary and secondary (following Huisman 1973). In general, primary events have greater informational salience and secondary ones have less. More specific differences will depend on the language. In Angaataaha, for instance, this distinction is marked on the verb (Huisman, 30f). In many languages, however, the distinction is not made systematically.

3.7.3 Nonevents

Nonevents are of various types. Grimes (1975) lists six: participant orientation, setting, explanation, evaluation, discourse irrealis, and performative information. These categories are not always mutually exclusive; bits of information in a text can belong to more than one, having more than one discourse function. Quite often, different kinds of information are mixed together in a single utterance, particularly in tightly crafted written material.

PARTICIPANT ORIENTATION has the purpose of introducing, reintroducing, or describing participants. Participant orientation may be given before its relevance to the story is clear. For major participants, it often comes first.

SETTING information indicates the time, place, or circumstances under which events take place. In such statements we note that setting often goes beyond the more obvious kinds of circumstances ‘to encompass the psychological climate that anticipates a beginning narrative event’ (Ochs 1997:196).

EXPLANATION or comment clarifies what is happening, and possibly why (this can relate to either internal or external contextualization). Sometimes, happenings may be told as background, especially if out of temporal sequence with the events per se.

EVALUATION is an expression of external contextualization: ‘the point of the narrative..., why it was told, and what the narrator is getting at’ (Labov 1972:366). Alternatively, it may tell how the speaker feels about just one item. Evaluation can be either direct, in which the narrator will, so to speak, ‘stop the narrative, turn to the listener, and tell him what the point is’ (p. 371), or indirect, attributed to a participant in the text world, through words or actions. Indirect evaluation is more subtle, hence often more effective.

DISCOURSE IRREALIS (which Grimes calls collateral information) mentions what does not happen, or what could possibly happen, as a means of
highlighting what actually does happen. Common forms of irrealis are negation (such-and-such did not happen) and possible outcomes. The latter category includes questions (could she escape?), desires/plans (he wanted to escape), and conflict/obstacles (the rope wouldn’t let him escape). Possible outcomes provide strong cohesive ties pointing forward in the text: the hearer’s interest is aroused to find out which actually happens and how.

PERFORMATIVE INFORMATION (Grimes, Chapter 5) deals with aspects of the situation under which the text is produced, especially the speaker-hearer axis. This comes out when the speaker speaks in first person to the hearer in second person. Also included in this category are morals, conclusions, and applications to the audience, which also overlap with evaluation.

3.7.4 Signals of Kinds of Information

Correlations between linguistic signals and kinds of information, even though partial, are valuable to the analyst. Here we consider aspect, subordination, and quoted conversation.

ASPECT is represented in Hopper & Thompson’s list (61), and its relation to discourse is further dealt with in Hopper 1982. ‘In PERFECTIVE aspect,… a situation is seen as a whole, regardless of the time contrasts which may be a part of it… IMPERFECTIVE… draws attention to the internal time-structuring of the situation’ (Crystal 1997:283).

SUBORDINATE CLAUSES most frequently present background information (Givón 1984:314, Thompson 1987); main clauses can present background or foreground. This picture is somewhat complicated by two facts: (i) ‘many languages do not make a clear morphosyntactic distinction between coordinate and subordinate constructions’ (Givón 1990:848), and (ii) post-nuclear subordinate clauses can encode foreground (Thompson 1987:451). In English, postposed as- and when-clauses commonly provide information which is at least as salient as that of the preceding main clause (Levinsohn 1992).

In REPORTED CONVERSATION, three things need to be considered: the act of speaking, the speech content, and the event being talked about. The act of speaking may or may not be an event, while the content is often some type of nonevent.

3.7.5 Markedness in Grounding

Typically, the body of a text is UNMARKED for prominence. Thus, the storyline or foreground events of a narrative do not normally carry a marker. Some sentences, however, may be MARKED as conveying information of special importance; in other words, they are highlighted. Similarly, other sentences may be marked as background information — they convey information of secondary importance.
The HIGHLIGHTING of an utterance is usually because of its importance to how a narrative ‘comes out’ or to its evaluation. Linguistic signals are used to indicate highlighted status. Fronted expressions can indicate a highlighted episode, as can other emotive words within such an episode. In many languages, a full noun phrase can be used to highlight a key event (Levinsohn 1998, Section 8.2).

A clause can be signalled as background when, without such marking, it would be interpreted as foreground. The conjunction whereas does this in English, although it is not used widely in narrative.

3.8 Signaling Relations between Propositions

Propositions comprising the content framework of a discourse are related, not only in a hierarchy (as we would find in an outline), but also by specific SEMANTIC RELATIONS. D&L (2001:87) illustrate this with (3.56), cited from Mann and Thompson (1987:13ff).

(3.56) Title: Dioxin (from Scientific American)

a. Concern that this material is harmful to health or the environment may be misplaced.

b. Although it is toxic to certain animals.

c. Evidence is lacking that it has any serious long-term effect on human beings.

d. Analysis:

```
 a-c
   /\   elaboration
  /   \
 a   b-c

concession

 b   c
```

Diagram (3.56d) can be read as follows. Propositions b and c form a unit that is an elaboration of a. Proposition b, in turn, is a concession to c. Whereas concession in (3.56) is coded explicitly by although, the relation of elaboration is implicit: no linguistic material occurs that means ‘elaboration.’ Yet the existence of some kind of semantic relation between a and the unit b-c is implied by the juxtaposition of these sentences.
Diagram (3.56d) uses the notion of relative prominence of semantic relations developed by Mann and Thompson (1987:31f), who observe that in many relations

one member of the pair [the nucleus] is more essential to the writer’s purpose than the other [the satellite]…. If units that only function as satellites and never as nuclei are deleted, we should still have coherent text with a message resembling that of the original; it should be something like a synopsis of the original text.

Thus, the arrows in (3.56d) indicate that what is being elaborated (proposition \( a \)) is more essential than the elaboration (\( b-c \)), and what is being conceded to (\( c \)) is more important than the concession (\( b \)). Prominence of this kind appears to be closely related to the foreground-background distinction discussed in §3.7.

3.8.1 The Preferred Order of Propositions in VO and OV Languages

Greenberg (1963) showed that there is a correlation between the normal order of certain pairs of grammatical elements and the normal order of verb and object. For example, if the object usually follows the verb (VO), then the language tends to have prepositions, auxiliary verbs before the main verb, and noun heads before modifying relative clauses. If the object usually precedes the verb (OV), on the other hand, then the language tends to have postpositions, auxiliary verbs after the main verb, and noun heads after modifying relative clauses.

Roberts (1997) found that this correlation extends to the order of propositions that are in a relationship of ‘unequal natural prominence’ (p. 20). In prototypical VO languages, the preferred order is for the more prominent proposition to be given first, whereas, in prototypical OV languages, the opposite order is preferred. For example, it is normal in VO languages for a reason clause to follow the main proposition it supports, but to precede the main proposition in OV languages. Similarly, when a positive assertion is supported by a negative statement, the negative proposition tends to follow the positive one in VO languages, but precede it in OV languages. D&L (2001:89) illustrated these preferences with (3.57).

(3.57) VO main proposition: Which we decided we would do
positive reason: since we wanted to get to Omaha
negative reason: and not stay in Minneapolis all night in the train station

OV negative reason: We wanted not to stay in Minneapolis all night in the train station
positive reason: but get to Omaha
main proposition: so we decided to do that.
(3.57) presents a portion from an English text, first of all with the propositions set out in the order preferred by a VO language (which English is), and then with the same propositions set out in the order preferred by an OV language. Typically, when the preferred order of propositions is followed, the semantic relationship between them may be left implicit, whereas, if the language permits the order of propositions to be reversed, then the relationship has to be made explicit. In the original, VO version of (3.57), for example, when the positive reason is followed by the negative one, the default conjunction and is used. When the order is reversed in the OV version, but is used.

3.8.2 Some Constraints on Semantic Relations

D&L (2001:90) note that when semantic relations are not coded explicitly and completely, linguistic clues are often furnished which help to narrow down the range of possible interpretations. They consider four clues, intonation, the order of elements, expectation structures, and morphemic signals, which can place a broad constraint on semantic interpretations.

3.8.3 Connectives

The most obvious kind of clue constraining the interpretation of a semantic relation over against another is morphemic. This is often a connective, such as a CONJUNCTION.

Connectives may signal very specific semantic relations, such as concession—conveyed in (3.56d) by the conjunction although. Often, however, they only provide a general semantic pointer to the relation, leaving the hearer to deduce a more specific relation with the help of the context.

Such is the case with because, which can sometimes be used to introduce the reason for an action, e.g., I led the way because I had my boots, or the means of doing an action, e.g., And that worked pretty well because sitting on the floor, the kids could lay down on the floor and go to sleep. The presence of because itself, however, only constrains the hearer to interpret what follows as STRENGTHENING what has just been said.

Similarly, but provides a general pointer that what follows COUNTERS some expectation created by a previous proposition or group of propositions, but does not signal any more specific relation such as antithesis, concession, contrast.

3.8.3.1 Associatives

Some connectives signal little if any semantic relation between propositions. For example, when and links propositions in English it says nothing about the semantic relation between them. This can be illustrated with
(3.58), where possible semantic relations between the propositions concerned are indicated in parenthesis.

(3.58)  
  a. I like her, and she likes me. (reciprocity)  
  b. I hit her, and she hit me. (sequence)  
  c. She apologized, and now I’m happy. (result)

In (3.58) the semantic relations in parentheses are plausible interpretations, given the content. However, they are not actually encoded by and.

Nevertheless, and does contain a specific instruction to the hearer: ASSOCIATE these propositions together! In other words, and is a PRAGMATIC CONNECTIVE that constrains the hearer to process together the material thus associated.

3.8.3.2 Additives

Some ADDITIVE connectives instruct the hearer to find a PARALLEL PROPOSITION to which to append the current one. In English also is used for this purpose. For example, ‘X speaks German’ is what (3.59b) adds to the parallel proposition in (3.59a) ‘Francois speaks perfect English.’ What is different from the first proposition, can be expected to be (in) the focus of the second one.

(3.59)  
  a. Francois speaks perfect English.  
  b. He also speaks German.  
  c. He speaks German too.

The additive too has a similar function to also in English, but whereas the default position for also is immediately preceding the material that adds to the parallel proposition (3.60b), the default position for too is after this material (3.61c).

Some languages are very specific as to what is to be added to what. This may be indicated by the position of the additive. Alternatively, the language may use distinct additives if a different subject or a different predicate is to be appended. In such languages, one additive (indicated here by +) would be used in James has a computer. Susan + has one, whereas another one would be used in James is good at sports. He is + a good linguist.

It is not unusual for an additive to be used not only when a parallel proposition is to be found, but also when a contradictory proposition is appended. The pragmatic effect produced when this happens is that of CONCESSION, as in He saw the man lying at the side of the road. + He didn’t stop to help.

D&L (2001) say additives are also used in some languages to confirm a previous proposition. And sometimes they are used instead of associative conjunctions to append information of UNEQUAL IMPORTANCE.
3.8.3.3 Developmental markers

Whereas connectives like *and* and some additives instruct the hearer to associate information together, some conjunctions convey the opposite and constrain the reader to *move on to the next point*. D&L (2001:93) call these connectives DEVELOPMENTAL MARKERS because they indicate that the material so marked represents a new development in the story or argument, as far as the author’s purpose is concerned. New developments typically involve a change of spatiotemporal setting or circumstances, a change in the underlying subject, or a change to or from a background comment.

Particularly in SOV languages that have clause chaining with switch-reference markers on the verb, a development marker is often attached to the end of a cosubordinate clause to mark the transition to the development described in the next clause. The absence of the marker, or its replacement by an additive, indicates that the same point is still being developed.

A developmental marker may also be attached to sentence introducers, to indicate that the sentence concerned represents a new development in the story or argument. It may also be attached to references to participants, to indicate that the next development(s) will involve the participant concerned.

Developmental markers in VO languages have been found to be either conjunctions or particles associated with the verb phrase.

Typically, developmental markers are not used in a narrative until the scene has been set for the theme-line events.

3.9 The Reporting of Conversation

D&L (2001:97) say that reported conversations tend not to be structured like ordinary narrative events. For example, references to a speaker who was previously the addressee may not follow the coding rules for other changes of subject. It is common, too, for the verb used to introduce reported speech to be in the imperfective, rather than the perfective, or not to be conjugated at all.

D&L also define the following terms. A SPEECH ORIENTER is an expression which indicates who is speaking to whom. Depending on the language and other factors, speech orienters may occur before the speech, after the speech, both before and after the speech, or even in the middle of the speech. The orienter may also be omitted.

The term CLOSED CONVERSATION refers to one in which each new speaker and addressee is drawn from the speakers and addressees of previous speeches of that conversation.

Speech orienters are affected by whether the conversation is closed or not. For example, in some languages once the participants in a closed conversation have been established, the speech orienters may be omitted until the
direction of the conversation is changed. In such cases, at the point where a conversation ceases to be closed a speech orienter has to be used.

3.9.1 The Presentation of Speech

A basic distinction in the way speech is reported is between DIRECT SPEECH, INDIRECT SPEECH, and SEMIDIRECT SPEECH. In direct speech, the speaker is referred to with a first person pronoun and the addressee with a second person pronoun. In indirect speech, references to the speaker and addressee are indirect: with a third person pronoun or, in the case of the speaker, with a LOGOPHORIC PRONOUN, i.e., one that refers to the speaker. In semidirect speech, one of the references is direct and one, indirect. For example, it is common in languages of West Africa for the reference to the addressee to be direct, but for the reference to the speaker to use a logophoric pronoun (LOG), as in *James said LOG can see you*. The use of direct versus indirect speech may be related to the speaker’s purpose in referring to the speech, in particular, whether he or she wishes the hearer to believe that the message being reported is given verbatim or not. Li (1986:38ff) says that, by using direct speech in European languages, ‘the reporter-speaker intends for the hearer to believe that the form, the content and the nonverbal messages such as gestures and facial expressions of the reported speech originate from the reported speech.’ In indirect speech, on the other hand, ‘the reporter-speaker may communicate his own feelings through the form (e.g., intonation) and nonverbal messages of the reported speech as a comment on the content of the reported speech.’

In some languages, factors that determine whether a reported speech is direct or indirect are basically syntactic:

- certain sentence types such as questions may have to be reported as direct speech
- speeches reported in subordinate clauses may have to be given in indirect or semidirect speech
- if the speaker or addressee is referred to in the speech, it may have to be reported in indirect or semidirect form.

In other languages, the way the speech is reported is determined by discourse-pragmatic factors, such as:

- the prominence of the speech. In Bafut (Cameroon), for example, the default way of reporting speech is in semidirect form. Direct speech is used for highlighting, while the indirect forms is reserved for speech of a background nature.
- the relative status of the participants. The pronouncements of particularly important participants (‘VIPs’) are given in direct
speech, and those of other participants in indirect or semidirect speech.

- an approaching *climax*. In languages which normally use an orienter with reported speech, for instance, a shift to drama (i.e., with the orienters omitted) often occurs in the build-up to a climax.

3.9.2 The Type of Information of Reported Conversation

Typically, in narratives, reported conversations are not an end in themselves, but point forward to the nonspeech events which form the foreground of the story. Furthermore, if a reported conversation consists of several speeches, they are often not treated as the equivalent of that many individual events. This may be reflected in the speech orienters in at least three ways (more than one of which may be used at the same time).

- The verb or the speech orienter may be in the imperfective aspect or take some other marker that elsewhere tends to correlate with backgrounded information (see §3.7).
- Developmental markers (see §3.8.3.3) may be attached to descriptions of nonverbal events, but not normally be found in speech orienters. In other words, the reported speeches may not be treated as new developments in the narrative.
- Especially in oral texts, reported speeches may be grouped into adjacency pairs consisting of an initiating move (IM) and a resolving move (RM). The most common pairs consist of a question plus an answer, a remark plus an evaluation, and a proposal plus its (often nonverbal) implementation. In some languages, such adjacency pairs may begin with a pre-speech orienter and end with a post-speech orienter, as in the question-answer pair in (3.62):

(3.62) I asked, “What time is it?” (IM)
    “It’s four o’clock,” he replied. (RM)

Alternatively, reported speeches may be treated as foreground events. This is particularly evident in reporting of what are essentially speech happenings, such as arguments, debates, and trials.

3.9.3 Changes of Direction in Reported Conversations

Sometimes, instead of taking up the same topic as that of the previous speech and developing the conversation from the point at which the last speaker left off, the new speaker may change the direction of the conversation with a countering move. Such counters generally are marked in some way.

In Koiné Greek, for instance, the verb *apokrinomai*, which is usually glossed as ‘answer’, typically signals a change of direction in a reported
conversation. This is illustrated in (3.63), reflecting Acts 9.10-14; (3.63d) reports an objection to the instruction (proposal) of (3.63c).

(3.63) a. The Lord said to him in a vision, “Ananias.”
   b. He said, “Here I am, Lord.”
   c. The Lord said to him, “Rise and go to the street called Straight, and at the house of Judas look for a man of Tarsus named Saul…”
   d. Ananias answered, “Lord, I have heard from many about this man, how much evil he has done…”

In languages that use a developmental marker, this marker is likely to be used in connection with a change of direction in a reported conversation. It is normal, also for a noun to refer to the speaker of such a speech, even when a pronoun would otherwise be expected.

In languages which group reported speeches into adjacency pairs, the way a countering move (CM) is introduced typically identifies it as beginning a pair rather than ending the one opened by the previous question or other initiative. In such a language, the exchange of (3.63) might be reported as in (3.64), with (3.64d) beginning a new adjacency pair.

(3.64) a. The Lord said to him in a vision, “Ananias.” (IM)
   b. “Here I am, Lord,” he replied. (RM)
   c. The Lord said to him, “Rise and go to the street called Straight, and at the house of Judas look for a man of Tarsus named Saul…” (IM)
   d. Ananias said, “Lord, I have heard from many about this man, how much evil he has done…” (CM/IM)

3.10 Participant Reference

D&L (2001) have three short chapters on participant reference. In these chapters they succinctly describe the basic notions of reference, strategies of reference and a methodology for analyzing reference patterns.

3.10.1 Basic Notions of Reference

There are two reasons why we need to know how participants and other entities are referred to throughout a discourse, Firstly, a hearer (or analyst) needs to be able to understand who is doing what to whom. Secondly, a producer of discourse needs to be able to make the same kind of information clear to the hearers or readers. The basic form and function of patterns of reference in narrative discourse are as follows.
3.10.1.1 Linguistic devices for reference

Givón (1983:18) provides a well-known scale of linguistic devices that are used in languages for reference:

(3.65) Scale of coding weight for referring expressions

Most Coding Material  full noun phrases
                stressed/independent pronouns
                unstressed/bound pronouns (‘agreement’)

Least Coding Material  zero anaphora

Here, zero anaphora refers to lack of any explicit referring device, even agreement. (3.65) can be thought of as a scale of linguistic salience which matches up in an iconic way with informational salience, according to the general principles that linguistic salience increases with informational salience (Givón loc. cit. and 1990:969).

Languages differ in what referring devices are available with lower weight than full noun phrases.

- Isolating languages have little or no agreement; other languages have verb agreement with up to three arguments.
- So-called ‘pro-drop’ languages commonly do without free arguments (another sense in which zero anaphora is used), whereas free arguments are the norm in languages like English.
- Languages vary greatly in categories of information carried by pronouns and agreement. Some systems signal only person; others signal person, number, gender or noun class, honorific status, etc.

What this means is that the specific levels in (3.65) are not the same in all languages. Still, each language will have its own version of such a scale, and the same generalization will hold.

3.10.1.2 Functions of referential systems

A viable system of reference in any language must accomplish three kinds of tasks:

(3.66) Three tasks of a scheme of reference:

Semantic  identify the referents unambiguously, distinguishing them from other possible ones
Discourse-pragmatic  signal the activation status and prominence of the referents or the actions they perform
Processing  overcome disruptions in the flow of information
With regard to the semantic task, explicitness in identification is a relative notion: very rarely are referents identified in a completely explicit way. Typically, the object is not to distinguish the referent from all other theoretically possible ones, but rather from other practically possible ones in the domain of discourse established. Predictably, when there is more than one plausible referent in a given context, the identifying expression will be more specific. In general, the semantic part of the referring task predicts that the amount of coding material in a referring expression increases with the danger of ambiguity.

With regard to the discourse-pragmatic task in (3.66), the amount of coding material in a reference varies with the referent’s status in activation or prominence: the higher the activation status, the less coding material is necessary. Using the notions discussed in §3.5, we can say that participants are activated (or reactivated), maintained in active status, and deactivated. Activation is commonly accomplished with a full noun phrase. If the participant will be prominent in the text, an initial activating noun phrase is often prominent as well in the discourse-pragmatic structuring: such a noun phrase is often the focus and may even appear in a presentational construction. Maintaining a participant in active status requires only minimal coding (agreement or pronouns). Deactivation is often done without formal means. This means that the participant central to the story, once activated, will typically require only minimum coding, whereas referents of short-term significance may have full descriptive noun phrases.

With regard to the processing task, more coding material is generally needed whenever the flow of information is disrupted. Disruptions in narrative occur at breaks in thematic continuity and possibly when there is a change in type of information. At such places, coding for reference generally increases.

Thus, the three tasks of a system of reference (semantics, discourse-pragmatics, processing) all illustrate the iconic principle presented in connection with (3.65).

3.10.2 Strategies of Reference


3.10.2.1 Sequential (look-back) strategies

There are different kinds of sequential or look-back strategies, but they have three things in common. First, they are concerned with how to identify the referent of expressions that are lower than full noun phrases on the coding scale (3.65). Second, these strategies identify the referents of such expressions by noting what or who was mentioned most recently and are
perhaps restricted to a certain category, such as subject. Third, sequential strategies make no reference to discourse organization (Fox 1987:158).

In a sequential strategy, ‘the reference of [other than a full noun phrase] is normally taken from the nearest candidate word before it’ (Grimes 1978: viii). By ‘candidate word’ or phrase is meant an antecedent that agrees with the reference in relevant categories, e.g. number, gender, that has an animacy category appropriate in that proposition, and that is plausible in terms of the current expectation structure.

English makes some use of a subject-oriented sequential strategy, according to Fox (1987:162, 170f). Unless other factors intervene, a subject pronoun refers to the subject of the preceding clause – if the gender is right. Fox claims that sequential strategies account for a high percentage of the available cross-linguistic data on reference (pp.158f). However, she rejects them as a comprehensive description of reference because they disregard discourse structure and have too many exceptions. Tomlin’s (1987:456 criticism is similar. Thus sequential strategies do not usually account for all aspects of reference in a language.

3.10.2.2 VIP strategies

In a VIP (very important person) strategy, ‘one referent is distinguished from the rest when introduced, and a special set of terms refer to it no matter how many other things have been mentioned more recently’ (Grimes 1987: viii). A VIP can be identified either on the global level (for the text as a whole), or on a local level (for a particular thematic grouping). For whatever level a participant is VIP, that part of the text is in some sense about that participant: that part of the mental representation will be linked to the VIP in a special way. This structuring of the mental representation will typically involve linguistic signals and not just some idea of prominence. Here, as elsewhere, we are concerned with linguistic patterns; these normally turn out to be indicators of content-based categories.

3.10.3 A Methodology for Analyzing Reference Patterns

The methodology for analyzing reference patterns proposed in D&L (2001:127-135) has the following steps:

1. Draw up an inventory of ways of encoding references to participants.
2. Prepare a chart of participant encoding in a text.
3. Allocate a number to each participant that is referred to more than once in the text.
4. Identify the context in which each reference to a participant occurs:
   S1 the subject is the same as in the previous clause or sentence
S2 the subject was the addressee of a speech reported in the previous sentence (in a closed conversation)
S3 the subject was involved in the previous sentence in a non-subject role other than in a closed conversation
S4 other changes of subject than those covered by S2 and S3

5. Propose default encodings for each context, e.g.
   S1 Ø (with verb agreement)
   S2 NP
   S3 NP
   S4 NP

6. Inspect the text for other than default encoding, e.g.
   2b S4: less than default
   4a S3: less than default
   4b-6 S1: default
   7 S2: default

When the coding material is less than the default amount, this is typically because the referent is a VIP; there is only one major participant on stage, or a cycle of events is being repeated.

When the coding material is more than the default amount, this typically occurs immediately following points of discontinuity and in connection with information highlighting.

7. Incorporate any modifications to the proposals in 5.

8. Generalize the motivations for deviances from the default encoding.
4. Constituent Order in the Clause

In this chapter we look at the factors that control the order of constituents in the Persian clause. This discussion is based on the orderings observed in the text corpus as well as on information from the linguistic literature.

In §4.1 we look at the orderings of non-core elements, i.e. oblique phrases expressing time setting, spatial setting, source, instrument, benefactive, goal, etc. Categorically, such phrases can be either a prepositional phrase (PP) or a referential phrase (RP). Together we call them XPs. We find, firstly, that the basic or most neutral order is determined by the semantic properties of the XPs rather than their categorical properties. Thus a temporal XP occurs before a locative XP as the default order, but these oblique phrases can be either a PP or a RP, categorically. What determines the order is whether the XP is semantically a temporal expression or a locative expression. We also look at the discourse functions of placing these oblique XPs in either clause initial or clause final position.

In §4.2 we investigate the motivation for variant orderings of the core arguments subject and (direct) object in the Persian clause. In particular, we look at what motivates the placement of the definite direct object before most oblique XPs in the clause. The motivation we suggest is based on the principles of information flow rather than syntactic or semantic factors.

4.1 Order of Non-core Elements

Mahootian (1997:50-51) says that sentences with many arguments are less common than sentences with relatively few arguments. However, in an argument-laden sentence she gives the neutral order of constituents, as in (4.1).


She presents (4.2) as a sentence with a fairly neutral constituent order. Persian is a pro-drop language, so a pronominal subject is normally omitted.

(4.2) (man) har ruz bā otobus be madrese mi-r-am (PN.1sg) every day by bus to school IPFV-go.PRES-1sg
‘I go to school by bus every day.’
Mahootian (1997:52-53) also says that the position of adverbial expressions of time, place, and manner within the sentence is fairly free. These items can occur in any of the x positions in (4.3) with regard to the core arguments and the verb. The postverbal position is restricted primarily to goal arguments and is more a feature of spoken than written Persian. Mahootian does claim some restrictions on the placement of adverbials of time and place when they are prepositional phrases. She says the locative PP does not occur after the verb and that the temporal PP does not occur before the subject.

(4.3) x (SU) x IO x DO x V (x)

Mahootian’s claims on constituent order in Persian require some qualification, however. The position of the direct object in (4.1) only applies if it is definite. When the direct object is indefinite, then the default position is immediately preceding the verb. Examples of the following combinations are given from Māhi siāh=e kučulu (MSK) ‘The Little Black Fish’: (4.4) PP\_BEN + DO\_INDEF, (4.5) PP\_GOAL + DO\_INDEF, (4.6) PP\_REC + DO\_INDEF, (4.7) PP\_ADDRESSEE + DO\_INDEF, (4.8) PP\_LOC + DO\_INDEF, (4.9) PP\_SRC + DO\_INDEF, and (4.10) PP\_MAN + DO\_INDEF.

(4.4) MSK 3: PP\_BEN + DO\_INDEF
va barā=(y)e ānhā qesse mi-goft
and for=EZ PN.3pl story IPFV-say.PAST.3sg
‘and was telling a story to them.’

(4.5) MSK 270: PP\_GOAL + DO\_INDEF
be mā čiz-hā=(y)i yād dād-i
to PN.1pl thing-PL=IND memory give.PAST-2sg
‘(and) taught us things’

(4.6) MSK 682: PP\_REC + DO\_INDEF
xoršid be man nur mi-dah-ad
sun to PN.1sg light IPFV-give.PRES-3sg
‘the sun gives me light’

(4.7) MSK 259: PP\_ADDRESSEE + DO\_INDEF
māhi kučulu digar bā ānhā harf=i na-dāšt
fish little other with PN.3pl word=IND NEG-have.PAST.3sg
‘The little fish didn’t have anything else to say to them.’

(4.8) MSK 634: PP\_LOC + DO\_INDEF
zan-ān o doxtar-ān=e deh tu=(y)e rudxāne
woman-PL and girl-PL=EZ village in=EZ river
zarf o lebās mi-šost-and
dish and clothing IPFV-wash.PAST-3pl
‘The women and girls of the village washed their dishes and clothes in the river.’

(4.9) MSK 1091: \( \text{PP}_{\text{SRC}} + \text{DO}_{\text{INDEF}} \)

\begin{align*}
\text{ammā} & \text{ az māhi siāh=e kučulu hič xabar=i} \\
\text{but from fish black=EZ little not sign=IND} \\
\text{na-šod} & \\
\text{NEG-become.PAST.3sg} \\
\end{align*}

‘But there was not a sign of the little black fish.’

(4.10) MSK 563: \( \text{PP}_{\text{MAN}} + \text{DO}_{\text{INDEF}} \)

\begin{align*}
\text{yek jā āhu=(y)i bā ajale āb mi-xord} \\
\text{one place gazelle=IND with haste water IPFV-drink.PAST.3sg} \\
\end{align*}

‘In one place, a gazelle was hurriedly drinking water.’

Note that, whereas in Persian it is possible to place any peripheral adjunctive XP between the verb and any of its arguments, as in (4.3), this is not the case with a language like English. As illustrated in (4.11), English does not readily allow adjunctive XPs to be placed between the verb and its arguments. English syntactic structure is controlled much more by rules of constituent adjacency than Persian, e.g., the RP immediately following the verb must be direct object and the RP immediately preceding the verb must be subject,. By contrast, in Persian, the placement of core and peripheral constituents within the clause is determined more by semantic and pragmatic factors than by principles of constituent structure.

(4.11) a. Alan (today) ran (*today) a marathon (today).
    c. Celia (*from the waiter) took (?from the waiter) the menu (from the waiter).
    d. Alan (*for Celia) cooked (?for Celia) a meal (for Celia).
    e. Freda (*with a spoon) ate (*with a spoon) her spaghetti (with a spoon).

Before we look at the discourse function of variant orderings of peripheral elements in the clause we need to establish the syntactic structure. From an RRG perspective, the syntactic structure of the default order given in (4.2) would be represented as in Figure 4.1.

The RP \textit{har ruz} ‘every day’ functions as a temporal peripheral modifier of the core and the PP \textit{bā otobus} ‘by bus’ functions as an instrumental peripheral modifier of the core. However, the PP \textit{be madrese} ‘to school’ functions as both a peripheral modifier and an argument of the verb. It is termed an argument adjunct. The goal PP \textit{be madrese} ‘to school’ changes the logical structure (LS) of the verb \textit{raftan} ‘go’ from an activity predicate into
an active accomplishment, in which case the goal PP becomes part of the logical structure of the verb.

Cross-linguistically, peripheral adjuncts can modify different levels of the clause structure. There are two types of non-arguments or adjuncts that can function in the periphery: phrasal adjuncts such as PPs and RPs, and non-phrasal adjuncts such as adverbs. PP adjuncts modify the core and different types of adverbial adjuncts can modify the nucleus, core or clause. This is illustrated in Figure 4.2 with examples from English.

Figure 4.1: Structure and semantics of unmarked peripheral modifiers in the clause

LS: **har ruz’** [**do’** (1sg, [**use’** (1sg, otobus)])] & [**do’** (1sg, [**go’** (1sg)])] & [**INGR be-at’** (madrese, 1sg)]

‘I go to school by bus every day.’

Figure 4.2: Scope of peripheral modifiers in the clause
While the placement of peripheral modifiers in the clause in Persian is relatively free, there are two positions which have a significant discourse function, viz. the clause initial position and the postverbal position. The clause initial position is used to cohesively anchor the subsequent clause(s) to something which is already in the context (i.e. to something accessible in the hearer’s mental representation). The postverbal position can be used to indicate what is and is not a mainline event in the discourse context.

We will discuss the clause initial position first. (4.10) provides an example of a clause initial locative RP, and the syntactic and semantic structure of this sentence is given in Figure 4.3.

Figure 4.3: Syntactic and semantic structure of clause initial locative XP

The locative RP *yek jā ‘one place’ occurs in the PreCore Slot (PrCS) as it is a temporal peripheral modifier and modifies the whole clause rather than just the core, as *har ruz ‘every day’ does in Figure 4.1. If we added another clause, as in (4.12), then *yek jā ‘one place’ would modify both clauses.

(4.12) *yek jā āhu=(y)i bā ajale āb mi-xord
one place gazelle=IND with haste water IPFV-drink.PAST.3sg
va lākpošt-hā dar garmā=(y)e āftāb čort mi-zad-and
and tortoise-PL in warmth=EZ sun snooze IPFV-hit.PAST-3pl

‘In one place a gazelle was hurriedly drinking water and some tortoises were snoozing in the warmth of the sun.’

Now contrast (4.12) with (4.13). In (4.13) *yek jā ‘one place’ only modifies the first clause and contrasts with *jā=(y)e digar ‘another place’ which
modifies the following coordinate clause. In (4.13) both the locative RP *yek jā* ‘one place’ and the locative RP *jā=(y)e digar* ‘another place’ function in the PreCore Slot (PrCS) of each coordinated clause.

(4.13) MSK 574-575

*yek jā lākpošt-hā dar garmā=(y)e āftāb*
*one place tortoise-PL in warmth=EZ sun*

čort mi-zad-and va jā=(y)e digar
snooze IPFV-hit.PAST-3pl and place=EZ other

*qahqahe=(y)e kabk-hā tu=(y)e darre mi-pićid*
*boister=EZ partridge-PL in=EZ valley IPFV-turn.PAST.3sg*

‘In one place, some tortoises were snoozing in the warmth of the sun and in another place the boisterous laughing of partridges echoed through the valley.’

The same principles apply when a temporal XP occurs clause initially. In (4.14), for example, the temporal PP occurs in the PrCS of the first clause and has scope over both the coordinated clauses. Note that this example is contra Mahootian’s claim that the temporal PP does not occur before the subject.

(4.14) MSK 125-126

dar in vaqt māhi=(y)e bozorg=i be xāne=(y)e ānhā
*in this time fish big=IND to house=EZ PN.3pl*

nazdik šod va goft
*near become.PAST.3sg and say.PAST.3sg*

‘At this moment a big fish drew near their home and said, …’

In the approach to text-linguistics followed by D&L (2001) the clause initial position is posited as having a significant discourse-pragmatic function cross-linguistically. They follow the Prague School linguist Beneš (1962), who suggests the sentence can be divided into three functional parts:

(4.15) POINT OF DEPARTURE TOPIC COMMENT

‘The term Point of Departure (PoD) designates an initial element in the clause, often fronted or left-dislocated, which cohesively anchors the subsequent clause(s) to something which is already in the context (i.e. to something accessible in the hearer’s mental representation). It ‘sets a spatial, temporal or individual domain within which the main predication holds’ (Chafe, 1976:50). It is backward-looking, in the sense of locating the anchoring place within the existing mental representation, but is forward-looking in that it is the subsequent part of the sentence which is anchored in that place.’ (D&L, 2001:68)

PoDs can be situational or referential. A situational PoD establishes the temporal, spatial or circumstantial setting for the proposition and is typically
expressed by an adverbial. A referential PoD establishes the topic for a paragraph or longer section and is typically expressed by a nominal.

4.1.1 Temporal Points of Departure

Temporal PoDs are one of a number of syntactic devices that can be used within a text to establish either the global temporal setting in the text or the local temporal setting, i.e. the temporal setting for the clause in which the temporal PoD occurs. The temporal setting devices can be full clauses, e.g. čand ruz=i bud ‘for several days’, or temporal XPs, e.g. dar in vaqt ‘at this time’, or temporal deictics, e.g. baːd ‘then.’ All of these temporal setting devices can function as a temporal point of departure within a text. Peripheral temporal adverbs, such as diruz ‘yesterday’, take the whole logical structure as their argument. This is exemplified by (4.16).

(4.16) a. diruz be madrese raft-am
    yesterday to school go.PAST-1sg
    ‘I went to school yesterday.’

b. diruz’ [do’ (1sg, [go’ (1sg)]) & [INGR be-at’ (madrese, 1sg)]

Table 4.1 illustrates the temporal marking devices employed in the written text Māhi siāh=e kučulu (MSK) ‘The Little Black Fish.’ These include full clauses, e.g. MSK 1: šab=e čelle bud ‘It was the night of the Winter Solstice’, temporal PoDs, e.g. MSK 11: šabhā ‘at night’, RPs with a relative clause which function as a temporal PoD, e.g. MSK 117: vaqti harfī=(y)e māhi kučulu tamām šod ‘When the little fish had finished talking’, deictic connectives, e.g. MSK 276: baːd ‘then’, MSK 558: hālā ‘now’, MSK 722: tā ‘as soon as’, MSK 846: hamān vaqt ‘at that moment’, MSK 1002: haminke ‘as soon as’, and a manner adverb, e.g. nāgahān ‘suddenly (MSK 347, 390, 444, 743, 860, 871, 1084). As seen, the temporal PoD is one of a range of syntactic devices available to the author to indicate how the events relate to the time frame.

The general pattern is that the larger the scope of the discourse unit being oriented, the heavier the temporal marking device. Thus the full clause in MSK 1 establishes the time frame for the whole story-telling event, the full clause in MSK 4 establishes that the temporal context is fantasy, and the full clause in MSK 22 begins the focus on māhi siāh=e kučulu and her pre-adventure disposition. After this, there are no more temporal marking full clauses. The full clauses in MSK 1, 4, 22 function as temporal PoDs but they are not part of the structure of a clause.

In MSK the global temporal contexts are established by either a full clause or by a temporal XP PoD. The global temporal context čand ruz=i ‘several days’ is set in MSK 22 by a full clause. Subsequent switches in the global temporal context is indicated by a temporal XP, with yek ruz sobh=e zud ‘one day, early in the morning’ in MSK 33, baːd az zohr ‘in the
afternoon’ in MSK 578, *sobh=* *zud* ‘early morning’ in MSK 703, and finally *šab tā sobh* ‘evening to morning’ in MSK 1111.

The continuum from heavier temporal markers to lighter markers in correspondence to the contrast between more background events and more foreground or mainline events is demonstrated in the beginning of the MSK text. MSK 22 has a full temporal clause, MSK 33 has a temporal RP, MSK 117 has an RP + relative temporal clause, MSK 125 has a temporal PP, MSK 275 has a temporal RP, and MSK 276 has the deictic connective *baːd* ‘then.’ The discourse context moves from MSK 22-32, where the unsettled disposition of *māhi siāh=(y)e kučulu* is described, to MSK 33-116, where she declares her intent to leave her mother, to MSK 117-124, her mother’s response, to MSK 125-274, the black fish’s debate with the neighbours and eventual departure, and then to MSK 275 and MSK 276, the first step in her adventure – descending the waterfall out of the pond.

In MSK only the temporal RPs in MSK 11, 33, 504, and the temporal PP in MSK 125 precede a subject. So only these temporal XPs are clearly in the PrCS. With the temporal XPs in MSK 275, 460, 643, 700, 703, 880, and 1111 the pro-drop of the subject conceals whether they occur in the PrCS or not.

Table 4.1: Temporal marking devices in *Māhi siāh=e kučulu*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 šab=e čelle bud</td>
<td>night=EZ forty be.PAST.3sg</td>
<td>It was the night of the Winter Solstice. COM: A full clause establishes the temporal context for the telling of the story.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 yek=i bud yek=i na-bud</td>
<td>one=IND be.PAST.3sg one=IND NEG-be.PAST.3sg</td>
<td>Once upon a time, COM: A formulaic expression sets the ‘temporal’ context as that of fantasy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 šab-hā dotāyi zir=e xaze-hā mi-xābīd-and</td>
<td>night-PL two.CL.ADVBL under=EZ seaweed-PL IPFV-sleep.PAST.3pl</td>
<td>At night the two slept under the seaweed. COM: PoD: The PoD šabhā ‘at night’ refers to the context of xazehā ‘seaweed’ introduced in the previous clause.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 čand ruz=i bud</td>
<td>several day=IND be.PAST.3sg</td>
<td>For several days COM: A full clause establishes the temporal context for clauses 22-25 and breaks the general introduction of māhi siāh=e kučulu ‘little black fish’ in clauses 5-21.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33 yek ruz sobh=e zud āftāb nazade</td>
<td>one day morning=EZ early sun unrisen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

104
One day, early in the morning before sunrise,

**COM:** PoD: Establishes the temporal context for clauses 33-578. In 578 the temporal setting changes to *baːd az zo.hr* ‘afternoon.’ The temporal clause in 33 also introduces the beginning of the adventures of *māhi siāh=e kučulu*.

117 *vaqtā harf-hā=(y)e māhi kučulu tamām šod* when word-PL=EZ fish little finish become.PAST.3sg

118 *mādar=aš goft* mother=PC.3sg say.PAST.3sg

When the little fish had finished talking, her mother said:

**COM:** 117 is a relative clause that functions as a PoD. It marks the conclusion of the *māhi siāh=e kučulu* speech and the beginning of her mother’s response.

125 *dar in vaqt māhi=(y)e bozorg=i be xāne=(y)e ānhā* in this time fish=EZ big=IND to house=EZ PN.3pl

126 *nazdik šod va goft* near become.PAST.3sg and say.PAST.3sg

At this moment, a big fish drew near their home and said:

**COM:** PoD: The temporal PoD *dar in vaqt* has local scope over clauses 125 and 126.

222 *māhi-hā tā āmad-and* fish-PL as.soon.as come.AUX.PAST-3pl

Just as the fish were going to

223 *māhi siāh=e kučulu=rā be-gir-and* fish black=EZ little=OM SBJN-take.PRES-3pl

grab the little black fish,

**COM:** *tā* ‘as soon as’ in 222 functions as a connective and links 222-223 to the next complex of clauses 224-225.

275 *avval=aš dast o pā=(y)aš=rā gom kard* first=PC.3sg hand and feet=PC.3sg=OM loss do.PAST.3sg

At first she was all disorientated (lost her hands and feet).

**COM:** PoD: *avval=aš* is a local temporal PoD with scope over 275. It is paired with *baːd* in 276.

276 *ammā baːd šoru kard be šenā kard-an* but then begin do.PAST.3pl to swim do-INF

277 *va dowr=e berke gašt zad-an* and around=EZ pond exploration hit-INF

But then she started swimming about and exploring around the pond.

**COM:** *baːd* is a temporal deictic which contrasts 276 with 275.

281 *māhi siāh=e kučulu=rā ke did-and* fish black=EZ little=OM when see.PAST.3pl

282-* masxare=aš kard-and va goft-and* mocking=PC.3sg do.PAST-3pl and say.PAST-3pl
When they saw the little black fish, they mocked her and said:

COM: 281 is a relative clause that functions as a PoD for 282-283.

342 baːd fekr kard then thought do.PAST.3sg

Then she thought

COM: *baːd* is a temporal deictic which marks another step in the thinking process of *māḥi ṣīāḥ=e kučulu*.

347 nāgahān sedā=(y)e zir=e qurbāqe=i u=rā suddenly sound=EZ under=EZ frog=IND PN.3sg=OM az jā par-ān-d from place scatter.PRES-CAUS-PAST.3sg

Suddenly the shrill sound of a frog made her jump.

COM: *nāgahān* signals an unexpected break in the flow of events.

390 māḥi kučulu nāgahān češm=aš oftād be xarčang fish little suddenly eye=PC.3sg fall.PAST.3sg to crab

Suddenly the little fish saw the crab

COM: *nāgahān* signals an unexpected break in the flow of events.

443 sāye=(y)i bar āb oftād shadow=IND on water fall.PAST.3sg

444 va nāgahān zarbe=(y)e mohkam=i xarčang=rā and suddenly strike=EZ strong=IND crab=OM tu=(y)e šenn-hā foru kard in=EZ gravel-PL under do.PAST.3sg

A shadow fell on the water and suddenly, a strong hit on the crab pushed him into the gravel.

COM: *nāgahān* signals an unexpected break in the flow of events.

460-461 ān vaqt mārmulak=rā sedā zad va goft that time lizard=OM voice hit. PAST.3sg and say.PAST.3sg

Then she called to the lizard and said

COM: *ān vaqt* is in the PoD position, but is deictic and indicates the next stage in the development of the story.

504 ān vaqt mārmulak tu=(y)e šekāf=e sang xazid that time lizard in=EZ crack=EZ rock scurry.PAST.3sg

505 va bā xanjar=e besyār riz=i bar gašt and with dagger=EZ small tiny=IND PREV return.PAST.3sg

Just then the lizard scurried into a crack in the rock and returned with a tiny little dagger.

COM: *ān vaqt* is in the PoD position, but is deictic and indicates the next stage in the development of the story.

558 hālā digar xoš=aš mi-āmad now other enjoy=PC.3sg IPFV-come.PAST-3sg

559 ke moallaq zan-ān az ābšār-hā
CLM somersault hit-PRPT from waterfall-PL
pāyan bi-oft-ad
below SBJN-fall.PRES-3sg
560 va bāz šenā kon-ad
and again swim SBJN.do.PRES-3sg
Now she really enjoyed doing somersaults down the waterfalls and (then)
to swim on again.
COM: hālā is deictic and refers to the discourse internal time frame.

578 baːd az zohr be jā=(y)i resid
after noon to place=IND arrive.PAST.3sg
579 ke darre pahn mi-šod
CLM valley broad IPFV-become.PAST.3sg
580 va āb az vasat=e biše=(y)i mi-gozašt
and water from middle=EZ copse=IND IPFV-leave.PAST.3sg
In the afternoon she reached a place where the valley broadened and the
water ran through the middle of a copse.
COM: PoD: baːd az zohr is a temporal PoD which resets the temporal setting
established in 33.

583 baːd ham be māhi-hā=(y)e ziād=i bar xord
then also to fish-PL=EZ much=IND PREV eat.PAST.3sg
Later too she came across lots of fish.
COM: baːd is deictic and indicates the next development of the story.

643 nesf=e šab bidār šod
middle=EZ night awake become.PAST.3sg
In the middle of the night she woke up …
COM: PoD: nesf=e šab is a temporal PoD which resets the temporal setting
established in 580.

648 šab-hā=(y)i ke māh tu=(y)e āb mi-oftād
night-PL=REL CLM moonlight on=EZ water IPFV-fall.PAST.3sg
On nights when the moonlight fell on the water, …
COM: 648 is a relative clause which functions as a PoD for the clauses 648-654.
This is an out of time sequence flashback.

700 čand daqiqe māt o motahayyer tārīki=rā
several minute astounded and astonished darkness=OM
negāh kard
look do.PAST.3sg

701- baːd zir=e sang=i xazid va xābid
702 then under=EZ stone=IND creep.PAST.3sg and sleep.PAST.3sg
For some minutes she stared, dumbfounded, into the darkness, then she
crept under a stone and fell asleep.
COM: PoD: čand daqiqe ‘several minutes’ is a local PoD with scope only over
700. *ba:d* is deictic and indicates the next development of the story.

703  
*sobh=* **zud** bidār šod
morning=EZ early awake become.PAST.3sg  
Early in the morning she woke up

COM:  
PoD: *sobh=* **zud** *‘early morning’* is a PoD which establishes the temporal setting from 703 to the end of the story.

722-723  
ammā **tā** xāst-and rāh bi-oft-and
but as.soon.as want.AUX.PAST-3pl way SBIN-fall.PRES-3pl  
But just as they were about to set off,

COM:  
In 722-723 *tā* *‘as soon as’* functions as a connective and links this complex clause to the next complex of clauses 724-728 describing what they saw. This construction sets up 722-723 as a situational domain PoD within which the events described in 724-728 hold.

743  
nāgahān sedā=(y)e qahqahe=(y)e tarsnāk=i
suddenly sound=EZ cackling=EZ frightful=IND  
dar āb pičid
in water turn.around.PAST.3sg  
Suddenly the sound of frightful cackling spread through the water.

COM:  
nāgahān signals an unexpected break in the flow of events.

829  
*ba:d* xanjar=rā dar āvard  
then dagger=OM PREV bring.PAST.3sg  

830  
va jelo=(y)e češm=māh-i-hā=(y)e riz gereft  
and front=EZ eye=EZ fish-PL=EZ wave take.PAST.3sg  
Then she got out the dagger and held it before the eyes of the tiny fish.

COM:  
*ba:d* is deictic and indicates the next development of the story.

846- 
ammā māhī siāh hamān vaqt xanjar=aš=rā  
but fish black same.that time dagger=PC.3sg=OM  
kešid va bā yek zarbat  
draw.PAST.3sg and with one stroke  
divāre=(y)e kise=rā šekāft va dar raft  
wall=EZ pouch=OM slit.PAST.3sg and PREV go.PAST.3sg  
But the black fish, just at that moment, drew her dagger and with one stroke slit the pouch open and got out.

COM:  
*hamān vaqt* is an anaphor with the events described in 844-845 as its antecedent. It is also not a PoD since *māhī siāh* precedes it.

855  
hālā digar kuh va darre tamām šod-e  
now other mountain and valley finish become-PSPT  
bud  
be.AUX.PAST.3sg  
Now the mountain and the valley had come to an end

COM:  
hālā is deictic and refers to the discourse internal time frame.
nāgahān be xod āmad
suddenly to self come.PAST.3sg
Suddenly she came to her senses
COM: nāgahān signals an unexpected break in the flow of events.

nāgahān did
suddenly see.PAST.3sg

yek heyvān=ez derāz o bozorg mesl=ez barq
one animal=EZ long and big like=EZ lightning
be taraf=aš hamle mi-kon-ad
to direction=PC.3sg attack IPFV-do.PRES-3sg
Suddenly she saw that some long and enormous creature was attacking her like lightning.
COM: nāgahān signals an unexpected break in the flow of events.

baːd az moddat=i dobāre raft zir=ez āb
then after time.span=IND again go.PAST.3sg under=EZ water
ke tah=ez daryā=rā be-bin-ad
CLM bottom=EZ sea=OM SBJN-see.PRES-3sg
then after a while, went back under again to see the bottom of the sea.
COM: PoD: baːd az moddat=i resets the local temporal setting.

baːd be māhi siāh goft
then to fish black say.PAST.3sg
Then he said to the black fish:
COM: baːd is deictic and indicates the next development of the story.

kam=i baːd āmad be sath=ez daryā
little=IND later come.PAST.3sg to surface=EZ sea
A little later, she came to the surface of the sea.
COM: kam=i baːd is deictic and indicates the next development of the story.

ammā na-tavānest
but NEG-be.able.PAST.3sg

harf=aš=rā tamām kon-ad
word=PC.3sg=OM finish SBJN.do.PRES-3sg

čun haminke menqār=aš=rā bāz kard
because same.this bill=PC.3sg=OM open do.PAST.3sg
1003 māhi siāh jast=i zad va pāyin oftād
1004 fish black jump=IND hit.PAST.3sg and down fall.PAST.3sg
But he couldn’t finish what he was saying; for as soon as he opened his bill, the black fish made a leap for it and fell down.
COM: haminke is an anaphoric connective which connects the event of ‘the heron opened his bill’ with ‘the black fish escaping.’

ammā tā raft tu=(y)e āb
but as.soon.as go.PAST.3sg in=EZ water
1012 va nafas=i tāze kard
and breath=IND fresh do.PAST.3sg

1013 māhixār mesl=e barq sar resid
heron like=EZ lightning head arrive.PAST.3sg
but the moment she went into the water and took a fresh breath, the heron arrived like lightning

COM: In 1011-1012 tā ‘as soon as’ functions as a connective and links this complex clause to the next clause 1013 describing the arrival of the heron. This construction sets up 1011-1012 as a situational domain PoD within which the event described in 1013 holds.

1022 vaqti češm-hā=(y)aš be tāriki ādat kard
when eye-PL=PC.3sg to darkness custom do.PAST.3sg

1023 māhi=(y)e besiār rize=(y)i=rā did
fish=EZ very tiny=IND=OM see.PAST.3sg
When her eyes got used to the darkness, she saw a really tiny fish

COM: In 1022 vaqti is a relativized nominal that functions as a temporal PoD to 1023. The relativized clause provides the temporal content.

1043 vaqti māhi rize jelo=(y)e gerye=aš=rā gereft
when fish tiny front=EZ crying=PC.3sg=OM take.PAST.3sg

1044 māhi kučulu goft
fish little say.PAST.3sg
When the tiny fish got control of his tears, the little fish said:

COM: In 1043 vaqti is a relativized nominal that functions as a temporal PoD to 1044. The relativized clause provides the temporal content.

1077 tā māhixār dahān=aš=rā bāz kard
as.soon.as heron mouth=PC.3sg=OM open do.PAST.3sg

1078 va šoru kard be qāh qāh xandid-an
and begin do.PAST.3sg to cackle cackle laugh-INF

1079 māhi rize az dahān=e māhixār birun parid
fish tiny from mouth=EZ heron outside jump.PAST.3sg
The moment the heron opened her mouth and started laughing loudly with the tickling, the tiny fish jumped out of the heron’s mouth

COM: In 1077 tā ‘as soon as’ functions as a connective and links the clauses 1077-1078 to the next clause 1079 describing what the māhi rize did. This construction sets up 1077-1078 as a situational domain PoD within which the event described in 1079 holds.

1081 va kam=i ba:d dar āb oftād
and little=IND then into water fall.PAST.3sg
and shortly afterwards fell into the water;

COM: kam=i ba:d is deictic and indicates the end of the sequence of events described in 1079-1081.

1084 nāgahān did
suddenly see.PAST.3sg
Suddenly he saw the heron thrashing around

COM: \textit{nāgahān} signals an unexpected break in the flow of events.

and then fell with a splash into the water

COM: \textit{baːd} is deictic and indicates the end of sequence of events described in 1085-1089.

From evening to morning he thought endlessly of the sea …

COM: PoD: \textit{šab tā sobh} is a temporal PoD.

The oral text \textit{Sāšā va asb=e jāduyi} (SAJ) ‘Sasha and the Magic Horse’ exhibits the same methods of expressing the temporal setting. Table 4.2 shows the temporal marking devices used in SAJ. In SAJ 1-2 the full clausal expressions \textit{yek=i bud, yek=i nabud} ‘once upon a time’ establish the temporal context as fantasy. After this the remaining temporal markers are temporal XP, RP + relative temporal clause, or deictic connectives. From SAJ 8 to SAJ 64, the temporal setting expressions are either a temporal XP or RP + relative temporal clause and then in SAJ 73 it is the deictic connective \textit{baːd ‘then’}, as in \textit{baːd šoru mikonad be harf zadan ‘Then it began to speak.’} This is the beginning of Sasha’s adventure with the magic horse and it is marked with the smallest temporal marker.

In SAJ most of the phrasal temporal PoDs are RPs. Only SAJ 49 and 132 have a temporal PP PoD. Also only the temporal XPs in SAJ 8, 12, 18, 35, 46, and 268 precede a subject and are clearly in the PrCS. The temporal RP \textit{in dafʔe ‘this time’} in SAJ 212 contrasts with the temporal RP \textit{dafʔe=(y)e avval ‘first time’} in SAJ 211. Therefore they can both be analyzed as occurring in the PrCS.

Table 4.2: Temporal marking devices in \textit{Sāšā va asb=e jāduyi}

\begin{tabular}{l}
1-2 \textit{yek=i bud yek=i na-bud} \\
\hspace{1cm} one=IND be.PAST.3sg one=IND NEG-be.PAST.3sg \\
3 \textit{pir=e mard=i bud} \\
\hspace{1cm} old=EZ man=IND be.PAST.3sg \\
4 \textit{ke se=tā pesar dāšt} \\
\hspace{1cm} CLM three=CL son have.PAST.3sg \\
\end{tabular}

COM: A formulaic expression sets the ‘temporal’ context as that of fantasy.
8 vali har šab heyvān=i mi-āmad
But every night animal=IND IPFV-come.PAST.3sg
But every night an animal would come, …
COM: PoD: har šab ‘every night’ establishes the temporal setting for 8-11.

12 yek ruz pir=e mard be pesar-hā=(y)aš mi-gu-(y)ad
one day old=EZ man to son-PL=PC.3sg IPFV-say.PRES-3sg
One day the old man says to his sons:
COM: PoD: yek ruz ‘one day’ establishes the temporal setting for 12.

18 šab=e avval pesar=e bozorg-tar mi-rav-ad
night=EZ first son=EZ big-CMPR IPFV-go.PRES-3sg
The first night the biggest son goes,
COM: PoD: šab=e avval ‘first night’ establishes the temporal setting for 18-22.

23 sobh ke bidār mi-šav-ad
morning CLM awake IPFV-become.PRES-3sg
In the morning when he wakes up,

35 šab=e dovvom pesar=e vasati ham mi-rav-ad
night=EZ second son=EZ middle also IPFV-go.PRES-3sg
On the second night the middle son also goes,
COM: PoD: šab=e dovvom ‘second night’ establishes the temporal setting for 35-40.

41 sobh ke bidār mi-šav-ad
morning CLM awake IPFV-become.PRES-3sg
In the morning when he wakes up,
COM: PoD: The relative clause headed by sobh ‘morning’ functions as a temporal PoD for 42-45.

46 šab=e sevvom pesar=e kuček
night=EZ third son=EZ small
ke esm=aš sāšā bud
CLM name=PC.3sg Sasha be.PAST.3sg
47-48 tasmim mi-gir-ad be-rav-ad
decision IPFV-take.PRES-3sg SBJN-go.PRES-3sg
On the third night the youngest son, whose name was Sasha, decides to go.
COM: PoD: šab=e sevvom ‘third night’ establishes the temporal setting for 46-58.

49-50 qabl az raft-an dast=aš=ṛā mi-bor-ad
before go-INF hand=PC.3sg=OM IPFV-cut.PRES-3sg
Before he goes he cuts his hand,
COM: PoD: The clause qabl az raftan introduces an out of time sequence event.
Finally, half of the night becomes.

At last, when it gets to the middle of the night,

The relative clause headed by $\text{nésfe$hā}=(y)e \text{šab}$ functions as a PoD for the following events.

When the animal draws closer

Then it begins to speak.

Then it arrives near the window of the king’s daughter,

The first time, he went in through the horse’s left ear, but this time he goes in through its right ear,
PoD: The temporal PoD *daf?e=(y)e avval* ‘first time’ in 211 contrasts with the temporal PoD *in daf?e* ‘this time’ in 212 to indicate an out of time sequence set of events.

215  
\[ \text{ba:d asb=rā vel mi-kon-ad} \]  
then horse=OM release IPFV-do.PRES-3sg  
Then he releases the horse

COM: *ba:d* is a connective and not a PoD. It indicates the next event in a series of events.

257  
\[ \text{doxtar=e pādešāh čand ruz tu=(y)e šahr} \]  
daughter=EZ king several day in=EZ city  
e:lām mi-kon-ad announce IPFV-do.PRES-3sg  
For several days the king’s daughter announces in the city:

COM: In 257 *čand ruz* ‘several days’ is preceded by the subject RP, so it does not function as temporal PoD

265  
\[ \text{belaxare doxtar=e pādešāh yek mehmānī} \]  
finally daughter=EZ king one party  
tartib mi-dah-ad arrangement IPFV-give.PRES-3sg  
Finally the king’s daughter throws a party,

COM: *belaxare* ‘finally’ is a connective indicating the end of a sequence of events. It is not a PoD.

268  
\[ \text{in daf?e digar barādar-hā majbur mi-šav-and} \]  
this time other brother-PL obliged IPFV-become.PRES-3pl  
This time though the brothers have no choice but to take Sasha with them too,

COM: PoD: *in daf?e* functions as a contrastive temporal PoD.

272  
\[ \text{vaqti ke mi-rav-and ānjā} \]  
when CLM IPFV-go.PRES-3pl that.place  
When they go there,

COM: PoD: The relative clause headed by *vaqti* functions as a temporal PoD for what follows and also returns the story to the main event line.

275  
\[ \text{vaqti be sāšā mi-res-ad} \]  
when to Sasha IPFV-arrive.PRES-3sg  
When she reaches Sasha,

COM: PoD: The relative clause headed by *vaqti* functions as a temporal PoD for what follows and precedes the climax to the story.
The remaining texts in our corpus exhibited less use of temporal setting markers. The temporal RPs that occurred in *Modir=e madrese* (MM) ‘The School Headmaster’ are shown in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Temporal RPs in *Modir=e madrese*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ruz=e sevvom bāz avval=e vaqt madrese bud-am day=EZ third again first=EZ time school be.PAST-1sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>On the third day, I was back at school at the beginning of the school day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>yek bār falak=am kard-and va jel=ey e ru=(y)e one time stocks=PC.1sg do.PAST-3pl and front=EZ face=EZ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>bačče-hā vaqti kelās=e sevvom=e ebtedāyi child-PL when class=EZ third=EZ primary.school.ADJ bud-am be.PAST-1sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Once I was in grade 3 at primary school and they had put me in the stocks in front of all the children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>va daf?e=(y)e dovvom sāl=e panjom=e dabirestān and time=EZ second year=EZ fifth=EZ high.school ke modir=e madrese marā eștebāhi gereft CLM headmaster=EZ school PN.1sg.OM mistake get.PAST.3sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The second time, in my fifth year at secondary school, the headmaster made a mistake about me</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These examples are interesting in that the temporal RP daf?e=(y)e dovvom ‘second time’ in MM 112 contrasts with yek bār ‘one time’ in MM 106. This shows that contrasting temporal PoDs can have scope over larger portions of text than just a clause, as in MSK 275-276 and SAJ 211-212. MM 112 also shows that temporal PoDs can contain multiple temporal XPs. In this case daf?e=(y)e dovvom is followed by sāl=e panjom=e dabirestān ‘(in) fifth year of high school’, which is a temporal setting rather than a locational setting.

4.1.2 Non-Temporal Points of Departure

In this section we investigate examples of locative XP, source XP and instrumental XP occurring before the definite direct object. According to (4.1), this is a marked ordering. In each instance, the front placed RP/PP can be analyzed as functioning as a PoD, with either local or global scope. The unmarked order of RP<sub>DO</sub>=rā + XP + verb also occurred for locative XP and source XP but all the examples of instrumental XP preceded the definite direct object. We analyzed all of these as occurring in either the PrCS position.
4.1.2.1 Locative XPs

Predicative locative PPs function as adjunct modifiers and they can be used to express static locations, e.g. be-at’ (x, y), in which case they take the logical structure of the main verb as one of their arguments. This is exemplified in (4.17).

(4.17) MSK 9: locative logical structure

a. xāne=(y)e māhi kučulu va mādar=aš
   house=EZ fish little and mother=PC.3sg
   pošt=e sang=e siāh=i bud
   behind=EZ rock=EZ black=IND be.PAST.3sg
   ‘The house of the little fish and her mother was behind a black rock.’

b. be-behind’ (sang, [have’ (xāne, māhi va mādar=aš)])

Locative PoDs occur at the beginnings of the MSK and SAJ texts. The locative RP tah=e daryā ‘at the bottom of the sea’ in (4.18) establishes the global locational setting for the telling of the story immediately after the temporal setting has been established in MSK 1, see Table 4.1. The locative PP tu=(y)e mazraʔe ‘in the field’ in (4.19) establishes the locational setting at the beginning of the SAJ text. The temporal setting for this text has been established in SAJ 1-2, see Table 4.2. The locative RP in (4.18) occurs before a subject RP, so is clearly in the PrCS, but in (4.19) the subject RP in SAJ 7 is omitted, so it is not clear the locative PP occurs in the PrCS. Nevertheless, in both cases the locative XP functions as a locational PoD with global scope.

(4.18) MSK 2: locative PoD

tah=e daryā māhi=(y)e pir davāzdah hezār=tā
   bottom=EZ sea fish=EZ old twelve thousand=CL
   az bačče-hā va nave-hā=(y)aš=rā
   from child-PL and g’child-PL=PC.3sg=OM
   dowr=e xod=aš ja:m kard-e bud
   around=EZ self=PC.3sg collect do-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
   ‘At the bottom of the sea an old fish had gathered around her 12,000 of her children and grandchildren …’

(4.19) SAJ 6-7: locative PoD

in pir=e mard yek mazraʔe dāšt
   this old=EZ man one field have.PAST.3sg
   tu=(y)e mazraʔe gandom berenj
   in=EZ field wheat rice
This old man had a field. In the field he used to sow wheat, rice or other things.

However, it is more usual to establish the global location setting in the default focus position preceding the verb (see (4.1)) rather than in the PoD position. For example, in (4.19) the locational reference of mazraʔ ‘field’ is established in the focus structure of (SAJ: 6). So tu=(y)e mazraʔ ‘in the field’ in SAJ 7 is established information. (4.20)-(4.24) give more examples of locational settings introduced in focus structure. In (4.20) the static location is the locative PP dar juybār=i ‘in a stream’, and in (4.21) it is the locative PPs dar madrese ‘at school’ and tu=(y)e kelās ‘in class.’

(4.20) MSK 5-6: locative PP
yek māhi=(y)e siāh=e kučulu bud ke bā
one fish=EZ black=EZ little be.PAST.3sg CLM with
mādar=aš dar juybār=i zendegi mi-kard
mother=PC.3sg in stream=IND living IPFV-do.PAST.3sg
‘There was a little black fish that used to live with her mother in a stream.’

(4.21) DAM 5-7: locative PPs
man čun xeyli dar madrese doxtar=e šouq=i
PN.1sg because very at school girl=EZ noisy=IND
bud-am va xeyli tu=(y)e kelās šeytāni
be.PAST-1sg and very in=EZ class mischievousness
mi-kard-am barā=(y)e hamān hamiše
IPFV-do.PAST-1sg for=EZ same.that always
esm=e man bad dar raft-e bud
name=EZ PN.1sg bad in go-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
‘Because I was a mischievous girl at school and used to make a lot of trouble in class, I always had a bad reputation.’

Other examples of locational PoDs in the text corpus have a local scope and typically the locative XP establishes the location for the clause it is in. The locative RP in (4.22) is in the context of looking at the valley, established in MSK 378.

(4.22) MSK 380: locative PoD
yek jā taxte sang=e bozorg=i
one place slab rock=EZ big=IND
az kuh jodā šod-e bud
from mountain apart become-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
‘At one point a big slab of rock had become separated from the mountain.’

(4.23a) shows how the global location is established in MSK 556 by the locative PP *dar har vajab=e rāh* ‘at every measure along the way.’ Then the locational PoDs in (4.23b,c,d) express the details of what was seen along the way.

(4.23) a. MSK 556: locative PoD

```plaintext
dar har vajab=e rāh čiz=e tāze=(y)i
at every measure=EZ way thing=EZ new=IND
mi-did
IPFV-see.PAST.3sg
‘At every point along the way she saw something new.’
```

b. MSK 563: locative PoD

```plaintext
yek jā āhu=(y)i bā ajale āb mi-xord
one place gazelle=IND with haste water IPFV-drink.PAST.3sg
‘In one place a gazelle was hurriedly drinking water.’
```

c. MSK 574-575: contrastive locative PoDs

```plaintext
yek jā lākpošt-ē dar garmā=(y)e āftāb
one place tortoise-PL in warmth=EZ sun
čort mi-zad-and va jā=(y)e digar
snooze IPFV-hit.PAST-3pl and place=EZ other
qahqahe=(y)e kabh-hā tu=(y)e darre mi-pičid
boister=EZ partridge-PL in=EZ valley IPFV-turn.PAST.3sg
‘In one place some tortoises were snoozing in the warmth of the sun and in another place the boisterous laughing of partridges echoed through the valley.’
```

d. MSK 633: locative PoD

```plaintext
lab=e rudxāne deh=i bud
bank=EZ river village=IND be.PAST.3sg
‘On the bank of the river was a village.’
```

The examples in (4.24) illustrate the use of a local locational PoD to fill out the details of a locational context in *Talab=e āmorzeš* (TA) ‘Seeking Forgiveness.’ The locational context is established as *xiābān=i* ‘a street’ in TA 6 in (4.24a). Then the local locative PoD PP *dar do taraf=e xiābān* ‘on both sides of the street’ in (4.24b) provides one set of details about the street and local locative PoD PP *dar injā* ‘in here’ in (4.24c) provides another set of details.
(4.24) a. TA 5-6: location established
nazdík=e qorub bud
ear=EZ sunset be.PAST.3sg
ke kāravān vāred=e xiābān=i šod
CLM caravan entry=EZ street=IND become.PAST.3sg
‘It was near sunset when the caravan (of people) entered a street.’

b. TA 7: locative PoD develops the locational context
der do taraf=e xiābān divār-hā=(y)e xarābe
at two side=EZ street wall-PL=EZ ruined
va dokkān-hā=(y)e kuček bud
and store-PL=EZ small be.PAST.3sg
‘On both sides of the street there were ruined walls and small stores.’

c. TA 8: locative PoD develops the locational context
der injā ezdehām=e mahib=i
at here crowd=EZ formidable=IND
bar pā šod
up foot become.PAST.3sg
‘In here there was a formidable crowd.’

Thus we see that the usual function of a locative XP as a PoD is to add
more information to a locational context that has already been established.
This contrasts with the function of a temporal XP as a PoD, which is
normally used to indicate a change or progression in the temporal context.

4.1.2.2 Source PPs

The thematic relation of ‘source’ may be defined as the location or
possessor argument in either of the configurations: … INGR/BECOME
NOT be-at’ (x, y) or … INGR/BECOME NOT have’ (x, y). These are
exemplified by (4.25) and (4.26), respectively. The preposition assignment
rule (2.19b) for from in English would apply to az ‘from’ in Persian. The
preposition az would be assigned to the non-macrorole argument in both
(4.25b) and (4.26b).

(4.25) a. asb=e jáduyi az dur āmad
horse=EZ magical from far come.PAST.3sg
‘The magic horse came from afar.’

b. do’ (asb, [come’ (asb)]) & INGR NOT be-at’ (dur, asb)
EFFECTOR LOCATION THEME
(4.26) a. māhi=(y)e kučulu xanjar=rā az mārmulak gereft fish=EZ little dagger=OM from lizard get.PAST.3sg
‘The little fish got the dagger from the lizard.

b. [do’ (māhi, Ø)] CAUSE [INGR NOT have’ (mārmulak, xanjar)]
   EFFECTOR            POSSESSOR POSSESSED & [INGR have’ (māhi, xanjar)]
   POSSESSOR  POSSESSED

Examples of source PPs occurred in the text corpus in the default arrangement of RP_{DO}=rā + source PP + verb given in (4.1). An example from MSK is given in (4.27) and one from ET in (4.28). The example from ET in (4.29) has a source PP az hāšiye=(y)e xiābān ‘from the street edge’ and a goal PP be taraf=e xāne ‘towards the house’, both in the default order. Similarly, the example from PL in (4.30) has a source PP az sahrā va kārḵāne=(y)e qālibāfi va injā o ānjā ‘from the wilderness and the carpet weaving factory and from here and there’, a goal PP sar=e kelās ‘into the class’, and in addition has a direct object RP šāgerdān=rā ‘the pupils’ and they all follow the default order given in (4.1).

(4.27) MSK 305: source PP
čun in harf-hā=rā az ru=(y)e nādāni mi-zan-id since this word-PL=OM from on=EZ ignorance IPFV-hit.PRES-2pl
‘… since you are saying these things from ignorance.’

(4.28) ET 57-58: source PP
dast=am=rā az ru=(y)e češm=e rāst=am hand=PC.1sg=OM from on=EZ eye=EZ right=PC.1sg bar dāšt-am va češm=e čap=am=rā pick up.PAST-1sg and eye=EZ left=PC.1sg=OM bast-am close.PAST-1sg
‘I took my hand from my right eye and closed my left eye.’

(4.29) ET 1-2: source PP
nim kilo gušt=e gusfand xarid-e bud-am va half kilo meat=EZ sheep buy-PSPT be.AUX.PAST-1sg and az hāšiye=(y)e xiābān golčin golčin be taraf=e from edge=EZ street gingerly gingerly to direction=EZ xāne mi-raft-am house IPFV-go.PAST-1sg
‘I had bought a half a kilo of mutton and was casually walking home along the side of the road.’
In the end I was able to pull together pupils from the wilderness and the carpet weaving factory and from here and there into the class.

Examples of a source PP that functioned as a PoD also occurred in our text corpus. In (4.31a) a source PP occurs in unmarked position and in (4.31b) a source PP occurs in the PrCS as a PoD. The source PPs in (4.31a) and (4.31b) have a similar function to the locative XP. In (4.31a) the location of the river is established by MSK 855-856. Then in (4.31b) the source PP az rāst va čap ‘from the right and the left’ in MSK 857 provides more detail of the river’s location.

(4.31) a. MSK 855-856: source PP
hālā digar kuh va darre tamām šod-e
now other mountain and valley finish become-PSPT
bud va rudxāne az dašt=e
be.AUX.PAST.3sg and river from plain=EZ
hamvār=i mi-gozašt
same.level=IND IPFV-leave.PAST.3sg
‘Now the mountain and the valley had come to an end and the river passed through a flat plain.’

b. MSK 857: source PP
az rāst va čap čand rudxāne=(y)e kuček=e digar
from right and left several river=EZ small=EZ other
ham be ān peyvast-e bud
also to PN.3sg join-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
‘From the right and the left a number of other little rivers joined it.’

Another example of a source PP functioning as a PoD is given in (4.32) from SAJ. In the SAJ text the locational deictic centre has been established as where the protagonist Sāšā is. The source PP az dur ‘from afar’ in (4.32) locates the events described in the clause with respect to the protagonist. Note that the clause with az dur ‘from afar’ is a subordinate nominal clause. However, the default order of constituents in subordinate clauses is the same as that given for main clauses in (4.1). Compare MSK 138-139, MSK 315-
316, MSK 451-452, MSK 546-547, MSK 644-645, MSK 775-776, MSK 815-816, MSK 871-872, PL 36-37, SAJ 24-25, for example.

(4.32) SAJ: 167-168
mi-bin-ad ke az dur
IPFV-see.PRES-3sg CLM from far
asb dār-ad mi-ā-(y)ad
horse have.AUX.PRES-3sg IPFV-come.PRES-3sg
‘He sees that from afar the horse was coming.’

The example from SAJ illustrated in (4.33) is interesting. Here there are parallel clauses with contrasting PoD source PP and subject RPs. However, in the first clause the predicate is omitted and just the items that are in contrast are expressed. This is an example of shared-constituent coordination and is awkward to handle in a constituent-structure based approach to syntax.

(4.33) SAJ: 62-63
heyyān=i mi-ā-(y)ad
animal=IND IPFV-come.PRES-3sg
ke az guš-hā=yaš dud
CLM from ear-PL=PC.3sg smoke
az damāq=aš ātaš mi-ā-(y)ad birun
from nose=PC.3sg fire IPFV-come.PRES-3sg out
‘An animal appears, with smoke coming out of its ears, and fire from its nose.’

Thus we see that the source PP has functions similar to those of the locative PP. As with the locative PP, the source PP can be used in the default focus position to establish a source in the discourse context and can also be used as a PoD to add more details to the source context.

4.1.2.3 Instrument PPs

The thematic relation of ‘instrument’ is analyzed as a type of effector, specifically as a manipulated inanimate effector in a causal chain. The LS is illustrated in (4.34). Note that the second part of the logical structure can be a complete clause, in xanjar hame=tān=rā mikošad ‘This knife will kill you all.’ It is, of course, also possible to leave out the intermediate effector, yielding (man) hame=tān=rā mikošam. ‘I will kill you all.’ The preposition assignment rule (2.19c) for with in English would apply to bā ‘with’ in Persian. For example, in (4.34b) the 1sg is assigned the actor macrorole and 2pl is assigned the undergoer macrorole. xanjar is the remaining argument and does not have a macrorole. Therefore bā can be assigned to this argument.
(4.34)  a. bā in xanjar hame=tān=rā mi-koš-am
      with this dagger all=PC.2pl=OM IPFV-kill.PRES-1sg
      ‘I will kill you all with this dagger.

  b. [do’ (1sg, [use’ (1sg, xanjar))]] CAUSE [[do’ (xanjar, Ø)]
      EFFECTOR USER IMPLEMENT EFFECTOR
      CAUSE [BECOME dead’ (2pl)]
      PATIENT

Quite a number of instrumental PPs occurred in the text corpus, and the
interesting point is that only one example followed the default order given in
(4.1). Mahootian (1997:50) gives (4.35) as an example of an instrumental PP
in the default order with respect to the definite direct object.

(4.35) čub=rā bā arre borid
      wood=OM with saw go.PAST.3sg
      ‘She cut the wood with a saw.’

(4.36) PL: 164-165
      ā… āqā tāri verdi mi-xāst āqā hāji
      sir Tari Verdi IPFV-want. AUX.PAST.3sg Mr Haji
      Qoli=OM bā dafe be-koš-ad=aš ā…
      qoli=rā with comb SBJN-kill.PRES-3sg=PC.3sg sir…
      ‘Sir, Tari Verdi wanted, sir, to kill Mr Haji Qoli with a weaver’s
      comb, sir.’

One example of this default order was found in Pesarak=e labuforuš ‘The
Little Beetroot Vendor’ (PL) and this is illustrated in (4.36). But it should be
noted that Haji Qoli is the immediate topic at this point in the discourse.
However, in all the other examples of an instrumental PP in the text corpus
the instrumental bā-PP is placed in front of the definite direct object RP.
Even though we cannot ascertain syntactically whether they occur in front of
the subject-RP or not, functionally they are all instrumental PoDs – either
with local or global scope. So, syntactically we treat them as occurring in the
PrCS position. They all appear to have a pragmatic PoD-type function, but
another reason why all these examples are placed before the definite direct
object may be that in each case the instrument RP refers to an accessible
referent and in the LS for instrumentals the instrument is a secondary
effector, as illustrated in (4.34b). Thus the RP in the instrumental PP is
highly topical in each example.

In (4.37) the (clause) initial instrumental PP relates to two conjoined
clauses. It is also direct speech. Also xanjar ‘dagger’ is an activated referent
in the discourse. Because there is no subject RP in either conjoined clause it
is not possible to say if the fronted instrumental PP occurs in a syntactic
position preceding the subject RP or not. However, under an RRG approach,
where there is no overt subject RP and there is agreement marked on the
verb, this agreement is treated as the subject argument. Thus, on this basis, we can analyze the PP \textit{bā in xanjar} as functioning pragmatically as an instrument PoD and its precise syntactic position in the clause, i.e. PrCS, is not relevant to this interpretation. Nevertheless, because \textit{xanjar} ‘dagger’ is highly topical at this point in the story and the \textit{bā}-PP modifies two conjoined clauses, we can legitimately analyze it as occurring in the PrCS of the first clause.

(4.37) MSK: 819-820
\begin{verbatim}
 bā in xanjar hame=tān=rā mi-koš-am
with this dagger all=PC.2pl=OM IPFV-kill.PRES-1sg
yā kise=rā pāre mi-kon-am
or pouch=OM tear IPFV-do.PRES-1sg
‘I will kill you all with this dagger or tear the pouch.’
\end{verbatim}

In (4.38) the PP \textit{bā yek zarbat} ‘with one stroke’ refers to \textit{xanjar=aš=rā} ‘her dagger’ in MSK 846. Again because \textit{bā yek zarbat} occurs before the definite direct object RP we can interpret it as an instrumental PoD. However, because the \textit{bā}-PP here has only local scope over the second conjoined clause we should analyze it as occurring in the PrCS of the second clause.

(4.38) MSK: 846-847
\begin{verbatim}
 ammā māhi siāh hamān vaqt xanjar=aš=rā
but fish black same.time dagger=PC.3sg=OM
kešid va bā yek zarbat
draw.PAST.3sg and with one stroke
divāre=(y)e kise=rā šekāft
wall=EZ pouch=OM slit.PAST.3sg
‘But the black fish, just at that moment, drew her dagger and with one stroke slit the pouch open.’
\end{verbatim}

In \textit{bā hamin} ‘with this’ in (4.39) \textit{hamin} is an anaphor to the antecedent \textit{xanjar=aš=rā} ‘her dagger.’ Also MSK 1056 is direct speech. Here we can analyze \textit{bā hamin} as a local instrumental PoD in the PrCS.

(4.39) MSK: 1054-1056
\begin{verbatim}
 māhi kučulu xanjar=aš=rā nešān dād
fish little dagger=PC.3sg=OM show give.PAST.3sg
va goft bā hamin tu šekam=aš=rā
and say.PAST.3sg with same.this in belly=PC.3sg=OM
pāre mi-kon-am
tear IPFV-do.PRES-1sg
‘The little fish showed her dagger and said, “I’ll tear open his belly with this.”’
\end{verbatim}
With regard to (4.40), češm=e man ‘my eyes’ is introduced in ET 22. Also češm=e rāst ‘right eye’ in ET 34 contrasts with češm=e čap=am ‘my left eye’ in ET 33. We can therefore analyze bā češm=e rāst ‘with the right eye’ as a local instrumental PoD in the PrCS.

(4.40) ET: 33-35
češm=e čap=am=rā bast-am va bā
eye=EZ left=PC.1sg=OM close.PAST-1sg and with
češm=e rāst kalāq=i=rā ke ru=(y)e ānten=e
eye=EZ right crow=IND=OM CLM on=EZ antenna=EZ
rādio=i pošt=e bām=e xāne=(y)e moqābel
radio=IND behind=EZ roof=EZ house=EZ opposite
nešast-e bud nešāne gereft-am
sit-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg aim take.PAST-1sg
‘I closed my left eye and with my right eye took aim at the crow that had sat on the radio antenna on the roof of the house opposite.’

(4.41) is similar to (4.40) and we can analyze bā češm=e čap ‘with the left eye’ as a contrastive local instrumental PoD in the PrCS

(4.41) ET: 46-47
kaf=e dast=am=rā gozāšt-am ru=(y)e češm=e
palm=EZ hand=PC.1sg=OM put.PAST-1sg on=EZ eye=EZ
rāst va bā češm=e čap kalāq=rā nešāne gereft-am
right and with eye=EZ left crow=OM aim take.PAST-1sg
‘I put the palm of my hand over my right eye and with my left eye took aim at the crow.’

The instrumental PoD PP bā komak=e dasthā=(y)aš ‘with the help of his hands’ in (4.42) is in the PrCS, as reflected in the English translation.

(4.42) ET: 95
bā komak=e dast-hā=(y)aš dar=e
with help=EZ hand-PL=PC.3sg door=EZ
jib-hā=(y)aš=rā mohkam gereft
pocket-PL=PC.3sg=OM tight take.PAST-3sg
‘… with the help of his hands he held tight to his pockets’

The instrumental PoD PP bā češm=e digar=am ‘with my other eye’ in (4.43), however, is contrastive and is therefore in the PrCS.

(4.43) ET: 130-131
yek češm=am=rā bast-am
one eye=PC.1sg=OM close.PAST-1sg
va bā češm=e digar=am
and with eye=EZ other=PC.1sg
ru=(y)e sim=rā negāh kard-am
on=EZ wire=OM look do.PAST-1sg
‘I closed one eye and with my other eye I looked at the wire.’

The instrumental PoD PP bā češm=e sālem ‘with the sound eye’ in (4.44),
is also contrastive and in the PrCS.

(4.44) ET: 134-135
češm=e ma:yub=am=rā bast-am
eye=EZ faulty=PC.1sg=OM close.PAST-1sg
va bā češm=e sālem negāh kard-am
and with eye=EZ sound look do.PAST-1sg
‘I closed my faulty eye and looked with my good eye.’

4.1.3 The Postverbal Position

Mahootian (1997:117) says that oblique objects and time adverbials can
be postposed after the verb for noncontrastive emphasis. In this section we
look at two constituents that occur postverbally in the text corpus, viz. the
goal PP and the purpose clause. Investigation reveals that the goal PP can be
used by the author to highlight a mainline event. However, placing the
purpose clause after the verb does not appear to express any discourse
function. We also examine postposed relative clauses in the text corpus and
observe that in each case there is a discourse-pragmatic reason for it.

4.1.3.1 Goal PPs

‘Goal’ may be defined as the location argument in the following logical
structure configuration: … INGR/BECOME be-at/in/on’ (x[location],
y[theme]) where the first argument is defined as the location and the second
as the theme. An example from the text corpus is given in (4.45). Note from
(4.45b) that in RRG the same argument can have different thematic relations
depending on its position in the LS. However, in such cases the thematic
relation associated with the highest place in the logical structure overrules
the others. Thus galle [MOVER/THME] → [MOVER].

(4.45) MSK: 454
a. yek galle boz o gusfand be āb nazdik šod-and
one herd goat and sheep to water near become.PAST-3pl
‘A flock of goats and sheep came up to the water.’

b. INGR do’ (galle, [be-near’ (āb, galle)])
  mover location theme
Rafiee (2001:65-66) says that in colloquial speech, for verbs of motion, such as raftan ‘to go’ and āmadan ‘to come’, the be ‘to’ preposition is deleted and the goal RP is placed after the verb, as in (4.46). We can understand this as a form of contraction, since the goal XP does not change its function in postverbal position. The goal RP is also placed after the verb in colloquial speech if it is a pronoun, as in (4.47).

(4.46) a. be hotel mi-r-am
to hotel IPFV-go.PRES-1sg
‘I will go to a/the hotel’
b. mi-r-am hotel
IPFV-go.PRES-1sg hotel
‘I will go to a/the hotel’

(4.47) a. hafte=(y)i yek bār injā mi-ād
week=IND one time here IPFV-come.PRES.3sg
‘She comes here once (times one) a week.’
b. hafte=(y)i yek bār mi-ād injā
week=IND one time IPFV-come.PRES.3sg here
‘She comes here once (times one) a week.’

In the Sāšā va asb=e jādyi text, all goal PPs were postposed. This is understandable, as it is an oral text. (4.48a-b) illustrate full goal PPs, (4.48c-d) illustrate contracted goal PPs, (4.48e-f) illustrate postposed goal PPs which comprise just a preposition, and (4.48g) illustrates a postposed goal PP comprising a pronoun.

(4.48) a. SAJ 209: PP_GOAL postposed
sāšā mi-ā-(y)ad tu=(y)e jangal
Sasha IPFV-come.PRES-3sg in=EZ forest
‘Sasha comes to the forest.’
b. SAJ 68: PP_GOAL postposed
tanāb mi-andāz-ad dowr=e gardan=e asb
rope IPFV-throw.PRES-3sg around=EZ neck=EZ horse
‘He throws a rope around the horse’s neck.’
c. SAJ 29: PP_GOAL postposed and contracted
mi-ā-(y)ad xāne
IPFV-come.PRES-3sg home
‘He comes home.’
d. SAJ 163: PP_GOAL postposed and contracted
sāšā mi-rav-ad jangal
Sasha IPFV-go.PRES-3sg forest
‘Sasha goes to the forest.’

e. SAJ 191: PPGOAL postposed preposition

$$\text{az guš=e čap=e asb mi-rav-ad tu}
\text{via ear=EZ left=EZ horse IPFV-go.PRES-3sg in}$$

‘He goes in through the horse’s left ear;’

f. SAJ 192: PPGOAL postposed preposition

$$\text{az guš=e rāst=aš mi-ā-(y)ad birun}
\text{via ear=EZ right=PC.3sg IPFV-come.PRES-3sg out}$$

‘(and) comes out through his right ear.’

g. SAJ 272: PPGOAL postposed pronoun

$$\text{vaqti ke mi-rav-and ānjā}
\text{when CLM IPFV-go.PRES-3pl that.place}$$

‘When they go there …’

In SAJ, locative PPs with nonmotion verbs were also typically placed after the verb. Some examples are given in (4.49). The posture verbs nešastan ‘to sit down’ (4.49c) and istādan ‘to stand up’ (4.49b) are activities and in the context of nowbati be xā bid ‘you(pl) sleep in turn’, xābidan ‘to sleep’ also functions as an activity verb. In (4.49b) the reason for the postposing is poetic. The man in the first line rhymes with čaman in the second line.

(4.49) a. SAJ 14: postposed locative PP with activity verb

$$\text{nowbati be-xāb-id tu=(y)e mazraʔe}
\text{in.turn SBJN-sleep.PRES-2pl on=EZ field}$$

‘Sleep in turn in the field.’

b. SAJ 99: postposed locative PP with activity verb

$$\text{be-ist dar moqābel=e man}
\text{IMP-stand.PRES in front=EZ PN.1sg}$$

hamčon gol=i dar čaman
like flower=IND on grass

‘Stand in front of me just like a flower in a meadow.’

c. SAJ 258: postposed locative PP with activity verb

$$\text{mi-nešin-ad sar=e jā=(y)aš}
\text{IPFV-sit.PRES-3sg head=EZ place=PC.3sg}$$

‘He sits in his place.’

The situation with goal PPs is slightly different in Māhi siāh=e kučulu, a written text. Here, goal PPs occur preceding and following the motion verb. For a motion verb, such as residan ‘arrive, reach’ goal PPs always occur preceding the verb, as in (4.50a-c), but for a motion verb, such as āmadan
‘come’ goal PPs always occur following the verb, as in (4.51a-c). Then for other motion verbs, there are occurrences of goal PPs preceding and following the verb. For example, in (4.50d-f) raftān ‘go’ occurs with goal PPs preceding and in (4.51d-f) this verb has a goal PP following. Similarly, oftādan ‘fall’ occurs in (4.50g) with a goal PP preceding and in (4.51g-j) with a goal PP following.

(4.50) a. MSK 578: preverbal PP\textsubscript{GOAL} with motion verb
\[
\text{baːd az zoṛr be jā=(y)i resid} \\
\text{after noon to place=IND arrive.PAST.3sg}
\]
‘In the afternoon she reached a place.’

b. MSK 901: preverbal PP\textsubscript{GOAL} with motion verb
\[
\text{ke be daryā resid-e ast} \\
\text{CLM to sea arrive-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3sg}
\]
‘… that she had arrived at the sea.’

c. MSK 1013: preverbal PP\textsubscript{GOAL} with motion verb
\[
\text{māhīxār mesl=e barq sar resid} \\
\text{heron like=EZ lightning head arrive.PAST.3sg}
\]
‘The heron arrived like lightning.’

d. MSK 482: preverbal PP\textsubscript{GOAL} with motion verb
\[
\text{va tu=(y)e kise=aš be-rav-i} \\
\text{and in=EZ pouch=PC.3sg SBJN-go.PRES-2sg}
\]
‘… and end up in his pouch.’

e. MSK 655: preverbal PP\textsubscript{GOAL} with motion verb
\[
\text{māhī kučulu piš=e māh raft} \\
\text{fish little front=EZ moon go.PAST.3sg}
\]
‘The little fish went to the moon.’

f. MSK 914-915: preverbal PP\textsubscript{GOAL} with motion verb
\[
\text{ammā agar ru=(y)e āb raft-i} \\
\text{but if on=EZ water go.PAST-2sg}
\]
\[
\text{movāzeb=e māhīxār bāš} \\
\text{careful=EZ heron IMP.be.PRES}
\]
‘… but if you go up to the surface look out for the heron.’

g. MSK 648: preverbal PP\textsubscript{GOAL} with motion verb
\[
\text{šab-hā=(y)i ke māh tu=(y)e āb} \\
\text{night-PL=REL CLM moonlight on=EZ water}
\]
\[
\text{mi-oftād} \\
\text{IPFV-fall.PAST.3sg}
\]
‘On nights when the moonlight fell on the water …’
(4.51) a. MSK 349-350: postverbal PP\textsubscript{GOAL} with motion verb
jast zad \textit{tu=}(y)e āb
jump \textit{hit.PAST.3sg in=EZ water}
va āmad piš=\textit{e māhi}
and \textit{come.PAST.3sg before=EZ fish}
‘It jumped into the water and came to the fish’

b. MSK 879: postverbal PP\textsubscript{GOAL} with motion verb
va āmad \textit{ru=}(y)e āb
and \textit{come.PAST.3sg on=EZ water}
‘… and came up to the surface’

c. MSK 921: postverbal PP\textsubscript{GOAL} with motion verb
kami ba:d āmad be sath=\textit{e daryā}
little later \textit{come.PAST.3sg to surface=EZ sea}
‘A little later, she came to the surface of the sea.’

d. MSK 542: postverbal PP\textsubscript{GOAL} with motion verb
mārmulak raft \textit{tu=}(y)e šekāf=\textit{e sang}
lizard \textit{go.PAST.3sg into=EZ crack=EZ rock}
‘The lizard went into the crack in the rock …’

e. MSK 880: postverbal PP\textsubscript{GOAL} with motion verb
ba:d az moddat=\textit{i dobāre raft zir=\textit{e āb}
then after \textit{time.span=IND again go.PAST.3sg under=EZ water}
‘… then after a while, went back under again.’

f. MSK 1011: postverbal PP\textsubscript{GOAL} with motion verb
ammā tā raft \textit{tu=}(y)e āb
but \textit{as.soon.as go.PAST.3sg in=EZ water}
‘but the moment she went into the water.’

g. MSK 381: postverbal PP\textsubscript{GOAL} with motion verb
va oftād=\textit{e bud tah=\textit{e darre}
and \textit{fall-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg bottom=EZ valley}
‘… and fallen into the valley.’

h. MSK 390: postverbal PP\textsubscript{GOAL} with motion verb
māhi kučulu nāgahān češm=\textit{aš oftād}
fish little suddenly \textit{eye=PC.3sg fall.PAST.3sg}
be \textit{xarčang to crab}
‘The fish suddenly saw the crab.’
i. MSK 435: postverbal PP_{GOAL} with motion verb
   va paspasaki rāḥ oftād
   and DUP.backwards way fall.PAST.3sg
taraf=e māhi kučulu
direction=EZ fish little
   ‘… and made its way sideways towards the little fish.’

j. MSK 1088: postverbal PP_{GOAL} with motion verb
   va ba:d šelepp=i oftād tu=(y)e āb
   and then splash=IND fall.PAST.3sg in=EZ water
   ‘… and then a splash occurred in the water.’

k. MSK 371: postverbal PP_{GOAL} with motion verb
   va jast zad taraf=e māhi siāh=e kučulu
   and jump hit.PAST.3sg direction=EZ fish black=EZ little
   ‘… and jumped in the direction of the little black fish.’

l. MSK 793: postverbal PP_{GOAL} with motion verb
   va rixt-and sar=e māhi siāh=e kučulu
   and pour.PAST-3pl head=EZ fish black=EZ little
   ‘… and they attacked the little black fish.’

Are the alternate positions for goal PPs with motion verbs in MSK arbitrary or is there a pattern here? There would seem to be a pattern. If we look at all the examples in (4.51), in each case the action described by the motion verb is main event action and moves the storyline on in a significant way. If we now compare the examples in (4.50) we see that all the events described in (4.50d-g) are not main events. (4.50d) is part of a warning about saqqāak ‘pelican’, (4.50e) introduces the conversation of māhi kučulu ‘little fish’ with māh ‘moon’, (4.50f) is part of a warning about māhīxār ‘heron’, and (4.50g) introduces a reminiscence by māhi kučulu ‘little fish.’ However, the examples in (4.50a-c) provide counter-evidence for this thesis, since they all describe main events and (4.50c) is part of the climactic events. In order to maintain the thesis that the author of MSK is using postposed goal PPs to highlight main events we would need to speculate that the semantics of residan ‘arrive’ require the goal PP to precede the verb, even when describing the main events.

Examples of locative PPs following posture verbs were also found in the MSK text and the examples are given in (4.52). Since we know that the posture verb nešastan ‘to sit down’ is an activity it is reasonable to assume that the postverbal locative PPs in (4.52a,b) also signal that the clause describes a mainline event.
4.1.3.2 Purpose clause

The default is for the purpose clause to precede the verb. This aligns with the research conducted by Greenberg (1963) who established that the order of certain pairs of grammatical elements correlates with the order of verb and object. Since Persian is an OV language dependents of the verb naturally precede the verb. However, the more colloquial form of Persian has the infinitive purpose clause after the main verb. Contrast (4.53a,b,c). The verbs in (4.53b) and (4.53c) have an additional colloquial factor in that the direct object is indicated by a pronominal clitic =aš marked on the verb instead of a free pronoun, as in (4.53a).

(4.53) a. INFINITIVE PURPOSE MAIN VERB
diruz be did-an=e u raft-am literary register
yesterday to see-INF=EZ PN.3sg go.PAST-1sg
‘I went to see him yesterday.’

b. INFINITIVE PURPOSE MAIN VERB
diruz be did-an=eš raft-am more coll. register
yesterday to see-INF=PC.3sg go.PAST-1sg
‘I went to see him yesterday.’

MAIN VERB INFINITIVE PURPOSE
c. diruz raft-am did-an=eš most coll. register
yesterday go.PAST-1sg see-INF=PC.3sg
‘I went to see him yesterday.’
There was only one purpose clause in the narrative of the oral text SAJ and it was postverbal, (4.54). In the oral text *Dabir-e arabī=*y*e man* (DAM) ‘My Arabic Teacher’ all seven infinitive purpose clauses in the narrative text were postverbal, and an example is given in (4.55).

**4.54** SAJ 73: postverbal purpose clause

\[
\text{baːd šoru mi-kon-ad be harf zad-an}
\]
then start IPFV-do.PRES-3sg to word strike-INF ‘Then it begins to speak.’

**4.55** DAM 20: postverbal purpose clause

\[
\text{va šoru kard be nevešt-an}
\]
and start do.PAST.3sg to write-INF ‘and she started to write.’

In the written texts in our corpus there tended to be equal occurrences of preverbal and postverbal purposes clauses in the narrative text. Contrasting examples are given for MSK in (4.56), for *Modir-e madrese* (MM) ‘The School Headmaster’ in (4.57), and for *Eynak-e tebbī* (ET) ‘Medical Spectacles’ in (4.58). There did not appear to be any discourse purpose served in placing the purpose clause postverbally.

**4.56** a. MSK 920: preverbal purpose clause

\[
\text{va xod=aš be šenā kard-an pardāxt}
\]
and self=PC.3sg to swim do-INF engage.in. PAST.3sg ‘and went to have a swim by herself.’

b. MSK 276-277: postverbal purpose clause

\[
\text{amṃā baːd šoru kard be šenā kard-an}
\]
but then begin do.PAST.3sg to swim do-INF
\[
\text{va dowr=e berke gašt zad-an}
\]
and around=EZ pond exploration hit-INF ‘But then she started swimming about and exploring around the pond.’

**4.57** a. MM 24-25: preverbal purpose clause

\[
\text{nešāne gereft-an=e ěchenān dast=i}
\]
aim take-INF=EZ such hand=IND
\[
\text{qeyr=e momken bud}
\]
without=EZ possible be.PAST.3sg ‘It was impossible to aim at such a hand.’

b. MM 124-125: postverbal purpose clause

\[
\text{va zud mi-šod rām=aš kard}
\]
and soon IPFV-become.PAST.3sg calm=PC.3sg do.INF
'and could be calmed down in no time.'

\[\text{(4.58) a. ET 77: preverbal purpose clause} \]
\[
\text{barā=(y)e peydā kard-an=e hadaf=e tāze=i for=EZ find do-INF=EZ target=EZ fresh=IND}
\]
\[
\text{be takāpu oftād-am to search fall=PAST-1sg}
\]
\[
\text{‘I searched to find a fresh target.’}
\]

\[\text{b. ET 52: postverbal purpose clause} \]
\[
\text{va šaqiqe-hā=(y)am šorū kard be zad-an and temple-PL=PC.1sg begin do.PAST-3sg to hit-INF}
\]
\[
\text{‘… and my temples began to throb.’}
\]

4.1.3.3 Postposed Relative Clause

Mahootian (1997:128) says that ‘heavy’ adjective phrases (relative clauses) can be optionally postposed to the end of the sentence and she gives (4.59) as an example of this.

\[\text{(4.59) pul=o be un mard=i dād-im money=OM to that man=REL give.PAST-1pl}
\]
\[
\text{ke kotšalvār=e arzun=i pušid-e bud CLM suit=EZ cheap=IND wear-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg}
\]
\[
\text{‘We gave money to the man who was wearing the cheap suit.’}
\]

However, there were many examples in our text corpus of heavy relative clauses that were not postposed, and (4.60) is one such example. This would suggest that relative clauses in Persian are postposed for reasons other than the weight of their constituent content.

\[\text{(4.60) ET 79-80} \]
\[
\text{belaxare gonješk=i=rā ke be fāsele=(y)e sisad finally sparrow=REL=OM CLM to mid-distance=EZ 300}
\]
\[
\text{metri ru=(y)e sim=e barq=e xiābān nešast-e metre on=EZ wire=EZ electric=EZ street sit-PSPT}
\]
\[
\text{bud peydā kard-am be.AUX.PAST-3sg find do.PAST-1sg}
\]
\[
\text{‘Finally, I found a sparrow that had sat on a power cable about 300 metres away.’}
\]

In our texts we found that postposing applied primarily to those relative clauses that could be understood as nonrestrictive (non-identifying) rather than restrictive (identifying). In fact, the postposing itself appears to be a device for indicating that the relative clause is nonrestrictive (contra Thackston, 1993). For example, consider (4.61) from Sāšā va asb=e jāduyi...
‘Sasha and the Magic Horse.’ Here the relative clause ‘… had three sons’ only contains two constituents, an object and a verb, so it could not be said to be heavy with constituent material, yet it is postposed. It is also not restrictive as it does not identify ‘an old man’, but instead it introduces his three sons into the text. After this introduction the ‘old man’ is not mentioned again and the three sons become the main actors in the story. In this case the relative clause is postposed to form a presentational articulation. It is common for thétique sentences with presentational articulation to place the entity being presented (the focal constituent) towards the end. Thus the postposed relative clause here functions to introduce important new information into the text. The question would be how to analyze the =i marked on pir=e mard ‘old man.’ If we analyzed it as the antecedent marking determiner then formally it is a postposed restrictive relative clause, but if we analyzed it as the indefinite/specific marker then formally it is a postposed nonrestrictive relative clause. However, functionally it is nonrestrictive.

(4.61) SAJ 5-6
pir=e mard=i bud
old=EZ man=IND be.PAST.3sg
ke se=tā pesar dāšt
CLM three=CL son have.PAST.3sg
‘There was an old man who had three sons.’

Another example of a nonrestrictive postposed relative clause with a presentational articulation is given in (4.62). This is from the written text Hamrāh (H-I) ‘Companions (Informal).’ The important new information about the do tā gorg ‘two wolves’ is contained in the postposed relative clause following ke.

(4.62) H-I 2-3
do=tā gorg bud-and
two=CL wolf be.PAST-3pl
ke az kučeki bā ham dust bud-and
CLM from childhood with each-other friend be.PAST-3pl
‘There were two wolves who were friends since childhood.’

(4.63) is an example of a nonrestrictive postposed relative clause that does not have a presentational articulation. It is from the written text Modir=e madrese (MM) ‘The Headmaster’ taken from the Modern Persian Reader (Haidari 1975). Here the author is conveying emphatic prominence by postposing the additional information about ‘something.’ (4.64) exemplifies another postposed relative clause from the same text. Again the author is conveying emphatic prominence by using the postposing device.
(4.63) MM 40-41

dar češm=e bačče-hā ěiz=i deraxšid
in eye=EZ child-PL thing=IND shine.PAST.3sg
ke jā xord-am
CLM place hit.PAST-1sg

‘Something shined in the eyes of the children that made me astonished.’

(4.64) MM 126-128

az=am ozr xāst
from=PC.1sg forgiveness want.PAST.3sg
va yek ketāb jāyeze be=(h)em dād
and one book award to=PC.1sg give.PAST.3sg
ke hanuz dār-am=aš
CLM still have.PRES-1sg=PC.3sg

‘He apologized and presented me with a book which I still have.’

In (4.65) the appearance of the animal (a magic horse) with smoke coming from its ears and fire from its nose is set off in a postposed relative clause. Although this might be considered a heavy relative clause we would maintain that this is not the reason for its postposing. Instead the author wishes to highlight this focal information.

(4.65) SAJ 62-63

hevyān=i mi-ā-(y)ad
animal=IND IPFV-come.PRES-3sg
ke az guš-hā=(y)aš dud
CLM from ear-PL=PC.3sg smoke
az damāq=aš ātaš mi-ā-(y)ad birun
from nose=PC.3sg fire IPFV-come.PRES-3sg out

‘An animal appears, which has smoke coming out of its ears, and fire from its nose.’

On the other hand, we did find some examples of postposed relative clauses in texts where it could be argued that it is the weight of the clause content that is the reason for the postposing. Such an example is (4.66) from Dāi jān Nāpelon (DJN) ‘Uncle Neopolian.’ Here the postposed material is not prominent. However, the postposing is probably not to do so much with the size of the relative clause itself but with the fact that the main clause already contains a large amount of material.

(4.66) DJN 120-121

radojio ham dar do sāat=e barnāme=(y)e
radio also at two three hour=EZ programme=EZ
ruzāne=(y)e xod matlab=e mohemm=i na-dāšt
every.day=EZ self topic=EZ important=REL NEG-have.PAST.3sg
ke be rowšan šod-an=e zehn komak kon-ad
CLM to bright become-INF=EZ mind help SBJN.do.PRES-3sg
‘Also the radio in its two or three hours of programmes did not have
any important information that would enlighten the mind.’

Another example from a written text of a heavy postposed relative clause
is (4.67) Talab=e āmorzeš (TA). This relative clause is better termed a
relative clause complex as it contains three clauses. The relative clause in
(4.67) is nonrestrictive as the multiple clauses do not serve to identify
‘woman.’ In this story the ‘woman’ turns out to be Mrs. Aziz, who her
travelling companions have been searching for. The rest of the story is Mrs.
Aziz’s account of how she came to be in the mosque. So, although this
clause complex is heavy the postposing in this case is to make prominent this
new information about the ‘woman.’

(4.67) TA 65-69
va did ke daste=i zan va āxund
and see.PAST.3sg CLM group=IND woman and cleric
dowr=e zan=i gerd āmad-e and
round=EZ woman=IND gather come-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3pl
ke be=qofl=e zarih Časbi&d=e ān=rā mi-bus-ad
CLM to=lock=EZ grate cling-PSPT that=OM IPFV-kiss.PRES-3sg
va faryād mi-zan-ad
and cry IPFV-hit.PRES-3sg
‘… and (she) saw that a group of women and the clerics had
gathered round a woman who having clung onto the lock of the grate
(that surrounds the saint’s tomb), was kissing it and crying out loud.’

Mahootian (1997) does not give a context for example (4.59), so we
cannot tell what is the reason for the postposing of the relative clause in this
case. However, apart from (4.66) all the examples of postposed relative
clauses we have observed in our text corpus are postposed for the purpose of
making prominent the information in the relative clause rather than because
of the constituent weight of the relative clause.

4.2 Order of Core Arguments

As indicated in (4.3) the default order of core arguments in Persian is SU–
(IO)– DO– V. In this section we look at some of the variant orderings of core
arguments that occur in the text corpus. For postposed subjects and objects
described in §4.2.1 and §4.2.2, respectively, the postposing simply involves
placement in either the Post Core Slot or the Right Detached Position. How-
ever, more explanation is required for the preposing of the definite direct
object discussed in §4.2.3. We argue that when the direct object is definite it is placed in what we call the Focus Initial Position (FIP) and that this is motivated by principles of information flow.

4.2.1 Postposed Subjects

Mahootian (1997:117) says that subjects can be postposed after the verb for noncontrastive emphasis. Only one example of this occurred in our entire text corpus. This was in the *Pesarak-e labuforū* ‘The Little Beetroot Vendor’ (PL) text, as illustrated in (4.68). Here *man* ‘I’ occurs in the Post Core Slot and the following vocative *āqā* ‘sir’ occurs in the Right Detached Position.

(4.68) PL 121: Postposed subject

\[
\text{xub ne-mi-dān-am man āqā}
\]
\[
\text{well NEG-IPFV-know.PRES-1sg PN.1sg sir}
\]
\`
I don’t really know, sir.’
\`

However, vocatives often occurred in the RDP as well as in the less marked LDP. Examples are illustrated in (4.69), (4.70), (4.71), and (4.72). These all occur in direct speech and represent spoken Persian. In this case, since the vocative is not an argument of the clause, it must be treated as occurring in the RDP of the sentence.

(4.69) MSK 404: Postposed vocative

\[
to čerā ānqadr badbin o tarsu=(y)i
\]
\[
PN.2sg why that.much cynical and timid=COP.PRES.2sg
\]
\[
māhi kučulu
\]
\[
fish little
\]
\`
‘Why are you so fearful, little fish?’
\`

(4.70) SAJ 225: Postposed vocative

\[
kojā bud-i sāšā
\]
\[
where be.PAST-2sg Sasha
\]
\`
‘Where have you been, Sasha?’
\`

(4.71) MM 87-88: Postposed vocative

\[
age yek ruz jelow=šun=o na-gir-id
\]
\[
if one day front=PC.3pl=OM NEG.take.PRES-2pl
\]
\[
savār=etun mi-š-and āqā
\]
\[
mounted=PC.2sg IPFV-become.PRES-3pl sir
\]
\`
‘If you don’t stop them, one day they will walk all over you, sir!’
\`

(4.72) PL 115: Postposed vocative

\[
nane=at če=aš=ast tāri verdi
\]
\[
mother=PC.2sg what=PC.3sg=COP.PRES.3sg Tari Verdi
\]
‘What is wrong with your mother, Tari Verdi?’

4.2.2 Postposed Objects

There were two examples of a postposed direct object marked with \(=r\)ā in the spoken text Dabir=e arabi=(y)e man (DAM) ‘My Arabic Teacher.’ In (4.73) the object dars=e arabi=rā ‘the Arabic lessons’ is preceded by a pause, as indicated, and is spoken quickly with low intonation. The function here is to amplify what the speaker has studied well, therefore we should treat it as a right-detached element even though it is marked as direct object. The postposed direct object in (4.74) is somewhat different. There is no pause or intonation break between \(ān dars=r\)ā ‘that lesson’ and the rest of the sentence. In this case the emphasis is on the verb midādam ‘I gave.’ Therefore \(ān dars=r\)ā ‘that lesson’ must be in the extra-core position of PoCS.

(4.73) DAM 149-150: Postverbal direct object

to dar haqq=e man bi?edālati kard-i
PN.2sg in truth=EZ PN.1sg injustice do.PAST-2sg
va man xub xānd-e bud-am
and PN.1sg good read-PSPT be.AUX.PAST-1sg
dars=e arabi=rā
lesson=EZ Arabic=OM
‘You have done me an injustice. I studied well, the Arabic lessons.’

(4.74) DAM 158-160: Postverbal direct object

ruz=i ke banā šod
day=REL CLM appointed become.PAST.3sg
barā=(y)e emtehān mojaddad
for=EZ examination renewal
tajdid ya:ni emtehān=i ke bāyad dobāre
renewal it.means examination=REL CLM must again
mi-dādam-ān ān dars=rā
IPFV-give.PAST-1sg that lesson=OM
‘On the day that was appointed for the retakes. Retakes: that is, the examination that I must retake for that subject.’

The PL written text also had a number of postverbal objects. The example of a postposed \(=r\)ā marked direct object in (4.75) occurred twice in the text. The point of interest here is that marā ‘me’ follows the postverbal vocative āqā ‘sir’. Functionally, marā appears to be in the PoCS which is used in some languages as a special focal position. In this case marā is an argument of the verb and is not an afterthought or clarification. However, the vocative āqā ‘sir’ is functionally in the Right Detached Position, since vocatives occur in either the LDP or RDP. But their linear order is the reverse of their
function! In RRG this is not a problem since constituent structure is based on syntactic function and not on principles of immediate adjacency.

(4.75) PL 248 & 290: Postverbal direct object

\[
\text{mi-baxš-i \ ťaqā \ marā} \\
\text{IPFV-forgive.PRES-2sg \ sir \ PN.1sg.OM}
\]

‘Please forgive me, sir.’

(4.76) also has a postverbal direct object but it is not marked as definite. It also occurs in the PoCS position. Here Tari Verdi is contrasting his sister’s pay with his own, which is less. We assume therefore, that this is why do tumān is in the PoCS position.

(4.76) PL 187-188: Postverbal direct object

\[
\text{u mi-gereft do tumān} \\
\text{PN.3sg IPFV-get.PAST.3sg \ two toman}
\]

\[
\text{man ham yek čiz=}= \text{u kam-tar az } \\
\text{PN.1sg also one thing=} \text{IND little-CMPR from PN.3sg}
\]

‘She used to get two toman (and) I got a little bit less than her.’

(4.77) and (4.78) illustrate examples of postverbal indirect objects from the PL text. These contrast with (4.79) and (4.80) where the indirect objects are preverbal. With (4.77) dast=e man may be postverbal because at this point the narrator ‘I’ becomes a recipient of Tari Verdi. In (4.78) dast=e amniehā is followed immediately by pedar=e=rā dar miāvord ‘to teach him a lesson’, so this is most likely the reason why the indirect object is postposed. Otherwise, the default order is for the IO to precede the verb, as in (4.79) and (4.80).

(4.77) PL 85-86: Postverbal indirect object

\[
\text{tāri verdi labu=(y)i \ entexāb kard} \\
\text{Tari Verdi beetroot=IND select do.PAST.3sg}
\]

\[
\text{va dād \ dast=e \ man} \\
\text{and give.PAST.3sg \ hand=EZ \ PN.1sg}
\]

‘Tari Verdi chose a beetroot and gave it to me.’

(4.78) PL 283: Postverbal indirect object

\[
\text{agarna pesar=e=rā \ mi-sepord-am} \\
\text{otherwise boy=DEF=OM IPFV-turn.over.PRES-1sg}
\]

\[
dast=e \ amnie-hā \\
\text{hand=EZ gendarmerie-PL}
\]

‘Otherwise I would have turned over the boy to the gendarmerie.’

(4.79) PL 216: Preverbal indirect object

\[
\text{yek tumān ezāfe \ be xāhar=am \ dād} \\
\text{one toman extra to sister=PC.1sg give.PAST.3sg}
\]

140
‘He gave one toman extra to my sister.’

(4.80)  PL 298: Preverbal indirect object

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yek} & = \text{i} \Rightarrow \text{rā} & \text{be} & = \text{ān} & \text{pir} = e & \text{kaftār} & \text{ne-mi-dah-am} \\
\text{one} & = \text{IND} \Rightarrow \text{OM} & \text{to} & \text{that} & \text{old} & \Rightarrow \text{EZ} & \text{hyena} & \text{NEG-IPFV-give.PRES-1sg}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I would not give one of them to that old hyena.’

Note with the postverbal indirect objects in (4.77) and (4.78) *dast* ‘hand’ functions as the preposition in the PP\textsubscript{IO}, whereas in the preverbal indirect objects in (4.79) and (4.80) the preposition is the default *be* ‘to’. We conclude the PP\textsubscript{IO} in (4.77) and (4.78) is placed in the PoCS position for discourse purposes.

4.2.3 Preposing of Direct Object

Persian is a subject and direct object pro-drop language and both of these categories can be expressed on the verb, by subject agreement suffixation and pronominal cliticization, respectively. When the direct object is expressed by an overt RP, where it occurs in the clause depends on whether it is indefinite or definite. As stated under §4.1, when the direct object is indefinite the default position is immediately preceding the verb. Examples of the following PP + DO\textsubscript{INDEF} combinations observed in the text corpus were illustrated: (4.4) PP\textsubscript{BEN} + DO\textsubscript{INDEF}, (4.5) PP\textsubscript{GOAL} + DO\textsubscript{INDEF}, (4.6) PP\textsubscript{REC} + DO\textsubscript{INDEF}, (4.7) PP\textsubscript{ADDRRESSEE} + DO\textsubscript{INDEF}, (4.8) PP\textsubscript{LOC} + DO\textsubscript{INDEF}, (4.9) PP\textsubscript{SRC} + DO\textsubscript{INDEF}, and (4.10) PP\textsubscript{MAN} + DO\textsubscript{INDEF}. When the DO is definite, the default position is to precede any oblique PP/RP argument except the temporal XP. We can call this the Focus Initial Position (FIP), as it is effectively the initial position in the actual focus domain. The subject referent and the temporal setting are regarded as presupposed by default. Some examples of DO\textsubscript{DEF} + PP are given in (4.81), (4.82), (4.83) and (4.84).

(4.81)  MSK 973: DO\textsubscript{DEF} + PP\textsubscript{BEN}

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{marā} & \Rightarrow \text{barā} = \text{(y)e bačče-hā=t be-bar-i} \\
\text{PN.1sg.OM for=EZ child-PL=PC.2sg IMP-take.PRES-2sg}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(to) take for your children (to eat).’

(4.82)  MSK 101: DO\textsubscript{DEF} + PP\textsubscript{REC}

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yek} & \Rightarrow \text{kas=i in harf-hā=rā} \\
\text{one} & \Rightarrow \text{person=IND this word-PL=OM}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{be} & \Rightarrow \text{māhi kučulu yād dād-e Ø} \\
\text{to} & \Rightarrow \text{fish little memory give-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3sg}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Somebody taught these ideas to the little fish.’

(4.83)  MSK 269: DO\textsubscript{DEF} + PP\textsubscript{SRC}

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{to} & \Rightarrow \text{mā=rā az xāb=e xarguši} \\
\text{PN.2sg PN.1pl=OM from sleep=EZ rabbitlike}
\end{align*}
\]
bidār kard-i awake do.PAST-2sg
‘You’ve woken us up from a deep sleep (lit. sleep of a rabbit).’

(4.84) PL 63: DO_{DEF} + PP_{GOAL}
kašk-sābi=rā ru=(y)e zamin gozāšt
brazen-bowl=OM on=EZ ground put.PAST.3sg
‘He put the brazen bowl on the ground.’

Mahootian (1997) says that the unmarked order of nuclear constituents is (SU) IO DO V when the DO is indefinite and (SU) DO IO V when the DO is definite. She presents (4.85a) and (4.85b) as typical examples. However, (4.85a) and (4.85b) both have the same semantic logical structure, as given in (4.85c). Ali is selected as actor and āb ‘water’ is selected as undergoer. The preposing of the definite DO does not effect this logical structure.

(4.85) a. ali be minu āb dād
   Ali to Minu water give.PAST.3sg
   ‘Ali gave water to Minu.’

b. ali āb=rā be minu dād
   Ali water=OM to Minu give.PAST.3sg
   ‘Ali gave the water to Minu.’

c. [do’ (Ali, ∅)] CAUSE [BECOME have’ (Minu, āb_{U})]

The definite object is marked with =rā regardless of whether there is a recipient be-PP in the clause or not, and the =rā marked object occurs preceding any PP including a recipient PP as the default position. Thus there is no obvious semantic or syntactic explanation for the preposing of the =rā marked object. However, we can account for the placement of the =rā marked object in sentences such as (4.85b) using principles of information flow. (Comrie 1989:127f) said that, provided the syntax of a language permits it, the order of constituents tends to conform to the ‘Principle of Natural Information Flow.’ When this principle is adhered to, the established information is presented before the non-established information. For example, the Principle of Natural Information Flow is grammaticalized in Romance languages in the placement of pronominal objects (established information) before the verb (which, under such circumstances, usually conveys non-established information). Compare French Ils suivrent Jean ‘They follow Jean’ with Ils le suivrent ‘They follow him.’

Consider the pair of sentences in (4.86) in English:

(4.86) ESTABLISHED NON-ESTABLISHED
a. John gave the knife to a boy.
b. John gave the boy a knife.
The sentences in (4.86) show that English syntax allows direct and indirect objects to occur in either order. Firbas (1964:115) points out that, if one object presents established information and the other, non-established information, then the established information normally precedes the non-established information. In other words, the default order of objects in English conforms to the Principle of Natural Information Flow.

In English, the established information within the focus structure is placed nearer the verb, i.e. in direct object position, than the non-established information. To do this, English uses the dative shift construction and the alternative choice for undergoer option. However, in Persian this is not the syntactic device used to indicate that the object RP refers to established information. Instead in Persian, the definite =rā marked object is placed in front of any oblique PP arguments in the clause. This is the Focus Initial Position (FIP).

Examples from the text corpus of the orders that follow the Principle of Information Flow of PP + DO\textsubscript{INDEF} and DO\textsubscript{DEF} + PP are given in (4.4)-(4.10) and (4.81)-(4.83), respectively. However, these default orderings can be varied. For example, Karimi (2003) notes that the indefinite direct object can precede the indirect object but only in a limited fashion, by representing contrastive focus, as in (4.87).

(4.87) Kimia aqlab (ye) ketāb=e dāstān barā bačče-hā
Kimia frequent (one) book=EZ story for child-PL
mi-xun-e
IPFV-read.PRES-3sg
‘Kimia frequently reads (a) STORYBOOK for children (rather than a poetry book).’

On the other hand, the definite direct object may precede the adverb, (4.88a), or appear in sentence-initial position, (4.88b). In these cases it receives contrastive topic or contrastive focus interpretation (depending on stress):

(4.88) a. Kimia in ketāb=e dāstān=rā aqlab barā bačče-hā
Kimia this book=EZ story=OM frequent for child-PL
mi-xun-e
IPFV-read.PRES-3sg
‘Kimia reads THIS STORYBOOK often for children.’ OR ‘As for this storybook, Kimia often reads (it) for the children.’

b. in ketāb=e dāstān=rā Kimia aqlab barā bačče-hā
this book=EZ story=OM Kimia frequent for child-PL
mi-xun-e
IPFV-read.PRES-3sg
‘Kimia reads THIS STORYBOOK often for children.’ OR ‘As for this storybook, Kimia reads (it) often for children.’
Examples occurred in our text corpus of both the marked orders $DO_{INDEF} + PP_{REC}$ and $PP + DO_{DEF}=rā$. The preposed direct object had a contrastive or highlighting function in each case and illustrative examples are given in (4.89)-(4.91). However, in all the cases of a preposed PP before a definite DO the PP was instrumental. In each instance the preposed instrumental PP had a discourse-pragmatic function, but there is also the possibility that the preposing is a result of an instrumental PP having a secondary effector in logical structure.

In (4.89) it is at this point that the $xanjar$ ‘dagger’ is introduced, which is the means that $māhi kučulu$ ‘little fish’ uses to escape from both $morq=e saqqā$ ‘pelican’ and $parande=(y)e māhixār$ ‘heron.’ It is an important prop in the story and therefore this indefinite object is placed before the recipient PP to indicate this. In this case $xanjar=i$ ‘a dagger’ is placed in the FIP.

(4.89) MSK 501: RP$_{INDEF} + PP_{REC}$

```
man $xanjar=i$ be to mi-dah-am
PN.1sg dagger=IND to PN.2sg IPFV-give.PRES-1sg
‘I will give a dagger to you.’
```

In (4.90) the $yek ketāb jāyeze$ ‘a book award’ contrasts with a punishment the author had received previously in the story from his school supervisor. This indefinite object is placed before the recipient PP in the FIP to express this contrastive prominence.

(4.90) MM 127: RP$_{INDEF} + PP_{REC}$

```
va $yek$ ketāb $jāyeze$ be=(h)em dād
and one book award to=PC.1sg give.PAST.3sg
‘and he gave a book in award to me.’
```

(4.91) is from $Hamrāh$ (H-I) ‘Companions (Informal).’ The preceding context is as follows: $mage$ $man$ $esm=e$ $bābā=(y)at=rā$ $miāram$ $ke$ $az$ $bas$ $xar$ $bud$ $ye(\kappa)$ $ādamizāde$ $mafangi$ $das$ $āmuzaš$ $karde$ $bud$ $borde$ $bud=aš$ $tu$ $deh$ $ke$ $morq$ $o$ $xorux=aš=rā$ $bepād$ ‘Have I ever mentioned your dad who was so daft that a mere human being tamed him and took him to the village to watch over his livestock ….’ Thus $inqadr$ $gošnegi$ ‘much hunger’ followed by death is the reward the wolf’s father got for looking after the man’s livestock. Hence the preposing of this indefinite object in the FIP expresses contrastive prominence.

(4.91) H-I 57-58: RP$_{INDEF} + PP_{REC}$

```
va $inqadr$ gošnegi $b=eš$ dād
and this.much hunger to=PC.3sg give.PAST.3sg
$tā$ āxar=aš $mord$
that at. last=PC.3sg die.PAST.3sg
‘and finally starved him (lit. gave him hunger) to death.’
```
Examples of PP + DO\textsubscript{DEF}\textsubscript{=rā} have been presented under §4.1.2.3. These are all instances of a preposed instrumental PPs functioning as a PoD. In (4.37) the preposed instrumental PP \textit{bā in xanjar} ‘with this dagger’ relates to two conjoined clauses and functions as a PoD. In (4.38) the preposed PP \textit{bā yek zarbat} ‘with one stroke (of the dagger)’ functions as a local instrumental PoD. In (4.40) the preposed PP \textit{bā češm\textsubscript{=e} rāst} ‘with the right eye’ functions as a local instrumental PoD. In (4.41) the preposed PP \textit{bā češm\textsubscript{=e} čap} ‘with the left eye’ functions as a contrastive local instrumental PoD. In (4.42) the preposed PP \textit{bā komak\textsubscript{=e} dasthā\textsubscript{=}aš} ‘with the help of his hand’ functions as an instrumental PoD. In (4.43) the instrumental PP \textit{bā češm\textsubscript{=e} digar\textsubscript{=}am} ‘with the other eye’ is contrastive. In (4.44) the instrumental PP \textit{bā češm\textsubscript{=e} sālem} ‘with the sound eye’ is also contrastive.

While all of these preposed PPs have a discourse-pragmatic function, it is worth noting that they are all instrumental PPs. Recall that the LS of an instrumental PP has a secondary effector, as illustrated in (4.34). Thus this could be another reason for placing the instrumental PP before the definite DO in the syntactic structure.

(4.34) a. \textit{bā in xanjar hame\textsubscript{=tān\textsubscript{=rā} mi-koš-am}}
   ‘I will kill you all with this dagger.

b. [\textit{do′} (1sg, [\textit{use′} (1sg, xanjar)])] CAUSE [[\textit{do′} (xanjar, Ø)]
   EFFECTOR USER IMPLEMENT EFFECTOR
   CAUSE [BECOME dead′ (2pl)]
   PATIENT

4.3 Formal Account of Constituent Order

In §4.1 we established that the unmarked order of constituents in the clause is as given in (4.92), where the direct object is indefinite.

(4.92) subject – temporal – source – locative – benefactive/goal –
       instrumental – direct object – verb

In order to account for this we would need to have a specific clause-internal linear precedence rule, as shown in Figure 4.4.

```
Figure 4.4: Default clause-internal linear precedence rule for Persian
```
The PSA (subject) occurs in first position in the clause and the other direct core argument (DCA) occurs immediately preceding the verb nucleus. Between the PSA and the DCA are the peripheral elements. These can be divided between the RP/PP immediately following the PSA which expresses the temporal setting of the clause and the following oblique PPs. A linear precedence rule can also be established for the oblique PPs and this is given in Figure 4.5. The order is source > locative > benefactive/goal > instrumental and each PP is linked to the semantic logical structure which expresses that thematic role.

\[
\text{PP} > \text{PP} > \text{PP} > \text{PP} > \text{PP} > \text{NUC}
\]

… NOT \text{be-at}' (location, y) \quad \text{be-loc}' (location, theme)
… NOT \text{have}' (possessor, y) \quad \text{use}' (x, instrument)
\text{be-loc}' (location, y)

Figure 4.5: Linear precedence rule for oblique PPs

The temporal RP/PP and the oblique PPs can all occur as PoDs in the PreCore Slot position. A temporal XP as a PoD, is normally used to indicate a change or progression in the temporal context. On the other hand, a locative XP as a PoD is typically used to add more information to a locational context that has already been established. A source PP PoD has a similar function to the locative XP to provide more details of the location. It can occur in the PrCS. When an instrumental PP occurs in the PrCS it functions to present the instrument as either a new or contrastive topic.

An illustration of a locative RP in the PrCS is given in Figure 4.3. The focus structure for this is given in Figure 4.6. The locative RP in the PrCS takes marked narrow focus. In other instances where the oblique RP/PP occurs in the PrCS the focus structure would have marked narrow focus on the oblique RP/PP in the PrCS.

Goal PPs can be placed after the verb when they occur with motion verbs. In colloquial speech this typically also involves the deletion of the preposition. We analyze this as a form of contraction, since the goal XP does not change its function in the postverbal position. We also noted that the postverbal placement of a goal XP is a device used to highlight a mainline event.

An example of a postverbal goal PP was given in (4.48a). The constituent and focus structure for this sentence is illustrated in Figure 4.7. The postverbal goal PP occurs in the postcore slot and takes marked narrow focus.
As described in §4.1.3.2, the default is for purpose clauses to occur before the matrix verb, but may be placed after the verb in the colloquial register. However, this postverbal placement does not appear to have any discourse function. In terms of syntactic structure, a postverbal purpose clause would be treated as a linked core. Postposed relative clauses are modifiers within the RP.

With regard to postposed subjects, only postposed vocatives occurred in text corpus and they would be in the RDP since they are not direct core arguments. Both examples of postposed direct objects would be in the PsCS since they are still a core argument of the clause.

In §4.2.3 we argued that the preposed definite direct object could be handled by the principle of natural information flow: established information > non-established information. We also suggested that to all intents and purposes the =rā marked definite direct object occurs in the focus initial position. The constituent and focus structure for (4.85b) is given in Figure 4.8. The definite direct object āb ‘water’ is in the FIP.
Figure 4.7: Focus structure for a postverbal goal XP

Figure 4.8: Definite object in focus initial position
Kimia reads THIS STORY BOOK often for children.

As for this story book Kimia reads (it) often for children.

In (4.88b) a =rā marked direct object was illustrated which could be interpreted as either a contrastive topic or contrastive focus depending on...
stress. Figure 4.9 illustrates the constituent and focus structure for the interpretation of the direct object as contrastive focus and Figure 4.10 illustrates the constituent and focus structure for the interpretation of the direct object as a contrastive topic. For the latter, interpretation as contrastive topic would be from the discourse representation structure.
5. Cohesive Devices in Narrative Text

In this chapter we look at the following cohesive devices and how they are used in our text corpus: the definite object marker $=rā$, lexical cohesion, connectives and deixis. In §5.1 the investigation of the functions of $=rā$ in the text corpus shows that it is primarily a marker of definiteness and it is also obligatory when the direct object has specific reference. With regard to the claims in the literature that $=rā$ can be used as a marker of ‘topicalization’, we show, firstly, that topicalization with respect to $=rā$ marking has been used incoherently to refer to both the syntactic process of placing an item in clause initial or Pre-Core Slot position and the pragmatic process of indicating a marked topic and, secondly, that linguists examining this phenomenon have had an inadequate understanding of the notions of topic and focus. We show that some cases of $=rā$ ‘topicalization’ are instances of marked focus, while others are topic marking.

In §5.2 we investigate how word repetition, synonyms, superordinates, and opposites are used for lexical cohesion in the text corpus. In this section we also see how certain types of pro-forms are used for cohesive purposes. In §5.3 we look at coordinating, additive, and adversative connectives, as well as connectives that constrain a developmental interpretation. In each case it is shown that a particular connective will constrain the choice of context for interpretation in a certain way. In 5.4 we propose the theory that in modern Persian there is a bias or preference for proximal deixis over distal deixis where there is a choice available. Proximal deixis is where the reference point of the report is in some sense near to the happening of the event and distal deixis is where the reference point of the report is in some sense far from the happening of the event. This notion of proximal and distal deixis is manifested in different ways according to the different types of deixis in Persian.

5.1 $Rā$ Marking and Identity of Reference

The precise function and syntactic-semantic scope of the object marker $=rā$ (and its phonological variants $=ro$ following vowels and $=o$ following consonants) is controversial. The traditional view, supported by Phillot (1919) Sadeqi (1970), Lazard (1970, 1982, 1992), Xānlari (1974), Thackston (1993), Mahootian (1997), Rafiee (2001), and Mace (2003) is that $=rā$ marks definite direct objects. But some researchers, such as Browne (1970), Karimi (1989), Windfuhr (1987), and Dabir-Moghaddam (1990, 1992) have
disputed this analysis and proposed that =rā, while often suggesting definiteness, is primarily an indicator of specificity or even topicalization. Shokouhi and Kipka (2003), on the other hand, study how =rā is used in a text corpus and argue that the function of =rā can be accounted for in terms of indicating the identifiability of referents in discourse.

5.1.1 An Overview of the Usage of rā

The following description of =rā usage in modern Persian is gleaned primarily from Lazard (1992), Thackston (1993), Mahootian (1997) and Mace (2003). If the object noun or RP has a definite referent, i.e. identifiable to both speaker and addressee, =rā is added, compare (5.1). This applies whether the nominal is unmarked singular/collective or marked for plurality. Note that in (5.1a) the plural ketāb-hā ‘books’ would require the =rā marking, i.e. ketāb-hā=rā gereft ‘She took the books.’ As Windfuhr (1987: 533) explains, unmodified nouns in Persian are generic and may denote single or more entities. The addition of the plural marker restricts this meaning. In fact, Windfuhr says the basic function of -hā is not plural, but ‘amplification.’ While -hā marking is interpreted as plural with count nouns, it expresses increase or extent with mass nouns, e.g. āb-hā ‘waters, all kinds of waters, plenty of water.’ Thus =rā is marked on ketāb-hā in ketāb-hā=rā gereft because -hā restricts the reference of ketāb.

(5.1) a. ketāb gereft
    book/books take.PAST.3sg
    ‘She took a book/books.’
    (referential identity and individuality are not indicated)

b. ketāb=i / ketāb-hā=(y)i gereft
    book=IND / book-PL=IND take.PAST.3sg
    ‘She took a/an another book / some books.’
    (referential identity is not indicated and individuality is indicated)

c. ketāb=rā / ketāb-hā=rā gereft
    book=OM / book-PL=OM take.PAST.3sg
    ‘She took the book / the books.’
    (referential identity is indicated and individuality is not indicated)

As noted by Lazard (1992:74-76), =rā attaches to the whole noun phrase (RP) and not just to the word, as in (5.1). For example, it attaches to the adjective in (5.2), the possessor pronominal clitic in (5.3), the second coordinated nominal in (5.4) and (5.5) and the possessor pronoun in (5.6).

(5.2) kalame=(y)e sahih=rā hads zad
    word=EZ correct=OM guess hit.PAST.3sg
    ‘He guessed the correct word’

(5.3) xande-hā o harf-hā=(y)e masxare=šān=rā
    laughter-PL and talk-PL=EZ mocking=PC.3pl=OM

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mi-šenid
IPFV-hear.PAST.3sg
‘He was hearing their mocking laughter and talk.’

(5.4) ruznāme o medād=rā dost gereft
newspaper and pencil=OM hand take.PAST.3sg
‘He took the newspaper and pencil in his hand.’

(5.5) pesar-hā o doxtar-hā=rā did-am
boy-PL and girl-PL=OM see.PAST-1sg
‘I saw the boys and girls.’

(5.6) češm-hā=(y)e siāh=e u=rā mi-did-am
eye-PL=EZ black=EZ PN.3sg=OM IPFV-see.PAST-1sg
‘I was seeing her black eyes.’

Lazard (1992:75) says that when a nominal object is followed by a prepositional phrase, the object marker is placed either immediately after the noun (or its modifiers), as in (5.7a), or after the prepositional phrase, as in (5.7b). Modern Persian has a tendency to prefer the construction in (5.7b). In other words, marking the whole RP with =rā is preferred to marking the head of the RP.

(5.7) a. yek=i=rā az ānhā
one=IND=OM from PN.3pl
‘one of them’

b. yek=i az ānhā=rā
one=IND from PN.3pl=OM
‘one of them’

Thus the morphological status of =rā is that of a bound clitic word rather than an affix. Affixes are essentially parts of words, and because of this only attach to a lexical stem or compound lexical stem. For example, nouns in Persian are marked as plural by adding the suffix -hā (after vowels and -ā after consonants in the spoken form) to the end of the noun. This suffix is the default plural marking for both animate and inanimate nouns, as illustrated in (5.8). The plural suffix has an alternative morphological variant, -ān (after consonants), -(y)ān (after all vowels except e), and -(g)ān (after e), which can also be used, but only for animate nouns. This is illustrated in (5.9).

(5.8) a. ketāb ‘book’
ketāb-hā ‘books’

b. gorbe ‘cat’
gorbe-hā ‘cats’

(5.9) a. mard ‘man’
mard-ān ‘the men’

b. gedā ‘beggar’
gedā-(y)ān ‘the beggars’

c. parande ‘bird’
parande-(g)ān ‘the birds’

Where a noun compound comprises root + root then the plural suffix -hā attaches to the end of the compound, as illustrated in (5.10), for example. The final -i in (5.10c) and (5.10d) is a derivational suffix indicating a noun derived from two nouns. These form compound noun stems. This contrasts
with ezāfe compounds. The examples in (5.11) are taken from the Māhi siāh=e kučulu ‘The Little Black Fish.’ (5.11a) is a nominal compound and has a single word stress. In this case -hā is attached to the compound stem. But (5.11b) is a referential phrase with a noun nucleus and in this case -hā is attached to the noun heading the RP.

(5.10) a. ruznāme-hā
day.letter-PL
‘newspapers’
b. sāhebxāne-hā
owner.house-PL
‘landlords’
c. hamkelāsi-hā=(y)am
mate.class-PL=PC.1sg
‘my classmates’
d. češmbandi-hā
eye.block-PL
‘sleights of hand’

(5.11) a. māhirize-hā
fish.tiny
‘tiny fish’
b. māhi-hā=(y)e rize
fish-PL=EZ tiny
‘tiny fish’

In contrast to affixes, 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. For example, the French subject pronouns je, tu, etc. are bound to a following finite verb, as in je vais ‘I’m going.’ Clitics can also be distinguished from affixes in that whereas affixes attach to a single category of host, clitics will exhibit so-called promiscuous attachment and will be able to be phonologically bound to a range of different categories of hosts. For example, the contracted negative form ‘nt of not in English only attaches to verbs, e.g. don’t, can’t, couldn’t. But the contracted form ‘ve of have, by comparison, can attach to either verbs or pronouns, and can also be attached outside of ‘nt, e.g. I could’ve gone, We’ve been already, He won’t’ve seen it. Therefore ‘nt is a suffix and ‘ve is a postclitic.

Phonologically, =rā patterns as a clitic word rather than as an affix. Mace (2003:33) says that the items listed in (5.12) are unstressed and have no effect on the stress of the host to which they are attached, while the items listed in (5.13) take the stress pattern of the word of which they form a part. The items in (5.12b-e) are clitic words, while those in (5.12a) and (5.13) are suffixes. Morpheme breaks for the verb endings have a hyphen to distinguish these from the cliticized copular verb, for which we will use the = symbol.

(5.12) Unstressed attachments which have no effect on the stress of the host:
   a. personal endings of verbs: -am, -i, -ad, -im, -id, -and
   b. the ezāfe: =/(y)e
c. the indefinite suffix: \((y)i\)
d. the direct object suffix: \(=rā\) (=ro, =o)
e. the possessor and pronoun-object suffixes: \(=am, =at/=et, =aš/=eš, =emān/=emun, =etān/=etun, =esān/=esun\)

(5.13) Attached items which assume the stress of the word of which they form a part:

a. all plural suffixes: \(-hā, -ān, -egān, āt, -(e)jāt, -in, un\)
b. the adjective suffixes: \(-tar, tarin\)
c. the ordinal number suffixes: \(-om, -omin\)

Therefore \(=rā\) has the phonological and morphological properties of a clitic and not an affix. However, it should be noted that \(=rā\) has a case marking grammatical function, which is typically an affixial function. In (5.14a) it is clear that \(doxtar=e pādešāh\) ‘king’s daughter’ is direct object because it is marked with \(=rā\). However, in (5.14b) \(doxtar=e pādešāhi\) ‘a king’s daughter’ can only be interpreted as subject. To make \(doxtar=e pādešāhi\) ‘a king’s daughter’ direct object, \(=rā\) must be added, as in (5.14c).

(5.14) a. \(doxtar=e\ pādešāh=rā\ busid\)
     daughter=EZ  king=OM  kiss.PAST.3sg
     ‘He kissed the king’s daughter.’

b. \(doxtar=e\ pādešāh=i\ busid\)
    daughter=EZ  king=IND  kiss.PAST.3sg
    ‘A king’s daughter kissed.’ not ‘He kissed a king’s daughter.’

c. \(doxtar=e\ pādešāh=i=rā\ busid\)
    daughter=EZ  king=IND=OM  kiss.PAST.3sg
    ‘He kissed a (certain) king’s daughter.’

A number of nominals are construed as having inherently identifiable referents because of their semantic and/or grammatical properties and therefore necessarily attract \(=rā\) marking where appropriate. Proper names, as in (5.15), are assumed to refer to a unique entity. Pronouns (personal, demonstrative and quantifier), as in (5.16), have ostensive reference. Nominals qualified by a demonstrative pronoun, in ‘this’ or un ‘that’, a comparative demonstrative, hamīn ‘same.this’ or hamān ‘same.that’, or the possessive ezāfe where the possessor is a pronoun or a proper name, as in (5.17), have identifiable referents. The reflexive 
\(xod\) ‘self’ and the reciprocals 
yekdigar and hamdigar ‘each other’ are also construed as definite because they have anaphoric reference.

(5.15) a. \(irān=rā\ did-id\)
    Iran=OM  see.PAST-2pl
    ‘Did you see Iran?’
b. ali=rā kojā did-id
   Ali=OM where see.PAST-2pl
   ‘Where did you see Ali?’

(5.16) a. dust-ān=aš u=rā dowre kard-and
   friend-PL=PC.3sg PN.3sg=OM circle do.PAST-3pl
   ‘His friends got her away’
b. ān=rā gereft-and
   that=OM take.PAST-3pl
   ‘They took it.’
c. hame=rā baxšid-am
   all=OM forgive.PAST-1sg
   ‘I forgave them all.’

c. ān=rā gereft-and
   that=OM take.PAST-3pl
   ‘They took it.’

(5.17) a. ān xāne-hā=rā na-did-am
   that house-PL=OM NEG-see.PAST-1sg
   ‘I didn’t see those houses.’
b. hamān qazā=rā xord-and
   same.this food=OM eat.PAST-3pl
   ‘They ate that same food.’
c. xāne=(y)e u=rā xarid-id
   house=EZ PN.3sg=OM buy.PAST-2pl
   ‘Did you buy his house?’
d. xāne=(y)e ali=rā na-did-am
   house=EZ Ali=OM NEG-see.PAST-1sg
   ‘I didn’t see Ali’s house.’

Some expressions are construed as definite because they have specific reference. They pick out one referent from a range of reference. This is the case with the complement of the phrases yek=i az ‘one of’ and hič yek az ‘none of’, as in (5.18). A nominal qualified by a superlative adjective is also referentially specific and attracts =rā marking, as in (5.19).

(5.18) a. yek=i az ānhā=rā xāstam
   one=IND from PN.3pl=OM want.PAST-2sg
   ‘I wanted one of those.’
b. hič yek az ketāb-hā=(y)e šomā=rā na-(y)āvārd-am
   not one from book-PL=EZ PN.2pl=OM NEG-bring.PAST-1sg
   ‘I didn’t bring one of your books.’

(5.19) a. behtarin taxtexāb=rā xarid-am
   best bed=OM buy.PAST-1sg
   ‘I bought the best bed.’
b. dānešāmuz-hā saxt-tarin soāl-hā=rā porsid-and student-PL difficult-SUPR question-PL=OM ask.PAST-3pl

‘The students asked the most difficult questions.’

The indefinite clitic =i and the definite direct object clitic =rā can both be used on the same nominal and gives the meaning or implied meaning of ‘a certain.’ Compare (5.20).

(5.20) a. mi-xāh-am xāne be-xar-am
     IPFV-want.PRES-1sg house SBJN-buy.PRES-1sg
     ‘I want to buy a house.’ (reference unknown to speaker and hearer)

b. mi-xāh-am xāne=rā be-xar-am
     IPFV-want.PRES-1sg house=OM SBJN-buy.PRES-1sg
     ‘I want to buy the house.’ (reference known to both speaker and hearer)

c. mi-xāh-am xāne=i=rā be-xar-am
     IPFV-want.PRES-1sg house=IND=OM SBJN-buy.PRES-1sg
     ‘I want to buy a certain house.’ (reference known only to the speaker)

So =rā marking on the direct object can indicate that the identity of the referent is available to both speaker and hearer, as in (5.20b) and many other examples—the most common usage, or that the identity of the referent is available only to the speaker, as in (5.20c). It is also the case that =rā can be marked on the direct object when the identity of the referent is available only to the addressee. For example, in (5.21a) the identity of the referent to če čiz ‘what thing’ is not available to the speaker, hence the question. But the speaker assumes the identity is available to the addressee, so če čiz is marked with =rā. In (5.21b) the reference of ki ‘who’ is also not available to the speaker but she assumes it is available to the addressee. In addition to this, =rā marking on the direct object can indicate a specific reference, as in (5.18) and (5.19).

(5.21) a. če čiz=rā mi-xāh-i be-bin-i
     what thing=OM IPFV-want.PAST-2sg SBJN-see.PRES-2sg
     ‘What do you want to see?’

b. ki=rā daːvat kard-and
     who=OM invite do.PAST-3pl
     ‘Whom did they invite?’

According to Mahootian (1997), the unmarked position for the direct object RP is the immediately preverbal position: (SU)—IO/OO—DO—V. However, this ordering only occurs if the DO.RP is indefinite. If it is definite
then the DO.RP precedes the indirect or oblique object RP. Contrast (5.22) with (5.23).

(5.22) ali be minu āb dād
   Ali to Minu water give.PAST.3sg
   ‘Ali gave water to Minu.’

(5.23) ali āb=o be minu dād
   Ali water=OM to Minu give.PAST.3sg
   ‘Ali gave the water to Minu.’

Not only does =rā mark direct objects it can also be used in colloquial speech to mark non-arguments in the clause, such as adverbials of time or location/goal. The examples in (5.24) are from Thackston (1993:212). This function is said to ‘topicalize’ the marked constituent.

(5.24) a. širāz=(r)o na-raft-am
   Shiraz=OM NEG-go.PAST-1sg
   ‘I haven’t gone to Shiraz.’

b. tamām=e šahr=(r)o gašt-im
   all=EZ city=OM look.around.PAST-1pl
   ‘We went all around the city.’

c. emšab=(r)o haminjā be-xāb-in
   tonight=OM same.this.place IMP-sleep.PRES-2pl
   ‘Sleep here tonight.’

5.1.2 Rā and Discourse Reference

Shokouhi and Kipka (2003) studied the function of =rā at a discourse level. They say it has been claimed that =rā functions as a definiteness marker, a specificity marker, and a topicalization marker. Among the proposed analyses, the following suggestions can be found in the literature:

a. The basic function of rā is to mark the object complement (see Lazard, 1970, 1992 and Xānlari, 1974).

b. The function of rā is to mark definiteness (Sadeqi, 1970).

c. Rā functions as a marker signalling specific objects and not merely definite ones (Browne, 1970).

d. Rā is used as a topicalizing marker to contrast two persons or objects (Karimi, 1989).

In their study, however, Shokouhi and Kipka (Sh&K) have concluded that the multi-faceted function of =rā can be adequately accounted for in terms of referent identification signalling by the speaker, i.e. that the speaker by using =rā signals to the addressee that referent identification of the object
should be undertaken. Other functions of \(=rā\) are subordinate to this primary function.

Sh&K studied a database of 12 recorded conversations between Persian native speakers. The total amount of Persian conversational data amounted to over 5,000 intonation units, which represented approximately six hours of dialogue. It was therefore a study of the use of \(=rā\) in the spoken register. Using Chafe’s approach Sh&K classified all referents in the data as given (=active), new or accessible. In addition to these three categories of information type, Sh&K followed Du Bois and Thompson (1992) and Chafe (1987) and also classified each referent according to its identifiability status. They found that all active and accessible referents were identifiable, but not all identifiable referents were active. Some were merely accessible. Furthermore, although new referents were generally non-identifiable, some were identifiable depending on the hearer’s previous familiarity with a referent.

A quantitative analysis of all tokens containing \(=rā\) in the study showed that out of a total of 233 tokens, 142 could be classified as active and 62 as accessible. Following Firbas (1974) they counted these 142+62=204 tokens as somehow ‘topical.’ This left 29 out of the 233 tokens with \(=rā\) in the category of new information. Even so, the greatest informational association of \(=rā\) is with the active referent (currently topical), and if the notion of topicality is broadened to include accessible referents as well the association of \(=rā\) with the topical referent is even stronger. Sh&K gave (5.25) as a typical example from their database of an active referent marked with \(=rā\) and (5.26) as an accessible referent. In (5.25) șahrie ‘tuition’ is active in the consciousness of S and T because T has just introduced this concept in her utterance. In (5.26) barbeque is accessible to both A and M because the concept park introduced by A brings with it a frame of associated referents which includes barbeque.

(5.25) T: rāsti șahrie ā chi šod
really tuition what become.PAST.3sg
‘by the way, what happened to the tuition?’

S: șahrie=rā goft-an bardāxt kard-an
tuition=OM say.PAST-3pl pay do.PAST-3pl
‘(they) said (they) have paid the tuition.’

(5.26) A: pārk četowr bud
park how be.PAST.3sg
‘What was the park like?’

M: xub bud
good be.PAST.3sg
‘It was good.’

bārbikyu=rā nešun=e maryam dād-am
barbeque=OM show=ez Maryam give.PAST-1sg
‘The barbeque, (I) showed (it) to Maryam.’

But the question that Sh&K sought to answer was why were 29 new referents marked with =rā? As new referents they could not be topical. When cross-checked with the identifiability paradigm Sh&K found that all except 3 of the 29 new referents were identifiable. The three examples are given in (5.27)-(5.29). In each case, for the expression marked with =rā its referent is not necessarily identifiable to the addressee. However, in each case the speaker is actually asking a question to check whether the referent of the expression marked with =rā is known to the addressee and in each instance the speaker happens to receive a non-affirmative reply.

(5.27) A: āqā=(y)e Nāderiān=rā mi-šnāxt-i
   Mr.=EZ Naderian=OM IPFV-know.PAST-2sg
   ‘Did you know Mr Naderian?’
N: Nāderiān kodum bud
   Naderian which be.PAST.3sg
   ‘Which one was Naderian?’
A: Nāderiān dige
   Naderian DS.MRK
   ‘Well Naderian’
   (two IUs later)
   …mohandesi mi-xun-e
   engineering IPFV-study.PRES-3sg
   ‘he’s studying engineering’
   (one IU later)
N: na
   no
   ‘No.’

(5.28) G: un qazie=(y)e Zaki=rā man be=t goft-am
   that matter= EZ Zaki=OM PN.1sg to=PC.2sg say.PAST-1sg
   ‘Have I told you about Zaki?’
H: na
   no
   ‘No.’

(5.29) M: un kāmpyuter=e=rā be=t goft-am
   that computer=DEF=OM to=PC.2sg say.PAST-1sg
   xarid-am
   buy.PAST-1sg
   ‘Did I tell you that I bought the computer?’
A: fekr ne-mi-kon-am
    thought NEG-IPFV-do.PRES-1sg
    ‘I don’t think so.’

Thus the initial conclusion suggested by the evidence presented by Sh&K is that =$rā$ marks the referent as identifiable. However, the function of =$rā$ is more subtle than that. Sh&K then started from the other side of the paradigm and looked at all the identifiable referents to see how many were marked with =$rā$. The data contained 223 direct objects that were best classified as new information and of these 136 were identifiable, while 87 were not (= total of 223 new referents). When you recall that only 29 new referents were marked with =$rā$ this leaves 107 new identifiable referents not marked with =$rā$. This negates the conclusion that the presence or absence of =$rā$ simply marks the referent as identifiable or nonidentifiable.

However, what Sh&K do propose is that the presence of =$rā$ is a signal from the speaker to the addressee that referent tracing is to be undertaken for the object so marked. Where =$rā$ is absent the speaker is most likely indicating that tracing the referent of the object is not expected, either because it does not matter or because the referent here may in fact be non-identifiable. This confirms the suggestion made by Comrie (1989) that =$rā$ is used by the speaker to ‘advise’ the hearer about the identification of the referents.

5.1.3 $rā$ Marking in the Text Corpus

We conducted our own discourse study of =$rā$ marking. This was based on a corpus of 16 texts as detailed in Appendix I. All of the texts represent modern Persian. Two of the texts were transcribed oral texts and the rest were written texts. The longest text comprised 1111 clauses and the shortest (a letter) just 23. One text, Hamrāh ‘Companions’ by Sādeq Čubak, had an informal and a formal version. The total number of clauses in the texts amounted to 4842 and throughout all the texts there were 491 instances of =$rā$ marking.

In §5.1.4 we look at forms expressing inherent referentiality. The majority of these forms are deemed inherently referential because they express anaphoric reference. However, some, such as superlative and ordinal adjectives, have specific reference. In §5.1.5 we describe the nature of active and accessible referents marked with =$rā$. We show how active and accessible reference is maintained primarily through anaphoric pronominals as well as lexical reiteration. In all the cases examined, the =$rā$ marked the direct object as having an identifiable referent. In §5.1.6 we examine new referents and particularly investigate the reason for =$rā$ marking on direct objects with referents new to the discourse. We found that this =$rā$ marking could be accounted for by either (a) the new referent belonging to a frame of referents already established in the mind of the addressee or (b) the new
referent being marked by an established pronominal possessor reference. Thus all instances of new referents marked with =rā could be accounted for in terms of indicating the identifiability of the reference of the direct object.

### 5.1.4 Forms Expressing Inherent Referentiality

Within the text database there were a range of forms that are understood to be inherently referential. These included personal pronouns, proper names, demonstrative and quantifier pronouns, nominals qualified by demonstrative adjectives, reciprocal expressions, e.g. *hamdīgar* ‘each other’, nominals qualified by superlatives and ordinal adjectives, and possessives. In addition, in a number of texts there were instances of the pronominal clitic object in a compound verb being marked with =rā.

Although this discussion is limited to direct object function and to those items considered to be inherently definite, it was found that =rā marking is based on a range of semantic and pragmatic factors. These included anaphoric and cataphoric reference, deixis, unique reference, discourse and external reference, specific reference, and whether the referent is concrete or abstract. It was also the case that the =rā marked item can refer to bounded entities expressed by nominals, or to propositions expressed by a sentence, or even to a whole discourse expressed by a portion of direct speech.

All the personal pronouns functioning as direct object in our database were marked with =rā. This would suggest that personal pronouns are always construed as indicating an identifiable referent. Note that this applies even where the person and number of the pronoun varies. In *Māhi siāh=e kučulu* ‘The Little Black Fish’, for example, the fish of the story is introduced at the beginning of the text as an indefinite referent, as shown in (5.30). The first instance after this when this entity is referred to by personal pronoun is in clause 202 in a direct speech, and in this case the referential expression is first person, (5.31). However, here there is a local antecedent in the preceding speech verb clause. The next personal pronoun reference is in clause 224 and is third person, although here again there is a local antecedent in the preceding clause, (5.32). There is also a second person reference to the same entity, as illustrated by (5.33). In this case the identity of šomā ‘you’ has to be retrieved from the next but one speech verb clause *māhi goft* ‘the (little black) fish said …’ (clause 418). The locutor in (5.33) is *xarčang goft* ‘the crab said …’ (clause 410). Overall an average of about 20% of =rā markings in the text database were on personal pronouns.

(5.30) MSK 4-5

\[
\begin{align*}
yek=i \quad & \text{bud} \\
yek=i \quad & \text{na-bud} \\
onel=\text{IND} \quad & \text{be.PAST.3sg} \\
one=\text{IND} \quad & \text{NEG-be.PAST.3sg} \\
yek māhi siāh=e \quad & \text{kučulu bud} \\
one \quad & \text{fish black=EZ little be.PAST.3sg} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Once upon a time, there was a little black fish.’
(5.31) MSK 201-202
māhi=(y)e kučulu goft
fish=EZ little say.PAST.3sg
pas marā ham be-koš-id
then PN.1sg.OM also SBJN-kill.PRES-2pl
‘The little fish said, “Then kill me too.”’

(5.32) MSK 222-224
māhi-hā tā āmad-and
fish-PL as.soon.as come.AUX.PAST-3pl
māhi=(y)e siāh=e kučulu=rā be-gir-and
fish=EZ black=EZ little=OM SBJN-take.PRES-3pl
dust-ān=aš u=rā dowre kard-and
friend-PL=PC.3sg PN.3sg=OM around do.PAST-3pl
‘Just as the fish were going to grab the little black fish, her friends surrounded her …’

(5.33) MSK 413-417
češm=e šomā če did
eye=EZ PN.2pl what see.PAST.3sg
va aql=etān če goft
and mind=PC.2PL what say.PAST.3sg
ke xiāl kard-id
CLM suppose do.PAST-2pl
mā mi-xāh-im
PN.1pl IPFV-want.PRES-1pl
šomā=rā šekār kon-im
PN.2pl=OM hunt SBJN.do.PRES-1pl
‘What did your eyes see and your mind say that you supposed we wanted to catch you?’

(5.34) provides an example of a proper name marked as identifiable. sāšā
‘Sasha’ is introduced as a new referent in clause 5. Subsequent reference to ‘Sasha’ as DO is by personal pronoun until clause 272 where he is referred to by name again.

(5.34) SAJ 5
esm=e pesar=e kuček sāšā bud
name=EZ son=EZ small Sasha be.PAST.3sg
‘The name of the youngest son was Sasha.’

SAJ 150: marā PN.1sg.OM
SAJ 203: u=rā PN.3sg=OM
Demonstrative pronouns were used to express referents that could be identifiable. In (5.35) *in ‘this’* in clause 152 is marked as having an identifiable referent and refers to the preceding 12 clauses of direct speech. This type of reference is more commonly expressed by *in harf ‘these words’* in our text database, where *in ‘this’* functions as a demonstrative adjective. In contrast to the anaphoric reference expressed in (5.35) the *in ‘this’* in clause 92 in (5.36) refers cataphorically to the propositions expressed in the complement clauses 93 and 94.

(5.35) Previous discourse: H-I 139-151 of direct speech

H-I 152:

*in=rā* goft
this=OM say.PAST.3sg

H-I 153:

va zende zende šekam=e dust=e xod=rā darid
and alive alive stomach=EZ friend=EZ self=OM rip.PAST.3sg

H-I 154:

va del o jegar=e u=rā dāq dāq balʔid
and heart and liver=EZ PN.3sg=OM hot hot devour.PAST.3sg

‘On saying this, he (the wolf) ripped the belly of his own friend while still alive and devoured his hot heart and liver.’

(5.36) MSK 92:

masalan *in=rā* fahmid-e am
example this=OM understand-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.1sg

MSK 93:

ke bištär=e māhi-hā mowqeʔ=e piri šekāyat
CLM more=EZ fish-PL time=EZ old complain
mi-kon-and
IPFV-do.PRES-3pl

MSK 94:

ke zendegi=šan=rā bixodi talaf
CLM life=PC.3pl=OM needlessly direction
For example I have understood this, that most fish in old age complain that they have wasted their lives to no purpose.’

The demonstrative pronoun ān ‘that’ was only used as a personal pronoun in the database. In (5.37) ān ‘it’ refers to heyvān, the animal that has been ruining the field. In (5.38) ān ‘it’ refers to qofle zarih, the lock referred to in the previous clause.

(5.37) SAJ 29:

\[\text{mi-ā-(y)ad } xāne} \quad \text{IPFV-come.PRES-3sg } \text{home}\]

SAJ 30:

\[\text{mi-gu-(y)and} \quad \text{IPFV-say.PRES-3pl}\]

SAJ 31:

\[\text{ān=rā } \text{gereft-i} \quad \text{PN.3sg=OM } \text{catch.PAST-2sg}\]

‘He comes home and they say “Did you catch it?”’

(5.38) TA 65:

\[\text{va } \text{did} \quad \text{and see.PAST.3sg}\]

TA 66:

\[\text{ke } \text{daste=i } \text{zan va } \text{āxund} \quad \text{CLM group=IND woman and cleric}\]

\[\text{dowr=e } \text{zan=i } \text{gerd } \text{āmad-e and round=EZ woman=IND gather come-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3pl}\]

TA 67:

\[\text{ke } \text{be qofl=e } \text{zarih } \text{časbid-e} \quad \text{CLM to lock=EZ shrine cling-PSPT}\]

TA 68:

\[\text{ān=rā } \text{mi-bus-ad} \quad \text{that=OM IPFV-kiss.PRES-3sg}\]

TA 69:

\[\text{va } \text{faryād mi-zan-ad} \quad \text{and cry IPFV-hit.PRES-3sg}\]

‘(Mrs. Galin went into the sanctuary for the ninth time) and saw that a group of women and clerics had gathered round a woman who having clung onto the lock of the grate that surrounds the saint’s tomb, was kissing it and crying out loud.’
All nominals qualified by a demonstrative adjective and functioning as direct object were marked by \(=rā\). In (5.39) in *harf* ‘these words’ refers to the immediately preceding 7 clauses of direct speech. In (5.40) in *mowzu* ‘this subject’ refers to what happened to the author on the day she was brought before the school superintendent for supposedly causing trouble in class. This is described over most of the preceding 92 clauses.

(5.39) Previous discourse: KBG 18-24 of direct speech

KBG 25-26:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{in} & \quad \text{harf-hā=}rā & \text{zad-and} \\
\text{this} & \quad \text{word-PL=OM} & \text{hit.PAST-3pl} \\
\text{va} & \quad \text{raft-and} \\
\text{and} & \quad \text{go.PAST-3pl} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘They said this (these words) and left.’

(5.40) DAM 93:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{va} & \quad \text{in} & \quad \text{mowzu=}rā & \text{be pedar=}am & \text{goft-}am \\
\text{and} & \quad \text{this} & \quad \text{subject=}OM & \text{to father=}PC.1sg & \text{say.PAST-1sg} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘… and I told my father about this (being brought before the school superintendent).’

In (5.41a) the *māhi siāh=ē kučulu* ‘little black fish’ of the story is re-identified by the pelican as in *māhi=\((y)e\) fozul* ‘this meddlesome fish’ and in (5.41b) re-identified by the heron as *māhi=\((y)e\) be in narm o nāzoki* ‘this soft and tender fish.’ In each case the \(=rā\) marking indicates identifiability.

(5.41) a. MSK 782:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{morq=} & \quad \text{e saqqā} & \text{goft} \\
\text{pelican} & \quad \text{say.PAST.3sg} \\
\end{align*}
\]

MSK 783:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{in} & \quad \text{māhi=} & \text{\((y)e\) fozul=}rā & \text{xafe kon-id} \\
\text{this} & \quad \text{fish=}EZ & \text{meddlesome=}OM & \text{throttle} \quad \text{IMP.do.PRES-2pl} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘The pelican said, “Throttle this meddlesome fish.”’

b. MSK 993:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{māhi=} & \quad \text{\((y)e\) be in narm o nāzoki=}rā \\
\text{fish=}EZ & \quad \text{to this softness and tenderness=}OM \\
\text{bixod} & \quad \text{harām} & \text{kard-}am \\
\text{no.purpose} & \quad \text{unlawful} & \text{do.PAST-1sg} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘(The heron said:) “I’ve needlessly wasted this soft and tender fish!”’

(5.42) illustrates how \(=rā\) marking can indicate identifiability of the referent from the situational context as well as from the discourse context. There were no examples in the database of an qualifying a nominal that
functioned as a DO. However, in an example such as (5.43), taken from Rafiee (2001), the \( =r\) \( \ddot{a} \) marking also indicates identifiability from a situational context.

(5.42) **ZL 9:**

\[
\begin{align*}
al\ddot{a}\ddot{a}n \quad & \text{ke} \quad d\ddot{a}r-am \\
\text{now} \quad & \text{CLM have.AUX.PRES-1sg} \\
in \quad & \text{n\ddot{a}m=r\ddot{a} \quad bar\ddot{a}=(y)at \quad mi-nevis-am}, \ldots \\
\text{this letter=OM for=PC.2sg} \quad & \text{IPFV-write.PRES-1sg} \\
& \text{‘Now that I am writing this letter to you …’}
\end{align*}
\]

(5.43) **un panjara=ro be-band lotfan**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{that window=OM} \quad & \text{IMP-close.PRES \ plese} \\
& \text{‘Close that window, please.’}
\end{align*}
\]

The quantifier \( hame \) ‘all’ functioning pronominally can also provide identifiable reference. In (5.44) \( ba\ddot{c}\ddot{c}eh\ddot{a} \) ‘children’ are first mentioned in MM 3 and \( hame \) ‘all’ in MM 54 refers back to them. It is interesting that the reference of \( hame \) ‘all’ is considered identifiable even when it is all inclusive, as in (5.45a) and (5.45b).

(5.44) a. **MM 2:**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hanuz az po\ddot{e}t=e \quad div\ddot{a}r \quad na-pi\ddot{c}id-e} \\
\text{still \ from \ behind=EZ \ wall \ NEG-turn-PSPT} \\
\text{bud-am} \\
\text{be.AUX.PAST-1sg} \\
\text{MM 3:} \\
\text{ke \ sed\ddot{a}=(y)e \quad suz \quad o \quad beriz=e} \\
\text{CLM \ voice=EZ \ anguish \ and \ sobbing=EZ} \\
\text{ba\ddot{c}\ddot{c}e-h\ddot{a} \quad be \ pi\ddot{s}b\ddot{a}z=am} \quad \text{\ddot{a}mad} \\
\text{child-PL \ to \ presence=PC.1sg \ come.PAST.3sg} \\
& \text{‘No sooner had I turned from behind the wall, than the sound of children’s anguished sobbing came to meet me.’}
\end{align*}
\]

b. **MM 53:**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{va \ x\ddot{a}he\ddot{e} \quad kard-am} \\
\text{and \ request \ do.PAST-1sg} \\
\text{MM 54:} \\
\text{in \ b\ddot{a}r \ hame=r\ddot{a} \ be \ man \ be-bax\ddot{e}-ad} \\
\text{this time \ all=OM \ to \ PN.1sg \ SBJN-forgive.PRES-3sg} \\
& \text{‘… and I asked him to forgive them all this time, for my sake.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(5.45) a. **MSK 206:**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{harf-h\ddot{a}=(y)e \quad m\ddot{a}hi=(y)e \quad ku\ddot{c}ulu} \quad hame=r\ddot{a} \quad \text{asab\ddot{a}ni} \\
\text{word-PL=EZ \ fish=EZ \ little \ all=OM} \quad \text{annoy}
\end{align*}
\]
The words of the little fish had annoyed everybody.

b. MSK 665-666

to ne-mi-tavān-i
PN.2sg NEG-IPFV-able.PRES-2sg
hame jā=rā be-gard-i
all place=OM SBJN-go.around.PRES-2sg
‘You can’t visit everywhere.’

The reciprocal expression hamdigar ‘each other’ is inherently referential, so it is marked with =rā, as in (5.46). The reflexive xod ‘self/own’ is also inherently referential, but is only marked with =rā when it functions as DO, as in (5.47), and not otherwise, as in (5.48).

(5.46) MSK 294:
mā hamdigar=rā kafče māhi sedā mi-kon-im
PN.1pl each.other=OM skimmer fish voice IPFV-do.PRES-1pl
‘We call each other skimmer fish.’

(5.47) ET 153:
xod=aš=rā kenār kešid
self=PC.3sg=OM side pull.PAST-3sg
‘He pulled himself aside.’

(5.48) SAJ 82:
man xod=am asb lāzem dār-am
PN.1sg self=PC.1sg horse need have.PRES-1sg
‘I myself have need of a horse/horses.’

The comparative demonstratives hamin ‘same.this’ and hamān ‘same.that’ are also inherently referential and can be used to express identifiable reference. Crystal (1987:119) cites comparison as an important type of cohesive linking in text.

(5.49) TA 77:
hamin jomle=rā modām tekrār mi-kard
same.this sentence=OM constantly repetition IPFV-do.PAST.3sg
‘She kept repeating this same sentence.’

(5.50) MSK 203:
man ham hamān harf-hā=rā mi-zan-am
PN.1sg also same.that word-PL=OM IPFV-hit.PRES-1sg
‘I am saying those same things too.’
There were only two examples in the database of a superlative adjective modifying a noun that functioned as a direct object. In (5.51) this is the first mention of soālhā ‘questions’, so it is a new referent to the discourse. One could say it is =rā marked because saxttarin ‘most difficult’ delimits and specifies the range of soālhā. However, this sentence is in the context of talking about the end of term Arabic examination, so its identifiability would be accessible from this context. The same analysis applies in (5.52) to behtarin nomre=rā ‘best score.’ Its identifiability can be found from the situational frame context. It is interesting that Thackston (1993:34-36) does not list nouns qualified by superlative adjectives amongst those direct object nominals that are grammatically or semantically specific/definite and must be marked by =rā.

(5.51) DAM 170:

\[
\text{saxt-tarin soāl-hā=rā barā=(y)e man} \\
\text{difficult-SUPR question-PL=OM for=EZ PN.1sg} \\
\text{dar āvard-e bud} \\
\text{PREV bring-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg} \\
\text{‘… she had looked for the most difficult questions for me.’}
\]

(5.52) DAM 173

\[
\text{behtarin nomre=rā āvard-am} \\
\text{best number=OM bring.PAST-1sg} \\
\text{‘… I got the best score.’}
\]

According to Mace (2003:172) ordinal numbers, such as avval ‘first’, dovvom ‘second’, sevvom ‘third’, form a definite adjective. It delimits the reference of the qualified nominal. Consequently a nominal qualified with an ordinal has definite reference and when functioning as direct object is marked with =rā. We did not have any examples of this in our database but (5.53) is from Mace.

(5.53) DAM 173

\[
\text{dars=e šešom=rā xānd-im} \\
\text{lesson=EZ sixth=OM read.PAST-1pl} \\
\text{‘We read the sixth lesson.’}
\]

Thackston (1993:35) says that since the complements of the phrases yek=i az ‘one of’ and hič yek az ‘none of’ are always considered specific, the entire phrase is construed as definite and therefore marked with =rā. There were no examples of these expressions functioning as direct object in our database. The closest equivalent to yek=i az found was (5.54). However, here the yek=i ‘one of’ functions as object to the preceding az ‘from’ rather than object of the verb, so it is not marked with =rā. (5.55) and (5.56) are from Thackston and it is the specificity of yek=i az ‘one of’ and hič yek az ‘none of’ that requires the =rā marking.
We noted in our text corpus that where *hič* ‘none’ modified a concrete noun in direct object function it was marked by =rā as ‘definite/identifiable’, as in (5.57)-(5.59). But when it modified an abstract noun in direct object function it was not marked by =rā. In (5.60) and (5.61) the abstract nouns are marked with =i ‘indefinite. However, this results in *hič kas* ‘nobody’ in (5.57) and (5.58) and *hič čiz* ‘nothing’ in (5.59) being marked as identifiable! According to Givón (2001:56) abstract entities exist neither in time nor in space. Temporal entities exist in time but not in space, while fully concrete entities exist in both space and time. Thus =rā marking on concrete nouns modified by *hič* indicates that the referential entity is identifiable in space and time even though negated, whereas the lack of this marking on abstract nouns modified by *hič* indicates that the referential entity is not identifiable in space and time.
ke fekr=e hič čiz=e digar=rā na-kard-and
CLM thought=EZ none thing=EZ other=OM NEG-do.PAST.3pl
‘But the tiny fish were so much immersed in their own liberation
that they didn’t consider anything else.’

(5.60) DAM 40
man hič kār=i (*kār=rā) na-kard-am
PN.1sg none work=IND ( work=OM) NEG-do.PAST-1sg
‘I didn’t do anything.’

(5.61) MSK 984-985
na hič kār=i (*kār=rā) ne-mi-tavān-i
no none work=IND ( work=OM) NEG-IPFV-be.able.PRES-2sg
be-kon-i
SBJN-do.PRES-2sg
‘No, you’re not in a position to do anything!’

We examined the pronominal possessor constructions (not reflexives) in
our database that functioned as direct objects. There were two types. In one
type there is a nominal with an ezāfe clitic followed by a free personal
pronoun, as in (5.62). In the other type a pronominal clitic (PC) attaches to
the nominal, as in (5.63). The pronominal clitic construction was by far the
most common in the database. For example, in Sāšā va asb=e jāduyi ‘Sasha
and the Magic Horse’ there were 7 PC constructions and 2 free pronoun
constructions, in Modir=e madrese ‘The Headmaster’ there were 10 PC
constructions and 1 free pronoun construction, and in Māhi siāh=e kučulu
‘The Little Black Fish’ there were 29 PC constructions and 9 free pronoun
constructions.

(5.62) MSK 818
agār harf=e marā qabul na-kon-id …
if word=EZ PN.1sg.OM accept NEG-do.PRES-2pl
‘If you don’t accept what I say …’

(5.63) MSK 40
harf=at=rā be-gozār barā=(y)e ba:d
word=PC.2sg=OM IMP-leave.PRES for=EZ later
‘Leave what you have to say for later.’

Pronominal possessors are another category that are inherently referential/
definite in Persian and Thackston (1993:72) says that any noun modified by
a possessor pronominal clitic in the direct object position must be marked by
=rā. This is also the case if the possessor is nominal. If a nominal possessor
functions as direct object then it must be marked with =rā, as illustrated in
(5.64a). It would be ungrammatical to mark doxtar=e pādešāh ‘king’s
daughter’ as indefinite with =i when functioning as direct object as it is
interpreted as inherently definite. The notion of ‘a king’s daughter’ could be expressed as in (5.64b), but doxtar=e pādešāhī would have to be marked with =rā because the possessive construction is interpreted as referentially definite.

(5.64) a. sāšā doxtar=e pādešāh=rā/*=i busid
      Sasha daughter=EZ king=OM/*=IND kiss.PAST.3sg
      ‘Sasha kissed the/a king’s daughter.’

b. sāšā doxtar=e (yek) pādešāh=i=rā busid
      Sasha daughter=EZ (one) king=IND=OM kiss.PAST.3sg
      ‘Sasha kissed a king’s daughter.’

Thackston (1993:73) says that although the pronominal clitics are most often used in modern writing as possessors, the usage as direct object is encountered especially in classical quotation and in dialogue representing colloquial speech, where direct object clitics are extensively used. We found eighteen examples of pronominal clitics marking a direct object on the verb in our text corpus. Nine of them occurred in direct reported speech, (5.65)-(5.72). Note that (5.67) gives one example of ‘eat you’ which occurred four times in Hamrāh (H-I) ‘Companions (Informal).’ Two occurred in the discourse narrative, (5.73)-(5.74). There were also eight examples in the Pesarak=e labufoṛuš (PL) ‘The Little Beetroot Vendor’ text, illustrated in (5.75)-(5.80), which are categorized as discourse narrative within an extended direct reported speech. The common thread in our text corpus for the use of pronominal clitics to indicate direct object therefore appears to be either direct reported speech representing colloquial speech or first person narrative. None of these DO pronominal clitics were marked with =rā.

(5.65) DAM 37: [DIRECT REPORTED SPEECH]
      hālā az kelās mi-andāz-am=at birun
      now from class IPFV-throw.PRES-1sg=PC.2sg outside
      “Now I am throwing you out of the class.”

(5.66) ET 145-146: [DIRECT REPORTED SPEECH]
      goft-am “gonješk=i ru=(y)e ān sim bud
      say.PAST-1sg sparrow=IND on=EZ that wire be.PAST-3sg
      hālā ne-mi-bin-am=aš.”
      now NEG-IPFV-see.PRES-1sg=PC.3sg
      ‘I said, “There was a sparrow on that wire. Now I do not see it.”’

(5.67) H-I 142-143: [DIRECT REPORTED SPEECH]
      va mi-xām
      and PROG-want.PRES.1sg
      zende zende bo-xor-am=at
      alive alive SBJN-eat.PRES-1sg=PC.2sg
“I want to eat you alive.”

(5.68) GD 39-42: [DIRECT REPORTED SPEECH]
haft sāl=e na-did-am=ešun
seven year= COP.PRES.3sg NEG-see.PAST-1sg=PC.3pl
“I haven’t seen them for seven years.”

āxar-in bār hamun haft sāl=e piš raft-am
last SPEC time same.that seven year=EZ ago go.PAST-1sg
did-an=ešun
see-INF=PC.3pl
“The last time I went to see them was seven years ago.”

(5.69) PL 164-165: [DIRECT REPORTED SPEECH]
ā… āqā tāri verdi mi-xāst āqā hāji qoli=rā
sir Tari Verdi IPFV-want.PAST.3sg sir Haji Qoli=OM
bā dafe be-koš-ad=aš ā…
with comb SBJN-kill.PRES-3sg=PC.3sg sir…
“Sir, Tari Verdi wanted, sir to kill Mr Haji Qoli with a weaver’s comb, sir”

(5.70) PL 171-172: [DIRECT REPORTED SPEECH]
tāri verdi šenid-am bā hāji qoli
Tari Verdi hear.PAST-1sg with Haji Qoli
daːvā=t Šod-e Ø
quarrel=PC.2sg become-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3sg
“Tari Verdi, I heard you quarrelled with Haji Qoli.”

(5.71) PL 342-343: [DIRECT REPORTED SPEECH]
āqā mi-xāst-am
sir IPFV-want.PAST-1sg
hamānjā be-koš-am=aš
same.place SBJN-kill.PRES-1sg=PC.3sg
“Sir, I wanted to kill him right there.”

(5.72) PL 377: [DIRECT REPORTED SPEECH]
mi-baxš-i=am āqā
IPFV-forgive.PRES-2sg=PC.1sg sir
“Would you forgive me, sir.”

(5.73) DAM 187-188: [DISCOURSE NARRATIVE]
va raft-am be Kelās=e bālā-tar
and go.PAST-1sg to class=EZ above-CMPR
'I went to the next class up and, fortunately, never saw her again.'

‘… and since I was a Sayyed, a descendant of the prophet, he apologized and presented me with a book which I still have.’

‘Then they quarrelled with Haji Qoli.’

‘A weaver’s comb was on the table.’

‘I took it and threw it at him.’
ke āš o lāš šod-e bud-am
CLM soup and corpse become-PSPT be.AUX.PAST-1sg
‘He had beaten me so much that I had become like a corpse.’

(5.79) PL 344-345: [DISCOURSE NARRATIVE/DIRECT SPEECH]
kārgar-hā ja:m šod-and
worker-PL gather become.PAST-3pl
va bord-and=am xāne=mān
and take.PAST-3pl=PC.1sg home=PC.1sg
‘The workers gathered and they took me home.’

(5.80) PL 353: [DISCOURSE NARRATIVE/DIRECT SPEECH]
foruxt-im=āš
sell.PAST-1pl=PC.3sg
‘We sold it (the goat).’

Both Thackston (1993:73) and Rafiee (2003:132) say that when pro-
nominal clitics are attached to the non-verbal element in compound verbs to
indicate direct object they are not marked with =rā. There were about 27
examples of compound verbs with direct object pronominal clitics attached
to the non-verbal element in the text corpus. Of these 4 were marked with
=rā. They are given in (5.81)-(5.84). Two occurred in direct speech and two
did not. Both jelow gereftan in (5.81) and dowr gereftan in (5.83)-(5.84) are
transitive constructions which require an object. However, in (5.82) the
object is optional with fekr kardan.

(5.81) MM 87-88: [DIRECT SPEECH]
age yek ruz jelow=šun=o na-gir-id
if one day front=PC.3pl=OM NEG.take.PRES-2pl
savār=etun mi-š-and āqā
mounted=PC.2sg IPFV-become.PRES-3pl sir
‘If you don’t stop them, one day they will walk all over you, sir!’

(5.82) MSK 271: [DIRECT SPEECH]
ke piš az in hattā fekr=aš=rā
CLM before this even thought=PC.3sg=OM
ham na-kard-e bud-im
also NEG-do-PSPT be.AUX.PAST-1pl
‘… which we had never even thought of before.’

(5.83) MSK 586: [DISCOURSE NARRATIVE]
čand=tā māhi=(y)e riz dowr=aš=rā gereft-and
several=CL fish=EZ tiny around=PC.3sg=OM take.PAST-3pl
‘Several tiny fishes surrounded her (the little black fish).’
hame dowr=aš=rā gereft-and all around=PC.3sg=OM take.PAST-3pl
‘They all surrounded her.’

The =rā marking we have illustrated has been limited to direct object function and to those items considered to be inherently definite. However, this definiteness is based on a range of factors.

Personal pronouns are anaphoric and are always construed as indicating an identifiable referent, as illustrated in (5.30)-(5.33). Proper names are construed as referring to a unique individual, as in (5.34). The demonstrative pronouns in ‘this’ and ān ‘that’ are deictic. Within the discourse in ‘this’ had both an anaphoric function in (5.35) and a cataphoric function in (5.36). ān ‘that’ was only used as a personal pronoun in the database. The demonstrative adjectives in ‘this’ only had an anaphoric deictic function, as in (5.39) and (5.40). It was also used to re-identify a referent with a new referential expression, i.e. māhi siāh=e kučulu ‘little black fish’ became re-identified as in māhi=(y)e fozul ‘this meddlesome fish’ (5.41a) at one point and as māhi=(y)e be in nāme o nazoki ‘this soft and tender fish’ (5.41b) at another. in ‘this’ and ān ‘that’ were also used to refer outside of the discursive context with in nāme ‘this letter’ (5.42) and un panjare ‘that window’ (5.43). The pronominal quantifier hame ‘all’ has anaphoric reference, in (5.44) and (5.45), as does the reciprocal hamdigar ‘each other’, in (5.46) and the reflexive xod ‘self/own’ in (5.47). The comparative demonstratives hamin ‘same.this’ and hamān ‘same.that’, in (5.49) and (5.50), are also anaphoric.

Superlative adjectives, like saxttarin ‘most difficult’ behtarin ‘best’, have specific reference. Ordinal adjectives, such as avval ‘first’, dovvom ‘second’, sevvom ‘third’, also have specific reference, as do the individuating expressions yek=i az ‘one of’ and hič yek az ‘none of.’ The negative determiner hič ‘none’ appears to be referentially definite when modifying a concrete noun, as in (5.57)-(5.59) but indefinite when modifying an abstract noun, as in (5.60) and (5.61).

We showed that both pronominal and nominal possessives are inherently referential and we have to assume this is because this reference is anchored in the individuality of the possessor. We also showed that in a number of texts some pronominal clitics attached to the non-verbal element in compound verbs to indicate direct object were marked with =rā. This marking occurred in three different texts by three different authors and in both direct speech and discourse narrative contexts. However, it is unclear why the authors have chosen to use =rā in these particular cases.
5.1.5 Active and Accessible Referents

Some typical examples of active and accessible referents are illustrated in (5.85). The referent *yek mazraʔe* ‘a field’ is introduced in clause 6 as new and non-identifiable. It is referred to again via prepositional object in clause 7 and then via direct object in clause 9. Although this referent is active and identifiable in clause 7 it is not marked by =rā because here it does not function as direct object. However, in clause 9 it does function as direct object, so the speaker can indicate its identifiability to the addressee by =rā marking. In this story *mazraʔe* ‘field’ is subsequently referred to three more times via direct object function as far down as clause 136 and in each instance is marked with =rā as indicating an identifiable referent within this universe of discourse.

(5.85) SAJ 6:

\[
\text{in} \ pir=e \ mard \ yek \ mazraʔe \ dāšt
\]
\[
\text{this} \ old=\text{EZ} \ \text{man} \ a \ \text{field} \ \text{have.PAST.3sg}
\]
\[\text{‘This old man had a field.’}\]

SAJ 7:

\[
\text{tu=(y)e} \ \text{mazraʔe} \ \text{gandom} \ \text{berenj} \ \text{yā} \ \text{čiz-hā=(y)e} \ \text{digar}
\]
\[
\text{in=\text{EZ} \ \text{field} \ \text{wheat} \ \text{rice} \ \text{or} \ \text{thing-PL=\text{EZ} \ other}
\]
\[
\text{mi-kāšt}
\]
\[
\text{IPFV-sow.PAST.3sg}
\]
\[\text{‘In the field he used to sow wheat, rice or other things.’}\]

SAJ 8-11:

\[
\text{vali} \ \text{har} \ \text{šab} \ \text{heyvān=ī} \ \text{mi-āmad}
\]
\[\text{but} \ \text{every} \ \text{night} \ \text{animal=IND} \ \text{IPFV-come.PAST.3sg}\]
\[
\text{tamām=e} \ \text{mazraʔe=rā} \ \text{xarāb} \ \text{mi-kard}
\]
\[\text{whole=\text{EZ} \ \text{field=OM} \ \text{destroyed \ IPFV-do.PAST.3sg}}\]
\[
\text{mahsul=rā} \ \text{mi-xord va mi-raft}
\]
\[\text{crop=OM \ \text{IPFV-eat.PAST.3sg \ and \ IPFV-go.PAST.3sg}}\]
\[\text{‘But every night an animal would come, wreck the whole field, eat the crop and goes.’}\]

In their study Shokouhi and Kipka (2003), following Firbas (1974), equate topicality with active and accessible reference. Thus on this basis in *tamām=e mazraʔe=rā xarāb mikard* ‘(an animal) destroyed the whole field’, *mazraʔe* ‘field’ would be considered to be a topic of some sort. While *mazraʔe* might be considered a discourse topic on the basis that it has been introduced and activated in clause 6 and mentioned again in clause 7, it is not a sentential topic in clause 9 as we have defined this notion in §2.6.2.1. In clause 9 *heyvān* ‘animal’ is the topic and the presupposition is that this topic is available for comment x. This comment is filled by the assertion
tamām=e mazraʔe=rā xarāb mikard ‘destroyed the whole field’ which adds the new information to the presupposition. The FOCUS, or FOCUS OF THE ASSERTION is the semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition (Lambrecht, 1994:213). The logic of this information structure is set out more clearly in (5.86). Heyvān is not expressed in clause 9 by an RP because it is the topic of a sentence that also happens to be an active referent. On the other hand, mazraʔe ‘field’ is part of the focus structure in clause 9 and is not the topic of the sentence. Thus =rā does not mark mazraʔe ‘field’ as topic. It marks it as having an identifiable referent.

(5.86) Topic: heyvān

Presupposition: ‘heyvān is available as a topic for comment x’
Assertion: ‘x = tamāme mazraʔe=rā xarāb mikard’
Focus: ‘tamāme mazraʔe=rā xarāb mikard’
Focus domain: verb plus remaining pre-verbal core constituents

An example of an accessible referent in (5.85) is mahsul ‘crops’ in mahsul=rā mixord ‘(an animal) used to eat the crops.’ Here mahsul is substituted as a more generic lexical term for gandom, berenj yā čizhā=(y)e digar ‘wheat, rice or other things.’ Its reference is therefore deemed identifiable. In the following discourse there is one more expression of mahsul=rā as a DO and three more expressions of gandomhā ‘wheats/crops’ functioning as a DO, all marked with =rā. In both these instances reference is maintained by lexical substitution. With mahsul ‘crops’ it is hyponymy (a generic term for a specific term) and with gandomhā ‘wheats/crops’ it is meronymy (a part for the whole).

One of the main cohesive devices used in Persian discourse is what Halliday and Hasan (1976) call lexical reiteration. This is where a referent is activated in the consciousness of the addressee by a lexical expression and then subsequently referred to by either the same lexical expression or another lexical expression related to the first expression (lexical substitution). In Persian a reiterated lexical expression is marked with =rā to indicate it has the same referent as the preceding identical or related lexical expression. For example, in Sāšā va asb=e jāduyi ‘Sasha and the Magic Horse’ yek mazraʔe ‘a field’ is introduced in clause 6 in a direct object function. It is then reiterated in SAJ 7, 9, 14, 17, 26, 79, and 134, as illustrated in (5.87). But only in SAJ 9, 17, 26, and 134 is mazraʔe ‘field’ marked with =rā, since only in these clauses does it function as direct object. However, all the reiterated items form a cohesive chain of reference through the discourse. Also in this instance no pronominal expression is used in the chain of reference.
In the Māhi siāh=e kučulu ‘The Little Black Fish’ text, =rā was used 151 times. 37 marked pronominal expressions, 47 marked cases of lexical reiteration and 49 marked possessive expressions (excluding reflexives). (5.88) shows the chain of lexical reiteration in direct object function for the referent introduced as yek māhi=(y)e siāh=e kučulu ‘a little black fish.’ Note that when this participant is first introduced the full ezāfe marking is used to link siāh and kučulu to māhi but in subsequent references the ezāfe is dropped from māhi. The lexical reference is also reduced to either māhi kučulu ‘little fish’ or māhi siāh ‘black fish’ in some places and to just māhi ‘fish’ near the climax of the story in 1014. In 783 the lexical expression changes completely to in māhi=(y)e fozul=rā ‘this meddlesome fish’ and in 993 to be in narm o nazoki=rā ‘this soft and tender (fish).’ However, despite these significant variations in lexical reference, the marking with =rā indicates that the particular lexical expression can be identified with the referent of the first expression māhi=(y)e siāh=e kučulu ‘little black fish’ in all instances.

Another chain of lexical reiteration from the same text is illustrated in (5.89). The referent juybār=i ‘a stream’ is introduced in clause 6 as a prepositional object. Subsequent expressions in direct object function are marked with =rā but again the lexical expression corresponding to the initial referent varies with āb ‘water’ in clause 382 and rudxāne ‘river’ in clause 624.
(5.89) 6. PO: *dar juybār=i*  ‘in a stream’
68. DO: *āxar=e juybār=rā*  ‘the end of the stream’
464. DO: *juybār=rā*  ‘the stream’
382. DO: *āb=rā*  ‘the water’
596. DO: *āxar=e juybār=rā*  ‘the end of the stream’
622. DO: *āxar=e juybār=rā*  ‘the end of the stream’
624. DO: *āxar=e rudxāne=rā*  ‘the end of the river’

(5.88) and (5.89) illustrate how different lexical expressions can be used to refer to the same entity. It is also possible for the same lexical expression in a discourse to not refer to the same entity. In this case too =rā is used to keep track of the identifiability of the referent. In (5.90) āb ‘water’ can be identified with the referent of *juybār* ‘stream’ as shown in (5.89) and consequently is marked with =rā. However, the āb ‘water’ in (5.91), which occurs subsequently in the text, cannot be identified with the referent of āb in (5.90), and consequently is not marked with =rā.

(5.90) MSK 380-382

> yek jā taxte sang=e bozorg=i az kuh
> one place slab boulder=EZ big=IND from mountain
> jodā šod-e bud
> apart become-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
> va oftād-e bud tah=e darre
> and fall-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg bottom=EZ valley
> va āb=rā do qesmat kard-e bud
> and water=OM two division do-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg

‘At one point a large slab of stone had become separated from the mountain and fallen into the valley and had divided the water into two parts.’

(5.91) MSK 486-487

> morq=e saqqā zir=e gardan=aš kise=(y)i
> pelican under=EZ neck=PC.3sg pouch=IND
> dār-ad ke xeyli āb mi-gir-ad
> have.PRES-3sg CLM very water IPFV-take.PRES-3sg

‘The pelican has a pouch beneath his neck in which he holds a lot of water.’

As already stated, in a text such as *Māhi siāh=e kučulu* ‘The Little Black Fish’ about a third of the direct objects marked with =rā were pronominal possessor forms. In §5.1.4 we presented evidence that pronominal possessors are construed as referential because this reference is anchored in the individuality of the possessor rather than the possessive construction itself.
As further evidence, in (5.92) and (5.93) harf ‘word(s)’ is not identifiable in either of these examples but the second is =rā marked because the reference of the possessor (māhi=(y)e kučulu ‘little fish’) is identifiable.

(5.92) MSK 22-24
čand ruz=i bud
several day=IND be.PAST.3sg
ke māhi=(y)e kučulu tu fekr bud
CLM fish=EZ little in thought be.PAST.3sg
va xeyli kam harf mi-zad
and very few word IPFV-hit.PAST.3sg
‘For several days the little fish had been thinking and talking very little.’

(5.93) MSK 40: possessor reference
harf=at=rā be-gožār barā=(y)e ba:d
word=PC.2sg=OM IMP-leave.PRES for=EZ later
‘Leave what you have to say for later.’

Active and accessible reference is maintained primarily through anaphoric pronominals—either free pronouns or pronominal possessors, and deictics, such as in ‘this’, hamān ‘same as that.’ (5.94) illustrates different series of reduction in pronominal reference in the MSK text. In (5.95) ordinal numbers are used as pro-forms to maintain the referential sequence.

(5.94) a. MSK 207: pronominal reference
yek=i az māhi pir=e-hā goft
one=IND from fish old=DEF-PL say.PAST.3sg
‘One of the old fish said:

b. MSK 212: pronominal reference
yek=i digar az ānhā goft
one=IND other from PN.3pl say.PAST.3sg
‘One of the them said:

c. MSK 219: pronominal reference
digari goft
other.NMZR say.PAST.3sg
‘Another said:

(5.95) a. MSK 235: pronominal reference
yek=i az māhi-hā az dur dād kešid
one=IND from fish-PL from distance shout draw.PAST.3sg
‘One of the fish shouted out from a distance:’
b. MSK 237: ordinal number reference

\[
\begin{align*}
dovvomi & \quad goft \\
\text{second} & \quad \text{say.PAST.3sg}
\end{align*}
\]

‘The second said:’

c. MSK 255: ordinal number reference

\[
\begin{align*}
haftomi & \quad goft \\
\text{seventh} & \quad \text{say.PAST.3sg}
\end{align*}
\]

‘The seventh said:’

Active and accessible reference is also maintained by lexical reiteration with either proper nouns (names) or common nouns. Only when the lexical reiteration involves a common noun does the speaker have a choice about marking with =rā or not.

5.1.6 New Referents

New referents are introduced into a discourse most formally via a presentational construction, such as yek māhi=(y)e siāh=e kučulu bud ‘there was a little black fish’ at the beginning of Māhi siāh=e kučulu ‘The Little Black Fish’, as in (5.30), or pir=e mard=i bud ‘there was an old man’ at the beginning of Sāšā va asb=e jāduyi ‘Sasha and the Magic Horse’, or do tā gorg budand ‘there were two wolves’ at the beginning of Hamrāh ‘Companions’ (Informal). An even more elaborate construction is (5.96) used to introduce the Kashani tradesman.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(5.96) KBG 1-2: new referent in presentational construction} \\
\text{mi-gu-(y)and dar zamān-hā=(y)e qadim yek kāseb=e} \\
\text{IPFV-say.PRES-3pl in time-PL=EZ old one tradesman=DEF} \\
kam māye=(y)e kāši harče dāšt foruxt \\
\text{little capital=EZ Kashani every.what have.PAST.3sg sell.PAST.3sg} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘They say that in the old days a certain petty Kashani tradesman sold everything he had.’

A new referent is more commonly introduced by =i or yek both of which indicate that identification of the referent is not available. Some examples are given in (5.97)-(5.102).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(5.97) ET 2-3: new referent with =i} \\
\text{va ... be taraf=e xāne mi-RAFT-am} \\
\text{and to direction=EZ house IPFV-go.PAST-1sg} \\
ke dust=i be man resid \\
\text{CLM friend=IND to PN.1sg arrive.PAST.3sg} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘and as I went towards the house a friend arrived (to me).’
(5.98) SAJ 8: new referent with \(=i\)
\[
\text{vali har } \text{šab} \ heyy\text{"an}=i \ mi-\text{"amad}
\]
\[
\text{but every night animal=IND IPFV-come.PAST.3sg}
\]
‘But every night an animal would come.’

(5.99) MM 6: new referent with \(=i\)
\[
\text{va nāzem } \text{tarke}=i \ be \text{ dast dāšt}
\]
\[
\text{and superintendent cane=IND to hand have.PAST.3sg}
\]
‘and the superintendent held a cane in his hand’

(5.100) SAJ 6: new referent with \(\text{yek}\)
\[
\text{in pir}=e \text{ mard } \text{yek mazra}\text{"e dāšt}
\]
\[
\text{this old=EZ man a field have.PAST.3sg}
\]
‘This old man had a field.’

(5.101) KBG 8: new referent with \(\text{yek}\)
\[
\text{dar ānjā } \text{yek dokkān}=e \text{ kabābpazi dāyer kard}
\]
\[
\text{in there one shop=EZ kebab.cooking open do.PAST.3sg}
\]
‘There he opened a kebab shop.’

(5.102) MM 119: new referent with \(\text{yek}\)
\[
\text{va } \text{yek ketāb jāyeze be=(h)em dād}
\]
\[
\text{and one book award to=PC.1sg give.PAST.3sg}
\]
‘and he gave me a book award.’

New referents can also be introduced by unmarked lexical expressions. In (5.103) \(\text{tanāb ‘rope’ is the new referent, in (5.104) it is } \text{ruznāme ‘newspaper’, in (5.105) it is } \text{moštari ‘customer’ and in (5.106) it is } \text{tur ‘net.’}
\]
A new referent introduced by an unmarked lexical expression is less likely to have a significant role in the following discourse than one introduced by \(\text{yek}\) or \(=i\) or in a presentational construction. For example, \(\text{tanāb}\) is not mentioned again in \(\text{Sāšā va asb}=e \text{ jāduyi ‘Sasha and the Magic Horse.’}
\]
Likewise both \(\text{ruznāme}\) and \(\text{moštari}\) are not mentioned again in their respective discourses. However, in (5.106) it is illustrated how \(\text{tur}\) is mentioned twice more in the subsequent discourse. In MSK 457 \(\text{tur}\) functions as a referentially identifiable direct object, so it is marked with \(=rā\).

(5.103) SAJ 68: unmarked new referent
\[
\text{tanāb mi-} \text{andāz-ad dowr}=e \text{ gardan}=e \text{ asb rope IPFV-throw.PRES-3sg around=EZ neck=EZ horse}
\]
‘He throws a rope around the horse’s neck.’
It is also the case that new referents can be marked with =rā when they are first introduced. At first this would appear to contradict the analysis that =rā indicates an identifiable referent as its primary function. However, within our text corpus, =rā marked new referents were primarily of two types: frame reference and possessor pronominal reference. With frame reference, when a particular entity is mentioned it establishes a whole frame of identifiable referents. For example, in (5.107) the presence of šabhā ‘nights’ as an active referent allows the introduction of mahtāb ‘moonlight’ as an identifiable referent, in (5.108) the presence of madrese ‘school’ as an active referent allows the introduction of zang ‘bell’ as an identifiable referent, and in (5.109) the presence of māhi ‘fish’ as an active referent allows the introduction of mard=e māhigir ‘fisherman’ as an identifiable referent.

(5.107) Frame Reference: šabhā ‘nights’

MSK 11:
šab-hā dotāyi zir=e xaze-hā mi-xābid-and
night-PL two.CL.ADVBL under= EZ moss- PL IPFV-sleep.PAST-3pl
'At night, the two slept under the moss.'

MSK (12-)14:

mahtāb=rā tu=(y)e xāne=šān be-bin-ad
moonlight=OM in=EZ house=PC.3pl SBJN-see.PRES-3sg

'(As for the little fish, there remained a longing in her heart that if only for once,) she might see the moonlight in their house!'

(5.108) Frame Reference: madrese ‘school’

MM 1:
ruz=e sevvom bāz avval=e vaqt madrese bud-am
day=EZ third again first=EZ time school be.PAST-1sg

‘On the third day, I was back at school at the very beginning of the school day.’

MM 79:
... va baːd zang=rā zad-and
and then bell=OM hit.PAST-3pl
‘... and then they rang the bell.’

(5.109) Frame Reference: māhi ‘fish’ MSK 521-523

xeyli-hā gozašt-e and
many-PL pass-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3pl
ānhā hālā digar barā=(y)e xod=ešān daste=(y)i
PN.3pl now other for=EZ self=PC.3pl shoal=IND
šod-e and
become-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3pl
va mard=e māhigir=rā be tang āvard-e and
and man=EZ fish.take=OM to mad bring-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3pl

‘Many (fish) have come past. Now they have grouped themselves into a shoal and have driven the fisherman mad.’

With possessor pronominal reference the pronominal clitic identifying the possessor provides the context of identifiability for the newly introduced possessed item. (5.110) immediately follows (5.96) in ‘The Trademan’s Curse.’ dast=e zan=āš ‘the hand of his wife’ receives its identifiability from the pronominal clitic =aš ‘his’, referring to the Kashani tradesman of the story. In (5.111) dast ‘hand’ is identifiable via =aš ‘his’, which refers to ‘Sasha.’ In (5.112) češmhā ‘eyes’ is identifiable via =am ‘my’, which refers to the author of the account.

(5.110) KBG 3: possessor pronominal reference

dast=e zan=āš=rā gereft
hand=EZ woman=PC.3sg=OM take.PAST.3sg

‘He took the hand of his wife …’

185
(5.111) SAJ 49-50: possessor pronominal reference
qabl az raft-an dast=aš=rā mi-bor-ad
before go-INF hand=PC.3sg=OM IPFV-cut.PRES-3sg
‘Before leaving he cuts his hand.’

(5.112) GD 5-6: possessor pronominal reference
say kard-am češm-hā=(y)am=rā be-band-am
try do.PAST-1sg eye-PL=PC.1sg=OM SBJN-see.PRES-1sg
‘I tried to close my eyes.’

Unique referents, such as āftāb ‘sun’, naxostvazir ‘prime minister’ and proper names will most likely be =rā marked as new referents in a discourse. However, we do not have any examples in our text corpus of such unique referents occurring as new referent direct objects. In this section we have demonstrated that even with =rā marked new referents the function of =rā remains to indicate an identifiable referent for the marked item.

5.1.7 Rā and Definiteness

One problem with categorizing =rā as a marker of identifiability of reference and definiteness, i.e. [+Def], is that it can co-occur with the indefinite clitic =i. This clitic is not obligatory, however, and does not simply encode [−Def]. Semantically, it marks the RP as non-specific or arbitrary in reference, and is approximately equivalent to any in non-assertive contexts and some…or other in positive declarative contexts. It thus occurs with a subset of indefinites and need not be present for a RP to be indefinite, for example, mard ‘the man’, ‘a man’, mard=i ‘a man’, ‘any man’, ‘some man or other.’ When an indefinite RP marked with the indefinite particle =i is in turn marked with =rā it expresses the notion of a specific indefinite (‘a certain …’, ‘a particular …’). Thus the notion of an identifiable referent is added, as in (5.113) and (5.114).

(5.113) sedā=i=rā šenid-am
sound=IND=OM hear.PAST-1sg
‘I heard a (certain) sound.’

(5.114) ketāb=e digar=i=rā xāst-am
book=EZ other=IND=OM want.PAST-1sg
‘I wanted a (particular) book.’

Some, such as Windfuhr (1987), have said that this discounts the idea that =rā is [+Def], viz. [−Def] plus [+Def] is not possible, and argues that =rā marks specificity (although Windfuhr does not define what he means exactly by specificity). However, Lyons (1999:12-13) demonstrates that inclusiveness can be added to non-inclusiveness in a language like English. In English, while the logically entails uniqueness with singular nominals, a is logically neutral with respect to this. The outworking of this is that whereas
the non-uniqueness of a prize can be overridden by the uniqueness of the only prize in (5.115a), the uniqueness of the prize cannot be overridden by the non-uniqueness of one of several in (5.115b). And it is the same in Persian; while =i=rā (uniqueness overrides non-uniqueness) marking is possible, =rā=i (non-uniqueness overrides uniqueness) marking is not possible.

(5.115) a. Janet ran well and won a prize – the only prize in fact.

b. ?Janet ran well and won the prize – one of several in fact.

Dabir-Moghaddam (1990) also has a comment to make on sentences like (5.116) where both the ‘indefinite’ =i and the ‘definite’ =rā are marked on the object. He says it is unusual to have sentences end this way and that it is only acceptable if the speaker adds something more to elaborate on the ‘the book.’ In other words, the addition of =rā implies a referent.

(5.116) man ketāb=i=rā xarid-am (va …)
PN.1sg book=IND=OM buy.PAST-1sg (and)
I bought a (certain) book (and …)

As a further argument against treating =rā as a marker of specificity, Dabir-Moghaddam (1992) points out that =rā can occur with generic RPs, with examples (5.117) and (5.118) taken from Phillott (1919). It is difficult to see how a marker of specificity could co-occur with generics, but it is quite possible for the definite the to occur with generics in English, for example, e.g. the tiger has stripes. In this case, the reference is to the whole set of entities that can be classified as ‘tiger.’

(5.117) serke šir=rā mi-borr-ad
vinegar milk=OM IPFV-curdle.PRES-3sg
‘Vinegar curdles milk.’

(5.118) mi-dān-id ğeṭowr gusfand=rā mi-koš-and
IPFV-know.PRES-2pl how sheep=OM IPFV-kill.PRES-3pl
‘Do you know how they kill sheep?’

Thus the fact that =rā ‘identifiable/definite referent’ can be marked on an RP already marked with =i ‘non-identifiable/indefinite referent’ does not discount the analysis that the primary function of =rā is to indicate to the addressee that the referent of the RP is identifiable.

5.2 Lexical Cohesion

Lexical cohesion covers repetition of words in a text, and the use of synonymous forms, superordinates (hyponyms) and opposites (antonyms) for reference purposes in a text. In §5.2.1 we look at these different forms of lexical cohesion in the Māhi siāh-e kučulu text and in 5.2.2 we look at lexical cohesion in the other texts in our corpus.
In §5.2.3 we look at the various types of lexical substitution that occur in the text corpus, including substitution by the pro-verb *kardan* ‘do’, *ham* ‘also’ substitution and substitution by other expressions, such as *in bud* ‘this being so’, and *hamin* ‘this same one.’

5.2.1 Lexical Cohesion in *Māhi siāh=e kučulu*

In the MSK text participants and props are typically introduced by a noun or noun phrase. Subsequent reference to the introduced entity can be by a noun/NP, pronominal or zero anaphora, where the reference is only indicated by the subject agreement on the verb. For example, (5.119a) shows how the main protagonist, *māhi=(y)e siāh=e kučulu* ‘little black fish’ (MSK), is introduced with a full NP in a presentational construction. Note that in the next reference to this protagonist in (5.119b) the nominal form is immediately reduced to *māhi kučulu* ‘little fish.’

(5.119) a. MSK 4-5

\[
\begin{align*}
yek=i & \quad \text{bud} \quad yek=i \quad \text{na-bud} \\
\text{one=} & \quad \text{be.PAST.3sg} \quad \text{one=} \quad \text{NEG-be.PAST.3sg} \\
yek & \quad māhi=(y)e \quad \text{siāh=e kučulu} \quad \text{bud} \\
\text{one} & \quad \text{fish=} \quad \text{EZ} \quad \text{black=} \quad \text{EZ} \quad \text{little} \quad \text{be.PAST.3sg}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Once upon a time there was a little black fish.’

b. MSK 9

\[
\begin{align*}
xāne=(y)e & \quad māhi \quad \text{kučulu} \quad \text{va} \quad mādar=aš \\
\text{house=} & \quad \text{EZ} \quad \text{fish} \quad \text{little} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{mother=} \quad \text{PC.3sg} \\
pošt=e & \quad \text{sang=e siāh=i} \quad \text{bud} \\
\text{behind=} & \quad \text{EZ} \quad \text{rock=} \quad \text{EZ} \quad \text{black=} \quad \text{IND} \quad \text{be.PAST.3sg}
\end{align*}
\]

‘The house of the little fish and her mother was behind a black rock.’

The referential form *māhi kučulu* ‘little fish’ is then used subsequently in MSK 12, 23, 34, 42, 48. An alternative reduced form of *māhi siāh* ‘black fish’ is used in MSK 32. In this section of MSK the protagonist also has an additional referential form, namely *bačče* ‘child.’ This form is used in relationship to another participant in the story, *mādar* ‘mother’ and is first used in MSK 15, as shown in (5.120a). The lexical relationship between *mādar* ‘mother’ and *bačče* ‘child’ is one of converse opposition. If *x* is the mother of *y*, then conversely *y* is the child of *x*. The author uses *bačče* to refer to MSK to establish the protagonist in this secondary role in a mother-child relationship and (5.120b) establishes the significance of this role in the story. However, this role for MSK only extends to MSK 232 where she leaves her mother to begin her journey down the stream. The last use of *bačče* to refer to MSK is in MSK 229 in the speech of the mother, as shown in (5.120c).
Apart from the initial introduction of MSK illustrated in (5.119a) the full referential form of *māhi siāh=e kučulu* ‘little black fish’ is also used in various places throughout the text. However, this usage is not random. The author uses the full referential form to indicate either a dramatic development in the story or a climactic event. Table 5.1 shows where the full referential form is used for these purposes.

**Table 5.1: Use of full referential form in *Māhi siāh=e kučulu (MSK)***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial introduction: MSK 4-5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dramatic developments:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSK 53, 81, 93: MSK announces she wants to leave and debates this with her mother.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSK 223: MSK’s friends rescue her from the other fish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSK 281: the skimmer fish mock MSK.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSK 337: MSK laughs at the skimmer fish and leaves them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSK 371: the frog gets angry at MSK and jumps at her.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSK 457: initiates MSK’s conversation with lizard who gives her the dagger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSK 647: initiates MSK’s conversation with the moon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSK 731: MSK declares intent to escape from the pelican.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSK 785: MSK separates herself from the tiny fish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSK 923: precedes first attack by heron.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Climactic events:

MSK 900: MSK overjoyed at reaching the sea.

MSK 937: the heron catches MSK.

MSK 1007: heron swoops down on MSK.

MSK 1091: at the end of the story there is no sign of MSK.

There is an interesting use of the full referential expression $māhi$ siāh=$e$ kučulu ‘little black fish’ at MSK 923. This is illustrated in (5.121). The referential expression $māhi$ siāh ‘black fish’ is used in MSK 919, followed by Ø reference in MSK 920 and 921. Then there is a break in reference to MSK. Then in MSK 923 MSK is fully referenced with $māhi$ siāh=$e$ kučulu ‘little black fish.’ It introduces a scene of MSK at peace and happy having achieved her goal of reaching the sea. Following this usage up to this point in the story the full reference could signal a dramatic new development or the climactic end of the story since the full reference has been used at MSK 900 when MSK finally reaches the sea. But after MSK’s reverie in MSK 927-936 comes the attack by $māhixār$ ‘heron.’ So we see that the use of the full reference for MSK in MSK 923 is to help set up a false sense of mission accomplished and the end of the story.

(5.121) MSK 919-926: A false climax

ānvaqt $māhi$ siāh az daste=(y)e $māhi$-hā=(y)e daryā
that.time fish black from shoal=EZ fish-PL=EZ sea

jodā Šod va Ø xod=aš
apart become.PAST.3sg and self=PC.3sg

be šenā kard-an pardāxt
to swim do-INF engage.in.PAST.3sg

‘At that time the black fish split off from the shoal of sea fish and went to have a swim by herself.’

kam=i baːd Ø āmad be sath=e daryā
little=IND later come.PAST.3sg to surface=EZ sea

‘A little later, she came to the surface of the sea.’

āftāb=e garm mi-tābid
sunlight=EZ warm IPFV-shine.PAST.3sg

‘The sunlight was shining warmly.’

$māhi$ siāh=$e$ kučulu garmi=(y)e suzān=e āftāb=rā
fish black=EZ little warmth=EZ burning=EZ sun=OM

bar pošt=e xod hess mi-kard
on back=EZ self feel IPFV-do.PAST.3sg
The little black fish felt the burning warmth of the sun on her back and was loving it.

At peace and happy, she was swimming at the surface of the sea and saying to herself:

There is one final variation to the lexical reference for MSK used in MSK. In some instances the referential expression is reduced to just māhi ‘fish.’ This is primarily where MSK is in conversation with some of the minor characters in the story, as indexed below. So here again the author is using lexical cohesion for a particular discourse function.

301 māhi in conversation with kafče māhihā ‘skimmer fish’
354 māhi in conversation with qurban ‘frog’
405 māhi in conversation with xarčang ‘crab’
473 māhi in conversation with mārmulak ‘lizard’
661 māhi in conversation with māh ‘moon’

Another interesting thread of lexical cohesion is how reference to ‘mother’ is encoded. Table 5.2 illustrates this encoding. Mother is first introduced in MSK 6 as the possessed term mādar=aš ‘her mother.’ In MSK 15 the reference is mādar ‘mother’ and this term contrasts with bačče ‘child.’ In MSK 20 and 28 the reference again is mādar ‘mother’ and contrasts with bačče ‘child.’ However, in MSK 38 and 72 mādar ‘mother’ is used but it does not contrast with bačče ‘child.’ With these examples the following speech by mother is not counter to what MSK says. Following MSK 38 mother suggests MSK speak to her later and that they should go for a stroll as usual. Following MSK 72 mother laughs at what MSK says but sympathizes saying she had similar thoughts when she was young. However, where the possessed term mādar=aš is used in MSK 46, 50, 87, 118 mother’s speeches are counter to MSK’s plan.

Another reference of mādar=e māhi ‘fish’s mother’ is used in MSK 130. This is because a third party has joined the conversation, namely hamsāye ‘neighbour.’ Where mādar=e māhi is used in MSK 137, 176, and 226 other parties are involved in the conversation. Finally, plain mādar ‘mother’ is used in MSK 178 because here mother agrees with the neighbour regarding her offspring.
Thus, we see that the various terms of *mādar* ‘mother’, *mādar=äš* ‘her mother’, and *mādar=e māhi* ‘fish’s mother’ used to refer to ‘mother’ are not random. Each has a specific function in the context.

Table 5.2: Lexical cohesion for *mādar* ‘mother’ in MSK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ref.</th>
<th>Lexical Form</th>
<th>Context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td><em>mādar=äš</em></td>
<td>The little black fish’s mother is introduced.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td><em>mādar=äš</em></td>
<td>The little black fish’s home is introduced.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td><em>mādar va bačče</em></td>
<td>Describes habitual actions. <em>mādar</em> contrasts with <em>bačče</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td><em>mādar</em></td>
<td>Here <em>mādar</em> contrasts with <em>bačče</em> in 19.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td><em>mādar=äš</em></td>
<td>MSK follows her mother.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td><em>mādar</em></td>
<td>Mother thinks her child is ill. Here <em>mādar</em> contrasts with <em>bačče</em> in 29.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td><em>mādar=äš=rā</em></td>
<td>MSK wakes up her mother to announce her plans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td><em>mādar</em></td>
<td>Mother suggests MSK speak to her later.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td><em>mādar=äš</em></td>
<td>Mother asks if MSK really has to go.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td><em>mādar=äš</em></td>
<td>Mother asks MSK where she wants to go.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td><em>mādar</em></td>
<td>Mother laughs but sympathizes with MSK.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td><em>mādar=äš</em></td>
<td>Mother interrupts MSK.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td><em>mādar=äš</em></td>
<td>Mother questions MSK’s sanity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td><em>mādar=e māhi</em></td>
<td>Mother responds to neighbour and rebukes MSK.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137</td>
<td><em>mādar=e māhi</em></td>
<td>Mother speaks to neighbour and continues to rebuke MSK.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164</td>
<td><em>mādar=äš</em></td>
<td>Mother continues to rebuke MSK.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is also the case that lexical reference can be varied in the direct speech. For example, in § 5.1.4 we noted that in MSK 783 MSK is referred to by the pelican as in māhi=(y)e fozul ‘this meddlesome fish’ and in MSK 993 MSK is referred to by the heron as māhi=(y)e be in narm o nāzoki ‘this soft and tender fish.’ Also in MSK 480 morq=e saqqā ‘pelican’ is referred to by mārmulak ‘lizard’ as saqqāak, which is a diminutive and pejorative term, and in MSK 549 MSK uses the same pejorative term to refer to morq=e saqqā. And in MSK 770 and 788 MSK calls the pelican in morq=e hilegar ‘this deceitful pelican.’

In § 5.1.5 we also saw how the author of MSK uses synonymous expressions for the purposes of lexical cohesion. The synonyms are juybār ‘stream’, berke ‘pond, pool’, rudxāne ‘river’ and daryā ‘sea.’ They each describe the body of water MSK inhabits at each stage of her journey. The superordinate term or hypernym for these hyponyms is āb ‘water.’ Table 5.3 shows where these terms are used in the MSK text. Notice that MSK begins with the setting for the story telling being tah=e daryā ‘the bottom of the sea’ (MSK 2) and also ends with a reference to daryā ‘sea’ in MSK 1111 where māhi=(y)e sorx=e kučulu=i ‘a little red fish’ thinks endlessly of the sea. This shows that in the semantic logic of the story juybār, berke, rudxāne and daryā are all part of the same body of water. Indeed, the term āb ‘water’ is used as a generic term for each of these hyponyms through the story. This is also shown in Table 5.3.
A further synonymy is represented by the terms āxar=e juybār ‘end of the stream’ and āxar=e rudxāne ‘end of the river.’ In the first half of the text, while māhi siāh=e kučulu is in juybār ‘stream’ the goal of her journey is to reach āxar=e juybār. But once she reaches rudxāne ‘river’ the goal of her journey is āxar=e rudxāne which eventually is daryā.

Table 5.3: Synonymous and superordinate references in Māhi siāh=e kučulu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Synonyms:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>juybār ‘stream’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āxar=e juybār ‘end of the stream’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>berke ‘pond, pool’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rudxāne ‘river’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āxar=e rudxāne ‘end of the river’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daryā ‘sea’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hypernym:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>āb ‘water’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is also the case that the terms juybār ‘stream’ and rudxāne ‘river’ are used in MSK for generic reference. This is illustrated in (5.122).

(5.122) MSK 894: A generic reference

hame=(y)e rudxāne-hā va juybār-hā
all=EZ river-PL and stream-PL
be injā mi-riz-and
to here IPFV-flow.PRES-3pl
‘All the rivers and streams end up here.’

5.2.2 Lexical Cohesion in Other Texts

The lexical cohesion in the other texts is less complex than that exhibited in MSK. However, one point of difference between the MSK text and the SAJ text is worth noting. The MSK text is a written text and the SAJ text is
originally oral. There is a difference in how lexical cohesion works in the conversational exchanges in these texts. Table 5.4 illustrates sample conversational exchanges in the MSK and SAJ texts. You will see that in the MSK text a nominal reference is maintained for each speaker throughout the conversation. Now compare the conversational exchanges in the SAJ text. Here once the identities of the initiator and respondent have been established then the lexical cohesion can be maintained by zero anaphora. For example, in the first conversation the identity of the first speaker is established as *asb* ‘horse’ in the opening speech, so in the second speech by this participant, in SAJ 84, the reference is expressed by Ø. In the second conversation the identity of the initiating speakers, *barādarhā* ‘brothers’, is specified by Ø anaphora from the beginning, since this identity can be retrieved from the plural subject agreement and the discourse context. The identity of *sāšā* ‘Sasha’ as the respondent can also be expressed by Ø anaphora in the opening exchange, since this identity can also be retrieved from the singular subject agreement and the discourse context. These contrasting patterns of lexical cohesion apply to all the conversational exchanges in both the MSK and SAJ texts.

Table 5.4: Conversational exchanges and lexical cohesion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initiator</th>
<th>Respondent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>34-35</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>māhi kučulu</em> ... goft</td>
<td><em>mādar</em> goft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>māhi kučulu</em> goft</td>
<td><em>mādar=aš</em> goft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>māhi kučulu</em> goft</td>
<td><em>mādar=aš</em> goft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>72-73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>māhi siāh=e kučulu</em> goft</td>
<td><em>mādar</em> ... goft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>87-88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>māhi siāh=e kučulu</em> goft</td>
<td><em>mādar=aš</em> ... goft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>māhi siāh=e kučulu</em> goft</td>
<td><em>mādar=aš</em> goft</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 280-283   | 286-287    |
| *hezārhā kafče māhi* ... goftand | *māhi* ... goft |

| 306       | 308        |
| *kafče māhihā* ... goftand | *māhi* goft |
| 314-318   | 323        |
| *kafče māhihā* ... goftand | *māhi* goft |
| 327       | 329        |
| *kafče māhihā* goftand      | *māhi* goft |
| 333       |            |
| *kafče māhihā* goftand      |            |
Conversational exchanges in *Sāšā va Asb=e Jāduyi*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initiator</th>
<th>Respondent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>70-74 asb ... migu(y)ad</td>
<td>80 sāšā miguyad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84 Ø miguyad</td>
<td>99 sāšā miguyad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104 Ø miguyand</td>
<td>107 Ø miguyad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111 Ø miguyand</td>
<td>115 sāšā miguyad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118 Ø miguyand</td>
<td>123 Ø miguyad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129 Ø ... miguyand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is also a difference in lexical cohesion between the SAJ text and the MSK text in terms of how a switch back to the main protagonist is marked. In MSK a nominal is always used when reference is made to the protagonist *māhi siāh=e kučulu* ‘little black fish’ as a new subject. In (5.123a) there is a switch from *mārmulak* ‘lizard’ to MSK and MSK is referenced with the NP *māhi siāh* ‘black fish.’ In SAJ, on the other hand, a switch back to the main protagonist can be marked with a pronoun. For example, in (5.123b) there is a switch from *asb* ‘horse’ to *sāšā* ‘Sasha’ and the reference to ‘Sasha’ is marked with the pronoun *u*.

(5.123) Protagonist as New Subject

a. MSK 542-543

\[
\text{mārmulak raft} \quad \text{tu=(y)e šekāf=e sang}
\text{lizard go.PAST.3sg into=EZ crack=EZ rock}
\text{va māhi siāh nāčār rāh ofīād}
\text{and fish black compelled way fall.PAST.3sg}
\]

‘The lizard went into the crack in the rock and the fish was obliged to go on her way.’

b. SAJ 102-103

\[
\text{asb mi-rav-ad}
\text{horse IPFV-go.PRES-3sg}
\text{u ham bar mi-gard-ad xāne}
\text{PN.3sg also PREV IPFV-return.PRES-3sg home}
\]

‘The horse goes, and he (Sasha) also returns home.’
5.2.3 Lexical Substitution

It was also noted that lexical substitution is used in some of the texts to maintain lexical cohesion. Lexical cohesion is most straightforwardly maintained by repeating the nominal reference used to first introduce the entity to the discourse. Some interesting variations on this principle found in the MSK text were described in §5.2.1. The other primary means of maintaining lexical cohesion is to substitute some type of pro-form for the initial nominal form. Using a personal pronoun, as described in §5.2.2, is the primary type of pro-form substitution. But other types of pro-form substitution were noted in the text corpus.

(5.124) illustrates a short section of the MSK text. The clause in kār=rā bekoni ‘you can do just that’ in MSK 503 substitutes for the verb phrase kise=rā pāre konad ‘tear the pouch’ in MSK 500. This is ‘do’ substitution in Persian.

(5.124) MSK 499-503: Clause substitution by ‘do’ verb

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hič} & \text{ rāh}=i \text{ nist} \\
\text{none way}=\text{IND NEG.be.PRES.3sg} \\
\text{magar} & \text{ inke kise}=rā \text{ pāre kon-ad} \\
\text{except pouch}=\text{OM tear do.PRES-3sg} \\
\text{‘There is no way out except to tear the pouch.’} \\
\text{man xanjar}=i \text{ be to mi-dah-am} \\
\text{PN.1sg dagger=IND to PN.2sg IPFV-give.PRES-1sg} \\
\text{ke agar gereftār}=e \text{ morq}=e \text{ saqqā šod-i} \\
\text{CLM if ensnared=EZ pelican become.PAST-2sg} \\
\text{in kār=rā be-kon-i} \\
\text{this work}=\text{OM SBJN-do.PRES-2sg} \\
\text{‘I’ll give you a dagger so that if you get caught by the pelican you can do just that.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(5.125) illustrates a section from Kāseb bad o birāh goft (KBG) ‘The Tradesman’s Curse’. Here the clause u ham bast ‘And so she did (lit. she also closed the door)’ substitutes for dar=e xāne=rā mohkam beband! ‘Close the door tight!’. Here ham ‘also’ is used to express confirmation of the proposition and has the meaning of ‘actually’, ‘indeed’ or ‘so.’

(5.125) KBG 30-32: Clause substitution by ham ‘also’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{be mahz}=e \text{ vorud be xāne=(y)e qabli} & \text{ be zan}=a\text{
} \\
\text{to mere}=\text{EZ entrance to house}=\text{EZ previous to wife}=\text{PC.3sg} \\
\text{goft} & \text{ “dar=e xāne=rā mohkam be-band!”} \\
\text{say.PAST.3sg door}=\text{EZ house}=\text{OM tight} & \text{ IMP-close.PRES}
\end{align*}
\]
As soon as he entered his previous house he told his wife, “Close the door of the house tight.” And so she did.

Another example of lexical substitution is given in (5.126), taken from *Modir-e madrese* (MM) ‘The School Headmaster.’ The clause in *bud* ‘this being (so)’ is the substitutionary clause. It substitutes for *ke yek martabe marā be serāfat andāxt ke dar maqām=e modiriyyat be saxti mišavad nāzem=rā kotak zad* ‘that suddenly set me thinking how difficult it would be - in the position as headmaster - to hit the superintendent’ immediately preceding at MM 44-45. In this case the pro-clause substitute is a stative clause.

(5.126) MM 44-45: Clause substitution by stative pro-verb

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{in } & \text{ bud} \\
\text{this } & \text{ be.PAST.3sg} \\
\text{ke } & \text{ xašm=am=rā foru xord-am} \\
\text{CLM anger=PC.1sg=OM down eat.PAST-1sg}
\end{align*}
\]

‘So it was that I suppressed my anger.’

It is also possible to substitute a clause or series of clauses with a single lexical proform. In (5.127a) the comparative proform *hamin* ‘this same one’ substitutes for *man bā qurbāqehā laj=am* ‘I have a grudge against frogs’ and in (5.127b) *hamin* ‘this same one’ substitutes for MM 17-18 *yek=i=šān be čenān mahārat=i dast=aš=rā az zir=e čub dar mibord va jā xāli mikard* ‘One of them (the children) was so skillful at withdrawing his hand from the force of the stick and dodging.’

(5.127) a. MSK 423-424: Clause substitution by *hamin*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{man } & \text{ bā qurbāqe-hā laj=am} \\
\text{PN.1sg with frog-PL grudge=COP.PRES.1sg} \\
\text{va } & \text{ barā=(y)e hamin šekār=ešān mi-kon-am} \\
\text{and for=EZ same.this hunt=PC.3pl IPFV-do.PRES-1sg}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I have a grudge against frogs and that is why I hunt them.’

b. MM 20: Clause series substitution by *hamin*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{va } & \text{ lābod hamin} \\
\text{and apparently same.this} \\
\text{nāzem=rā asabānī kard-e bud} \\
\text{superintendent=OM angry do-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg}
\end{align*}
\]

‘and apparently this had made the superintendent angry.’
5.3 Connectives

Blakemore (1987) shows that there is a class of expressions, such as after all, therefore, so, moreover, you see and but in English, whose semantic function is not to contribute to the propositional content of the utterances that contain them, but rather to indicate how that proposition is to be interpreted as relevant by constraining the hearer’s choice of context for its interpretation. In this section we investigate the pragmatic functions of connectives in Persian. In particular we look at how certain connectives constrain the choice of context for interpretation.

In §5.3.1 we investigate the function of coordinating connectives, such as va ‘and’ and yā ‘or.’ These connectives are mutually exclusive with each other and with the adversative connectives ammā ‘but’ and vali ‘but.’ Both va ‘and’ and yā ‘or’ allow gapping in the second clause when the verbs in the conjoined clauses are identical. This is a common pragmatic function as the omitted verb can be recovered from the context. We observe in a number of written texts that the authors use va ‘and’ in a coordinate clause series to indicate that the events are climactic. This occurs in both informal and formal written texts.

In §5.3.2 we look at the functions of the additive connectives ham ‘also, too’ and hattā ‘even.’ ham is interesting in that it has a range of functions similar to, but not the same as, also in English. We found that ham ‘also, too’ has the following pragmatic functions:

- it can add parallel propositions which differ in either predicate or subject properties (equivalent to also, too, either in English),
- it can confirm a proposition in the unmarked sense (equivalent to actually, indeed, so in English) and also in the marked sense by adding the least likely possibility (equivalent to even in English),
- it can also be used to constrain a contrastive interpretation (equivalent to also in English).

Since ham ‘also, too’ is placed after the information unit added its interpretation is unambiguous. In contrast the default position of also in English is immediately preceding the main verb and the default position of too is at the end of the clause or sentence. This makes their additive function less precise than ham ‘also, too’ and open to ambiguity. However, ham ‘also, too’ has a wider range of pragmatic functions than its equivalent also in English. The additive connective hattā ‘even’ typically adds surprising or unexpected information to the context. Since hattā ‘even’ can occur with va ‘and’ it can add a proposition to the context. This is different to ham ‘also’ which can only add an information unit represented by a constituent to the context.

In §5.3.3 we look at the function of the adversative connectives ammā ‘but’, vali ‘but’ balke ‘but’ and āxer (āxe) ‘end, last’ which occurred in our
texts. We show that *ammā* ‘but’ is the default and most neutral of the countering connectives. Usually the plot or situation is not moved on or developed when *ammā* ‘but’ is used. However, the connective *vali* ‘but’ typically occurs with an overt or implied development of the event line. The connective *balke* ‘but’ is said by Persian speakers to be a more formal or literary conjunction, but it occurred in a fairly colloquial spoken text as well as in a written text. Its use also demonstrates that *balke* is a negative-affirmative countering connective, a fairly specific pragmatic function. We conclude that this is its default function, since we did not find any occurrences of *ammā* ‘but’ or *vali* ‘but’ in this context. We found that *āxar* ‘end, last’ (pronounced as *āxe*) can be used as a countering connective meaning ‘well’, ‘now’, ‘after all’ and can also function as a discourse connective with the meaning of ‘finally’, ‘at last.’

Finally, in §5.3.4 we look at a few connectives, such as *baːd* ‘then, after, next, later’, *belaxare* ‘finally’ and *tā* ‘until’ which can be used to indicate a new development in the narrative.

5.3.1 Coordinating Connectives

In this section we will describe the function of the following coordinating connectives:

- *va* ‘and’, *=o* ‘and’
- *yā* ‘or’
- *yā ... yā* ‘either, or’
- *na ... na* ‘neither ... nor’

5.3.1.1 Adjunctive Coordination

The coordinating conjunction *va* ‘and’ and the connective clitic *=o* ‘and’ can connect any number of clauses or sentences. They are mutually exclusive with other coordinating conjunctions, such as *ammā* ‘but’, *vali* ‘but’, and *yā* ‘or.’ The clitic *=o* is more common than the conjunction in informal speech, but since the *va* ‘and’ and *=o* ‘and’ are both written in the same way we have treated them as the same for the purposes of this study.

In discourse, when more than two clauses are conjoined, the conjunction is usually omitted except for connecting the penultimate and the last clauses in the series. In written form it is also considered good practice to omit the conjunction in the first clause of the series in a clause.

Conjoined clauses may be in a coordinating, temporal or causal relationship. Example (5.128), from a written text *Eynak=etebbi* (ET) ‘Medical Spectacles’, illustrates simple coordination, example (5.129), from *Sāšā va asb=ejāduyi* (SAJ) ‘Sasha and the Magic Horse’ a spoken text, illustrates a sequence of events (temporal relationship) and example (5.130) illustrates a causal relationship.
(5.128) ET: 41-42
rang=aš  siāh=ast
colour=PC.3sg  black=COP.PRES.3sg
nok=aš  be qāede=ast
beak=PC.3sg  to rule=COP.PRES.3sg
va  pā-hā=(y)aš=rā  ham  xub  mi-bin-am
and  foot-PL=PC.3sg=OM  also  good  IPFV-see.PRES-1sg
‘It is black, its beak is as it should be and I can also see its feet perfectly well.’

(5.129) SAJ: 67-69
yek  guš=i  qāyem  mi-šav-ad
one  corner=IND  hidden  IPFV-become.PRES-3sg
tanāb  mi-andāz-ad  dowr=e  gardan=e  asb
rope  IPFV-throw.PRES-3sg  around=EZ  neck=EZ  horse
va  asb=rā  mi-gir-ad
and  horse=OM  IPFV-take.PRES-3sg
‘He hides in a corner, throws a rope around the horse’s neck and catches it.’

(5.130) ziādi  mašrub  xord
too.much  alcohol  eat.PAST.3sg
va  hāl=aš  bad  šod
and  health=PC.3sg  bad  become.PAST.3sg
‘He drank too much and got sick.’

When verbs are identical gapping can occur in the second of the coordinated clauses. (5.131) shows an example from text of gapping in the last clause where the final bud is omitted. This type of omission occurs where the omitted verb can be recovered from the context.

(5.131) ET: 53-56
gardan=e  kalāq  kutāh  šod-e  bud
neck=EZ  crow  short  become-PSPT  be.AUX.PAST-3sg
nok=aš=rā  dorost  ne-mi-did-am
beak=PC.3sg=OM  correct  NEG-IPFV-see.PAST-1sg
pā-hā=(y)aš  mahv  bud
foot-PL=PC.3sg  blurred  be.PAST-3sg
va  rang=aš  xākestari  (bud)
and  colour=PC.3sg  grey  (be.PAST-3sg)
‘The crow’s neck had become short, I did not see its beak properly, its feet were blurred and its colour (was) grey.’
We noted in a number of texts that the authors used *va* ‘and’ to coordinate a series of clauses for discourse-pragmatic purposes. This usage typically signalled climactic events. For example, (5.132) is near the end of *Kāseb bad o birāh goft* (KBG) ‘The Tradesman’s Curse.’ Here three clauses in sequence are conjoined with *va* ‘and.’ It is the climax of the story where the tradesman from Kashan pronounces his curse upon the ruffians in Tabriz. (5.133) is taken from *Jadval* (J) ‘The Crossword Puzzle.’ Here five clauses in sequence are conjoined with *va* ‘and.’ This sequence of clauses describe the climactic events where the crossword puzzle solver realizes he cannot solve the puzzle.

(5.132) KBG: 36-42

ru be šahr=e tabriz istād. va faryād-zanān face to city=EZ Tabriz stand.PAST.3sg and shout-hit.PRPt
bā asabāniat dast-hā=rā morattab with anger hand-PL=OM continuously
bālā va pāyin bord above and down take.PAST.3sg
va be luti-hā va bābāšamal-hā=(y)e tabriz and to rogue-PL and ruffian-PL=EZ Tabriz
bad o birāh goft bad and without.way say.PAST.3sg
va bā tup o tašar afzud and with ball and battle axe add.PAST.3sg
ke man pedar=etān=rā dar mi-āvar-am CLM PN.1sg father=PC.2pl=OM PREV IPFV-bring.PRES-1sg
marā mi-tars-ān-id PN.1sg.OM IPFV-fear.PRES-CAUS-2pl
‘He stopped facing the city of Tabriz and shouting in anger, waved his arms up and down, and he cursed the rogues and the ruffians of Tabriz, and vindictively added, “I will beat you all up! Are you trying to scare me?”’

(5.133) J: 64-69

ru=(y)e xod=aš xam šod-e bud on=EZ self=PC.3sg bent become-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
va šāne-hā=(y)aš mi-larzid and shoulder-PL=PC.3sg IPFV-shake(intr).PAST.3sg
va dāne-hā=(y)e ašk az zir=e eynak=aš and seed-PL=EZ tear(s) from under=EZ glasses=PC.3sg
rāh mi-oftād road IPFV-fall.PAST.3sg
He bent over as his shoulders shook and his tears got going from under his glasses and they fell down onto the squares of the puzzle and they spread out and made the colour of the ink appear.

We also noted that in a formal version of Hamrāh (H-F) ‘Companions (Formal)’, a story of two wolves out hunting together, the author uses va ‘and’ in sequences of same subject clauses to dramatize certain passages in the story. This is illustrated with the passages in (5.134)-(5.138). The va ‘and’s are underlined. This would confirm that not omitting the va ‘and’ in clause sequences is a method used for dramatising the narrative for climactic events or other important events in the story.

(5.134) H-F 17-20: sequences of va
gorosne va farsude ān do gorg dar barf hungry and worn.out that two wolf in snow
yale mi-šod-and va az zur=e gorosnegi staggering IPFV-become.PAST-3pl and from force=EZ hunger
puze dar barf foru mi-bord-and va zabān=rā muzzle in snow down IPFV-take.PAST-3pl and tongue=OM
dar barf mi-rānd-and va in snow IPFV-drive.PRES-PAST-3pl and
bā ārvāre-hā=(y)e larz-ān barf=rā mi-xāyid-and with jaw-PL=EZ shake-PRPT snow=OM IPFV-chew.PAST-3pl
‘Hungry and worn-out, those two wolves were staggering in the snow. And because of the intense hunger, they were pushing their muzzles into the snow and driving their tongues into the snow and chewing the snow with their shaky jaws.’

(5.135) H-F 33-37: sequences of va
be ham tane mi-zad-and va az ham to each.other rub-shoulder IPFV-hit.PAST-3pl and from each.other
bāz mi-šod-and va dar čāle mi-oftād-and open IPFV-become.PAST-3pl and in pitfall IPFV-fall.PAST-3pl
va dar mowj=e barf va kulāk sargardān and in wave=EZ snow and blizzard wandering
bud-and va biābān be pāyān ne-mi-resid be.PAST-3pl and wilderness to end NEG-IPFV-arrive.PAST.3sg
‘Their bodies were now hitting against each other, and now departing, and now falling into pitfalls and wandering about in the snow and blizzard, and the wilderness seemed unending.’

(5.136) H-F 44-48: sequences of va

\[pā=(y)e\] yek=i dar barf foru šod va tan bar foot=EZ one=IND in snow deep become.PAST.3sg and body over

\[pā=(y)e\] nātāvān larzid va tāb xord foot=EZ week tremble.PAST.3sg and twist eat.PAST.3sg

va sangin va zanjir šod-e and heavy and chained become-PSPT

bar jāy vāmānd on place remain.behind.PAST.3sg

‘One of the wolves slipped his leg into the snow and his body collapsed over his feeble leg and he twisted and having stumbled could move no more.’

(5.137) H-F 49-52: sequences of va

hamrāh=e u šetābān va āzmand piš=aš companion=EZ PN.3sg swift and greedy beside=PC.3sg

istād va jāpā=(y)e ostvār=i bar sang=i stand.PAST.3sg and foot.place=EZ firm=IND on stone=IND

be zir=e barf barā=(y)e xod jost at under=EZ snow for=EZ self.3sg find.PAST.3sg

va yāft va češm and find.PAST.3sg and eye

az hamrāh=e forumānde bar na-gereft from companion=EZ helpless PREV NEG-take.PAST.3sg

‘Swift and greedy, his companion stood by and found for himself a firm foothold on a stone under the snow, and fixed his eyes on his helpless companion.’

(5.138) H-F 53-60: sequences of va

hamrāh=e vāmānde tarsid va larzid companion=EZ helpless fear.PAST.3sg and tremble.PAST.3sg

va češm-ān=aš xoft va bidār and eye-PL=PC.3sg sleep.PAST.3sg and awake

šod va tamām=e niru=(y)aš dar become.PAST.3sg and all=EZ strength=PC.3sg in

češm-ān=e biforuq=aš gerd āmad eye-PL=EZ without.light=PC.3sg gather come.PAST.3sg

va dide az hamrāh=e poršarr=aš and eye from companion=EZ evil=PC.3sg
‘His helpless companion began to fear and tremble and his eyes went sleepy and then alert again, and gathered all its strength in its dim eyes and gazed at its vicious companion, and did not have the strength to move another step forward.’

In the uses of *va ‘and’* illustrated in (5.134)-(5.138) from H-I, the *va ‘and’* indicates a continuation of the same subject. However, in the climactic conclusion of this story, where one wolf eats his dying companion, *va ‘and’* is used to indicate a change of subject. (5.139) illustrates this in the final climactic interchange between the dying wolf and his predatory companion. *va ‘and’* is used at the beginning of H-F 65 where there is a switch from the dying wolf to the predatory wolf. H-F 70 speaks of the eyes and face of the dying wolf rather than the dying wolf directly, so this clause is not marked. H-F 71 switches back to the predatory wolf and is marked with *va ‘and.’* Then H-F 73 switches to the dying wolf and is marked with *va ‘and.’* Then finally, H-F 81 switches back to the predatory wolf who eats his companion. Thus clause initial *va ‘and’* is used in this case to dramatize the climax of the story.

(5.139) H-F: climactic use of *va*

H-F: 64-65: [dying wolf]

\[
pā-hā=(y)aš bar ham čin şod
\]

foot-PL=PC.3sg on each.other twisted become.PAST.3sg

\[
\text{va oflād}
\]

and fall.PAST.3sg

‘… and he twisted his legs and collapsed.’

H-F: 66: [predatory wolf]

\[
va ān ke bar pāy bud
\]

and that(one) CLM on foot be.PAST.3sg

‘And the one who was standing …’

H-F: 70: [dying wolf]

\[
\text{aknun digar ān češm va čehr}
\]

now other that eye and face

\[
\text{bar zamin=ez barf-puš xoft-e bud}
\]

on earth=EZ snow-covered sleep-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg

‘But now those eyes and face were sleeping on the snow-covered earth.’
And with hope the blood-thirsty companion let out a shaky, hungry, howl from between his teeth.

And the one who was not standing tried to stand up.

His mouth stood open and vision died in his eyes.

And the one standing, opened wide his dry mouth …

We also noted that *va* ‘and’ was used frequently to begin clauses in the spoken text *Dabir=e arabī=(y)e man* ‘My Arabic Teacher.’ But here it was not used for dramatic effect as in the written texts.

5.3.1.2 Disjunctive Coordination

The conjunction *yā* ‘or’ is the most common way to express disjunction between two clauses or sentences. When the single *yā* ‘or’ conjunction is used it expresses the unmarked disjunctive coordination. When repeated, as in *yā ... yā* it is the marked form and a separation between the conjuncts is expressed. This is translated into English as ‘either … or.’ (See Payne (1985), for example.) When the verbs of both clauses are the same, the verb
of the second clause in a \textit{yā} compound is omitted or gapped. Because it is a coordinate relationship the omitted verb can be recovered from the context.

In our text corpus there were ten instances of a single \textit{yā} conjunction, three instances of \textit{yā} \textit{... yā} conjunction, one instance of gapping, and one instance of multiple \textit{yā} conjunction. See (5.140), (5.141), and (5.142) for an example of the first three types, respectively. (5.143) illustrates one example of \textit{na} \textit{... na} ‘neither \textit{... nor}’ conjunction which also includes gapping. (5.140) has the single \textit{yā} ‘or’ conjunction use and a separation between the predicates \textit{ānhā=rā begirad} ‘grab them’ and \textit{bebinad} ‘see them’ is not expressed.

(5.140) J 38-41: Single \textit{yā} conjunction

\begin{verbatim}
va piš az ānke u be-tavān-ad
and before then that PNSg SBJN-able.PRES-3sg
ānhā=rā be-gir-ad yā be-bin-ad
PN.3pl=OM SBJN-take.PRES-3sg or SBJN-see.PRES-3sg
xāmuš mi-šod
extinguished IPFV-become.PAST-3sg
‘... and before he could grab them or see them they (the words) disappeared.’
\end{verbatim}

(5.141), on the other hand, has the marked \textit{yā} \textit{... yā} conjunction and here a separation between the predicates ‘I might pick his pocket’ and ‘I might do a sleight of hand’ is expressed.

(5.141) ET 105-110: \textit{yā} \textit{... yā} conjunction

\begin{verbatim}
mardak ke be xiāl=aš mi-xāh-am
man.DIM that to thought=PC.3sg IPFV-want.PAST-1sg
yā jib=aš=rā be-zan-am
either pocket=PC.3sg=OM SBJN-hit.PRES-1sg
yā yek češme az češmbandi-hā=(y)še profosor šándo
or one trick from sleight.of.hand-PL=EZ Professor Shando
va mirzā malkom xān=rā nešān=aš be-dah-am
and Mirza Malkom Khan=OM aim=PC.2sg SBJN-give.PRES-1sg
ruberu=(y)še man istād
opposite=EZ PNSg stand.PAST-3sg
va yek češm=aš=rā bast
and one eye=PC.3sg=OM close.PAST-3sg
‘The (small) man who thought I wanted to either pick his pocket or do a sleight of hand like Professor Shando and Mirza Malkom Khan, stopped opposite me and closed one of his eyes.’
\end{verbatim}
In (5.142) from Talab=e āmorzeš (TA) ‘Seeking Forgiveness’ also the yā ... yā conjunction expresses a separation between babbling Turkish or babbling Arabic.

(5.142) TA 16-18: yā ... yā conjunction with gapping

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{zabān=e} & \quad \text{fārsī harf mi-zad-and} \\
\text{language=EZ Farsi talk IPFV-hit.PAST-3pl} & \\
\text{yā torki balqur mi-kard-and} & \\
\text{or Turkic babble IPFV-do.PAST-3pl} & \\
\text{yā arabi az bix=e galu ... dar mi-(y)āmad} & \\
\text{or Arabic from root= EZ throat PREV IPFV-come.PAST.3sg} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘They spoke Farsi or burbled Turkic or Arabic came out from the depths of their throats.’

The written text Modir=e madrese ‘The School Headmaster’ has some seven yā ... yā conjunctions as a list of possible misdemeanors in clauses 54-63. In (5.143) the separation of the conjuncts is additionally marked by the fact that the negator is expressed as a separate word, rather than as a prefix on the verb, i.e. nadāštand.

(5.143) H-F 24: na ... na conjunction

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{na rāh=e piš dāšt-and} & \quad \text{na rāh=e pas} \\
\text{nor way= EZ forward have.PAST-3pl} & \quad \text{nor way= EZ backward} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘… they could neither go forward nor return.’

5.3.2 Additive Connectives

In this section we will look at the functions of the following connectives, all of which can constrain an additive interpretation.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ham} & \quad ‘\text{also, too}’ \\
\text{hattā} & \quad ‘\text{even}’ \\
\end{align*}
\]

We show that ham ‘also, too’ can add parallel propositions which have the same predicate and different subjects or have different predicates and same subjects; it can confirm a proposition in the unmarked sense and also in the marked sense by adding the least likely possibility; it can also be used to constrain a contrastive interpretation. Thus ham ‘also, too’ has a wider range of usage than its equivalent also in English.

The expression gozašte az ‘furthermore, moreover (lit. passing on from)’ also occurs and other expressions exist in the language that can be used to add information to the context. Some examples are: ‘alāve ‘excess, besides, furthermore, moreover, in addition’, be ‘alāve ‘in addition’, alāve barin ‘in addition to this’, vāngahi ‘furthermore’, ezāfe ‘addition, adding, joining’, ezāfe barin ‘moreover’, afzun ‘increasing’, afzun barin ‘moreover’, valo ‘even.’ However, they are not included in our discussion. Further research
into the function of these connective expressions using a more extensive corpus is needed.

5.3.2.1 The Additive *ham*

*ham* ‘also, too’ is the most widely used additive connective in Persian. It can connect phrases and clauses or sentences. At the phrasal level it can be optionally used in tandem with the basic conjunction *va* as in *ham* X (*va*) *ham* Y ‘both X and Y.’ However, in clausal conjoining *ham* cannot occur immediately follow *va* ‘and.’ Typically, *ham* occurs as a second-place constituent in the clause.

In (5.144), from *Azān=e qorub* (AQ) ‘Call to Evening Prayer’, *ham* ‘also, too’ occurs following a subject RP, in (5.145), from *Eynak=e tehbi* (ET) ‘Medical Spectacles’, it occurs following a subject pronoun, in (5.146), from *Nāme=(y)e Zahrā* (NZ) ‘Zahra’s letter’, it occurs following an object RP (twice), in (5.147), from *Sāšā va asb=e jāduyi* (SAJ) ‘Sasha and the Magic Horse’ it occurs following an object pronoun, in (5.148), from *Dabir=e arabi=(y)e man* (DAM) ‘My Arabic Teacher’, it occurs following an adverbial temporal expression, in (5.149), from *Marzbān* (M) ‘The Border Guard’, it occurs following a locative expression, and in (5.150) from *Pesarak=e labuforuš* ‘The Little Beetroot Vendor’ (PL) it follows the discourse connective *baːd*. For each of these examples the preceding and/or following context is indicated in the parentheses in the English translation.

(5.144) AQ 98: *ham* follows subject RP

\[ \text{bāzāri-hā} \quad \text{*ham* u=rā did-and} \]
\[ \text{merchant-PL also PN.3sg=OM see.PAST-3pl} \]
‘(When he started walking) the merchants also saw him.’

(5.145) ET 138-139: *ham* follows subject pronoun

\[ \text{did-am man *ham* čiz=i ne-mi-bin-am} \]
\[ \text{see.PAST-1sg PN.1sg also thing=IND NEG-IPFV-see.PRES-1sg} \]
‘(I closed one eye and with my other eye I looked at the wire.) I saw that I also did not see anything.’

(5.146) NZ 20-21: *ham* follows object RP

\[ \text{salām=e man=rā *ham* be šowhar=at} \]
\[ \text{hello=EZ PN.1sg=OM also to husband=PC.2sg} \]
\[ \text{be-res-ān va doxtar=e qašang=at=rā} \]
\[ \text{IMP-arrive.PRES-CAUS and daughter=EZ pretty=PC.2sg=OM} \]
\[ \text{*ham* be-bus also IMP-kiss.PRES} \]
‘(Parviz and Sudabe say “Hello”.) Also give my greetings to your husband and kiss your pretty daughter too.’
(5.147) SAJ 150: *ham* follows object pronoun

*marā ham bā xod=etān be-bar-id*

PN.1sg.OM also with self=PC.2pl IMP-take.PRES-2pl

“(Sasha’s brothers mount their horses and get ready to go. Sasha says,) “Take me with you (lit. yourselves) too!””

(5.148) DAM 78: *ham* follows an adverbial temporal expression

*va emruz ham in kār=rā kard-e Ø and today also this work=OM do-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3sg*

“(She said: “This one always makes trouble in class, and always stirs things up.) And today she also does this.’

(5.149) M 40: *ham* follows an adverbial locative expression

*dar guš-e(y)e bāq ham … in corner=EZ garden also*

“(The land around the building might have been turned into a garden plot several years before. Now the only trees left worthy of mention were these palm trees with thick knotted column-like trunks of brownish fibres that could be seen here and there.) Also in a corner of the garden (near the hole that is at the foot of the wall and might have been where water went in and out there were several crooked trees whose branches had bent down towards the ground.)’

(5.150) PL 309: *ham* follows the discourse connective *baːd*

*baːd ham dard-e sar=e amnie-hā=st then also ache=EZ head=EZ gendarmerie-PL=COP.PRES.3sg*

“(But if you do not accept he will send the children out.) Then in addition the gendarmerie will be after you.’

In our texts *ham* ‘also, too’ also occurred following the subordinating conjunction *agar* ‘if’, as in (5.151) from *Hamrāh* (H-I) ‘Companions (Informal).’ As already mentioned, *ham* cannot occur immediately following the coordinating conjunction *va* ‘and.’ For example, in (5.152), from *Dabir=e arabi=(y)e man* (DAM) ‘My Arabic Teacher’, the presence of *ham* following *va* requires the resumptive subject pronoun *man* ‘I.’

(5.151) H-I 120: *ham* following *agar*

*agar=am tā hālā ne-mi-xord-e Ø if=also until now NEG-IPFV-eat-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3sg*

“(‘But you and I are both wolves. How can a wolf eat a fellow wolf?’ “Why not?) Even if no wolf has eaten another wolf until now (I will start the trend so later on our children can learn from us.’)’
va man  ham  zad-am
and PN.1sg also hit.PAST-1sg
tu=(y)e guš=e dabir=e arabi=mān
on=EZ ear=EZ teacher=EZ Arabic=PC.1pl

‘(I became very angry too, and just the thing that I should not have done, I did. And) I also hit our Arabic teacher on the ear.’

ham is also ubiquitous as a formative. It occurs in the following compounds: ham-in ‘this same (same this)’, ham-ān ‘that same (same that)’, ham-in-jā ‘right here, (same this place)’, ham-ān-jā ‘same place’, ham-in-towr ‘in this way (same this manner)’, ham-ān-towr ‘in that way (same that manner)’, ham-čon-in ‘nonetheless (also because this)’, ham-čon-ān ‘nonetheless (also because that)’, bāham ‘each other’, ham-digar ‘each other’, ham-rāh ‘companion (same road)’, ham-sāl ‘contemporary (same year)’, ham-sāye-gān ‘neighbours’, ham-šire (sister), ham-kelāsi ‘classmate’, hame ‘all, every’ and hamišegi ‘never-ending.’

ham ‘also, too’ can be used to express a range of additive constraints on interpretation. The default position for ham ‘also, too’ is immediately following what is being added. This is different from English, for example, where the default position for also is immediately preceding the main verb, and the default position of too is at the end of the clause or sentence.

(5.153) is a parallelism between propositions which have the same predicate and different subjects. In this construction the information in the clause marked with ham is simply added to the information in the preceding clause. In (5.154) the predicates are not identical but they both express the same notion of ‘having work’. The first proposition asserts that everyone has work and the second proposition adds that we (=I) have work.

(5.153) SAJ 263-264: a parallel addition with same predicate
hic kas ne-mi-rav-ad
no person NEG-IPFV-go.PRES-3sg
sāšā ham ne-mi-rav-ad
Sasha also NEG-IPFV-go.PRES-3sg
‘No one goes, and Sasha also doesn’t go. / doesn’t go either.’

(5.154) PL 112-113: a parallel addition with a similar predicate
har kas=i kasb o kār=i dār-ad
every person=IND business and work=IND have.PRES-3sg
digar āqā. mā ham in kāre=im
other sir PN.1pl also this work.ADJ=COP.PRES.1pl
‘Everyone has work of some sort, sir. And this is our (=my) work.’
(5.155) is also a parallelism between propositions with the same predicate and different subjects, but in this case the first clause is found 17 clauses before the second clause, the one marked with *ham*. This shows that *ham* can link propositions over a distance in a text. Notice that *ham* is placed after the subject RP *pesar=ez* *vasati* ‘middle son’ to indicate that this is the added information rather than the change in temporal setting.

(5.155) SAJ 18, 35: a long-distance parallel addition

\[
\begin{align*}
&\$ab=ez \ \text{avval} \ \text{pesar}=ez \ \text{bozorg-tar} \ \text{mi-rav-ad} \\
&\text{night}=\text{EZ} \ \text{first} \ \text{son}=\text{EZ} \ \text{big-CMPR} \ \text{IPFV-go.PRES-3sg} \\
&\text{‘The first night the eldest son goes.’} \\
&\$ab=ez \ \text{dovvom} \ \text{pesar}=ez \ \text{vasati} \ \underline{\text{ham}} \ \text{mi-rav-ad} \\
&\text{night}=\text{EZ} \ \text{second} \ \text{son}=\text{EZ} \ \text{middle} \ \text{also} \ \text{IPFV-go.PRES-3sg} \\
&\text{‘The second night the middle son also goes.’}
\end{align*}
\]

The other main type of parallelism is where the connected propositions have the same subject but different predicates. (5.156) is an example of this type of parallelism. The subject of the first clause is ‘I’ and the subject of the last clause is also ‘I’, and each has a different predicate. The final proposition with *ham* demonstrates that it can occur with this type of parallelism. Note that in the Persian *ham* unambiguously adds ‘its feet’ but in the English translation *also* is ambiguous.

(5.156) ET 40-42: parallelism with same subject and different predicates

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{kalāq}=\text{rā} \ \text{kāmelan} \ \text{mi-bin-am} \\
&\text{crow}=\text{OM} \ \text{completely} \ \text{IPFV-see.PRES-1sg} \\
&\text{rang}=\text{aš} \ \text{siāh}=\text{ast} \\
&\text{colour}=\text{PC.3sg} \ \text{black}=\text{COP.PRES.3sg} \\
&\text{nok}=\text{aš} \ \text{be qāede}=\text{ast} \\
&\text{beak}=\text{PC.3sg} \ \text{to rule}=\text{COP.PRES.3sg} \\
&\text{va} \ \text{pā-hā=(y)aš}=\text{rā} \ \underline{\text{ham}} \ \text{xub mi-bin-am} \\
&\text{and foot-PL}=\text{PC.3sg=OM} \ \text{also} \ \text{good} \ \text{IPFV-see.PRES-1sg} \\
&\text{‘I see the crow perfectly well. It is black, its beak is as it should be and I can also see its feet perfectly well.’}
\end{align*}
\]

*ham* ‘also, too’ can be used to express the notion of confirmation of a proposition with a meaning of ‘actually’ or ‘indeed’ or ‘so.’ In (5.157), from *Kāseb bad o birāh goft* (KBG) ‘The Tradesman’s Curse’, this is the meaning expressed by *ham* in the final clause. Note that while *ham* ‘also’ has to occur in second position in the clause, *u* ‘she’ is used rather than *zan=aš* ‘his wife’ to avoid any suggestion of topicalization.

(5.157) KBG 32-34: confirmation of a proposition

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{be mahz}=\text{e} \ \text{vorud} \ \text{be xāne=(y)e qabli} \\
&\text{to mere}=\text{EZ} \ \text{entrance to house}=\text{EZ} \ \text{previous}
\end{align*}
\]
As soon as he entered his previous house he told his wife, “Close the door of the house tight.” So she did.

*ham* ‘also, too’ can also express the notion of ‘even’, i.e. confirmation by adding the least likely possibility. An example of this is illustrated in the final clause of (5.158). The context is that the crossword solver has no-one to console him, and not even his wife awakes at his sobbing and crying to comfort him. Note that here *ham* ‘also’ follows the preposed constituent *az* *sedā*=(y)e *gerye*=(y)e *u* ‘from the noise of his crying.’ This is the added information and it is followed by a confirmation of the fact that she was so fast asleep that *bidār* *našod* ‘she did not wake up.’

(5.158) J 88-92: confirmation by adding the least likely possibility

(5.159) is an interesting example. There is a *ham* in the second clause that expresses confirmation by adding the least likely possibility, ‘even’, and in the last clause there is a *ham* that expresses an instance of parallelism: ‘we’ learn a new trend plus ‘our children’ learn the same trend from us.

(5.159) H-I 119-122:

*čerā* *na-xor-e*
why *NEG-eat.PRES-3sg*

*agar=am* *tā* *hālā* *ne-mi-xord-e* Ø
if=also until now *NEG-IPFV-eat-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3sg*
man šoru mi-kon-am
PN.1sg start IPFV-do.PRES-1sg
tā ba:d-hā bačče-hā=mun ham yād be-gir-an
so later-PL child-PL=PC.1pl also learn SBJN-take.PRES-3pl
‘Why not eat (a wolf)? Even if no wolf has eaten another wolf so far, I will start the trend so later on our children can learn from us as well.’

In (5.160) ham is used additively in a countering proposition. The countering notion is conveyed by ammā ‘but’ in the last proposition and ham adds this counter to the expectation established by the second clause.

(5.160) PL 190-192: additive ham in a countering proposition
mādar=am bāz mariz bud
mother=PC.1sg again ill be.PAST.3sg
kār ne-mi-kard
work NEG-IPFV-do.PAST.3sg
ammā zamingir ham na-bud
but bedridden also NEG-be.PAST.3sg
‘My mother was ill again. She did not work but she was not bedridden either.’

In (5.161) ham is also used additively in a countering proposition but the structure is a little more complex. The countering notion is conveyed by ammā ‘but’ and the ham adds the third clause to the first in confirmation of the first, notwithstanding the countering expectation conveyed by the second clause.

(5.161) MM 11-13: additive ham in a countering proposition
bačče-hā eltemās mi-kard-and
child-PL entreaty IPFV-do.PAST-3pl
gerye mi-kard-and
weeping IPFV-do.PAST-3pl
ammā dast=ešān=rā ham derāz mi-kard-and
but hand=PC.3pl=OM also long IPFV-do.PAST-3pl
‘The children were begging; although weeping, were still holding out their hands.’

Lazard (1992:107) says that personal pronouns may fulfil in the sentence the same functions as nouns and Thackston (1993:32) says that pronouns are used to express contrast between subjects, as in (5.162), for example. When two propositions have a point of similarity and two points of contrast, they are in prototypical contrast. The example in (5.162) is therefore not a case of prototypical contrast since there is no point of similarity between the propositions.
(5.162) man raft-am o u mānd
PN.1sg go-PAST-1sg and PN.3sg remain.PAST.3sg
‘I went and he stayed.’

However, *ham* can be used to add a contrastive proposition that is prototypical. (5.163) is taken from *Pesarak=e labuforuš* ‘The Little Beetroot Vendor’ (PL). Here the activity of Tari Verdi described in the second clause (104) is contrasted with that of his sister described in the first clause (103). The point of similarity between the propositions is what they both do to the *labuforuš* ‘beetroot’ whose reference is omitted from the clauses.

(5.163) PL 104-105: prototypical contrast with *ham*

āqā xāhar=aš mi-paz-ad
sir sister=PC.3sg IPFV-cook.PRES-3sg
‘Sir, his sister cooks (the beetroot)’

in *ham* mi-foruš-ad
this also IPFV-sell.PRES-3sg
‘(and) he sells (the beetroot).’

*Ham* can be used to indicate that a whole set of propositions are contrastive. (5.164) is taken from *Talab=e āmorzeš* (TA) ‘Seeking Forgiveness’. This illustrates a list of propositions where one of the crowd does this and another does that. This is the point of similarity with all of these propositions. In the very last proposition (34) there is a *ham* ‘also, too’ and this indicates that all of the propositions stating that ‘one (of the crowd) does something’ are contrastive.

(5.164) TA 26-34: extended contrast indicated by *ham*

in jamīiat be anvā?=e gunāgun jalb=e moštari
this crowd to way.PL=EZ various attract=EZ customer
mi-kard
IPFV-do.PAST.3sg
‘This crowd was attracting customers in various ways:’

yek=i nowhe mi-xānd
one=IND lamentation IPFV-read.PAST.3sg
‘one was reciting laments,’

yek=i sine mi-zad
one=IND breast IPFV-hit.PAST.3sg
‘one was beating his chest,’

yek=i mohr va tasbih va kafan=e motabarrek
one=IND seal and worry.beads and shroud=EZ blessed
mi-foruxt
IPFV-sell.PAST.3sg
‘one was selling seals and worry beads and blessed shrouds,’

yek=i jenn mi-gereft
one=IND demon IPFV-take.PAST.3sg
‘one was exorcising demons,’

yek=i doā mi-nevešt
one=IND prayer IPFV-write.PAST.3sg
‘one was writing prayers,’

yek=i ham xāne kerāye mi-dād
one=IND also house rent IPFV-give.PAST.3sg
‘(and) another was renting out houses.’

5.3.2.2 The Additive hattā

hattā ‘even’ occurs six times in our text corpus. It typically adds surprising or unexpected information to the context. An example is given in (5.165) from the spoken text Dabir=e arabī=(y)e man (DAM) ‘My Arabic Teacher’, and in (5.166) and (5.167) from the written texts Māhi siāh=e kučulu (MSK) ‘The Little Black Fish’ and Dāi jān Nāpelon (DJN) ‘Uncle Neopolian’, respectively. (5.165) and (5.166) occur in speech and (5.167) occurs in the text narrative.

(5.165) DAM 79-80:

va hattā be man towhin kard-e Ø
and even to PN.1sg insult do-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3sg
va tu=(y)e surat=e man zad-e Ø
and on=EZ face=EZ PN.1sg hit-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3sg
‘And she even insulted me and hit me in the face.’

(5.166) MSK: 270-271

be mā čiz-hā=(y)i yād dād-i
to PN.1pl thing-PL=IND memory give.PAST-2sg
ke piš az in hattā fekr=aš=rā
CLM before from this even thought=PC.3sg=OM
ham na-kard-e bud-im
also NEG-do-PSPT be.AUX.PAST-1pl
‘and taught us things that before this we had never even thought of.’

(5.167) DJN 59-61:

dastur dād-e bud
order give-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
ke bačče-hā qabl az sāat=e panj=e ba:d
CLM child-PL before from clock=EZ five=EZ after
‘He had given orders that the children should not even breathe before five o’clock in the afternoon.’

Since *hattā* ‘even’ can occur with *va* ‘and’, as in (5.165), we can understand that its function is to add a proposition to the context. This is a different distribution to *ham* ‘also’, which cannot occur directly following *va* ‘and.’ Typically *ham* ‘also’ occurs after the constituent that refers to the added information. However, *ham* ‘also’ did occur following the subordinating conjunction *agar* ‘if’, in (5.159), and in this example *ham* ‘also’ does add a whole proposition.

5.3.3 Adversative Connectives

In this section we will describe the discourse function of the following countering connectives. We are aware that other countering connectives exist in the language, such as *lāken* and *likan*, but we will only discuss those given below, which occurred in our texts.

*ammā* ‘but’
*vali* ‘but’
*balke* ‘but’
*āxer* (*āxe*) ‘but, yet’

5.3.3.1 The countering *ammā*

Native Persian speakers maintain that *ammā* ‘but’ and *vali* ‘but’ are synonymous but careful examination of our text corpus suggests that *ammā* ‘but’ is the default and most neutral of the countering connectives. When this connective is used usually the plot or situation is not moved on or developed, but when *vali* ‘but’ is used there is typically a development.

There were over thirty occurrences of *ammā* ‘but’ in *Māhi siāh=e kučulu* (MSK) ‘The Little Black Fish’ and only one occurrence of *vali* ‘but.’ At first, this would seem to confirm native speakers’ intuitions that *ammā* ‘but’ is completely interchangeable with *vali* ‘but.’ But examination reveals that in each instance in MSK where *ammā* ‘but’ is used the implication is that the presupposed proposition is countered and the state of affairs is not developed. An example of where the situation is not moved on is given in (5.168). The *mādar* ‘mother’ makes a supposition about the state of affairs with regard to her child which is not borne out in fact. The connective *ammā* ‘but’ is used to indicate this state of affairs will not develop any further because it is an incorrect supposition on the part of *mādar* ‘mother.’

(5.168) MSK 28-32: nondeveloping *ammā*

*mādar xiāl mi-kard*
mother suppose IPFV-do.PAST.3sg
’Mother supposed her child to be a bit ill which would soon be cured. But the truth is that the black fish’s pain springs from something else!’

The context for (5.169) is that māhi siāh ‘black fish’ is about to set off with māhihā=(y)e rize ‘the tiny fish’ to find the end of the stream when they see the water rising up around them. They are caught in the pelican’s beak and cannot continue. The māhihā=(y)e rize ‘the tiny fish’ are eventually swallowed by the pelican and never get to the end of the stream. Thus the countering connective ammā ‘but’ is used.

(5.169) MSK 722-723: nondeveloping ammā

ammā tā xāst-and
but as.soon.as want.AUX.PAST-3pl
rāh bi-oft-and
way SBJN-fall.PRES-3pl
‘Just as they were about to set off, …’

Another context for ammā ‘but’ in MSK is where a conditional statement suggests an alternative way of proceeding with the story line. The passage of MSK that (5.170) relates to is where the narrator is describing the valley through which the stream flows. An alternative way of viewing the valley is presented in (5.170).

(5.170) MSK 377-378: nondeveloping ammā with conditional

ammā agar mi-xāst-i
but if IPFV-want.PAST-2sg
az bālā=(y)e kuh-hā tah=e darre=rā
from above= EZ mountain-PL bottom= EZ valley= OM
negāh kon-i, …
look SBJN.do.PRES-2sg
‘but if you wanted to look at the bottom of the valley from the top of the mountains, …’

Another means by which ammā ‘but’ can be made to express development in MSK is by the addition of a development connective. In (5.171) the
developing connective \textit{ba:d} ‘then’ follows \textit{ammā} ‘but’ and this passage
begins another stage in the plot of the story.

(5.171) MSK 276-277: nondeveloping \textit{ammā} with developing connective \textit{ba:d}

\begin{verbatim}
ammā  ba:d  šoru  kard    be  šenā  kard-an
but   then  begin  do.PAST.3sg  to  swim  do-INF
va  dowr=e  berke  gašt  zad-an
and  around=EZ  pond  exploration  hit-INF
\end{verbatim}

‘But then she started swimming about and exploring around the pond.’

Examination of how \textit{ammā} ‘but’ is used in other texts substantiates the
thesis that this is a nondevelopment countering connective. (5.172) is an
example of the nondevelopment of the plot of the story line from \textit{Talab=e āmorzeš} (TA) ‘Seeking Forgiveness.’ Here the search for Mrs. Aziz is not
developed by \textit{ammā} asar=i az u be=dast na(yāmad) ‘But no trace of her was
found.’ The nondevelopment is expressed by a negative outcome.

(5.172) TA 58-61: nondeveloping \textit{ammā}

\begin{verbatim}
az  kafṣdār  va  az  ziāratnāmexān
from  shoe.keeper  and  from  pilgrimage.report.reader
yek=i  yek=i  sorāq=e  aziz  āqā=rā  gereft-and
one=IND  one=IND  inquiry=EZ  Aziz  Mrs=OM  take.PAST-3pl
va  nešāni=(y)e  u=rā  juyā  šod-and
and  address=EZ  PN.3sg=OM  enquiry  become.PAST-3pl
ammā  asar=i  az  u  be=dast  na-(y)āmad
but  trace=IND  of  PN.3sg  to=hand  NEG-come.PAST.3sg
\end{verbatim}

‘They asked everyone, from the mosque shoe guard to the reciters of
pilgrimage reports and made enquiries regarding the whereabouts of
Mrs. Aziz. But no trace of her was found.’

Another typical context for \textit{ammā} ‘but’ is when the countering is a
digression from the main theme line. For example, in (5.173) the protagonist
is trying to solve the crossword puzzle in the newspaper. The immediately
preceding text describes how the reflection of the white squares is hurting
his eyes. Then \textit{ammā} ‘but’ introduces his daydream about the people of
Tehran who ridiculed him over his crosswords. After this digression the
main theme is resumed about him trying to solve the puzzle.

(5.173) J 12-15: nondeveloping \textit{ammā}

\begin{verbatim}
negāh=aš  ru=(y)e  ruznāme  bud
gaze=PC.3sg  on=EZ  newspaper  be-PAST.3sg
ammā  qiāfe-hā=(y)e  tehrānī-hā  va  mortezā  xān
but  face-PL=EZ  Tehranian-PL  and  Mortazā  Khan
\end{verbatim}

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‘His gaze was on the newspaper but he could see the faces of the people of Tehran and Mortaza Khan’s face and he could hear their laughter and their mocking talk.’

(5.174) illustrates a context for *ammā* ‘but’ where conditional statements suggest alternative ways of proceeding with the story line. In (5.174), the conditions introduced by *ammā* ‘but’ do not themselves move the story forward. But instead they set up options for the development of the plot. In this case the second option (condition) in (5.174b) is chosen.

### (5.174) a. SAJ 85-86

```ghafla
xob marā āzād na-kon fine PN.1sg.OM free NEG-do.PRES
ammā agar āzād=am na-kon-i but if free=PC.1sg NEG-do.PRES-2sg
be dard=at ne-mi-xor-am
to need=PC.2sg NEG-IPFV-eat.PRES-1sg
‘Fine, don’t free me. But if you don’t free me I won’t be of any use to you.’
```

### (5.174) b. SAJ 90-91

```ghafla
ammā agar vel=am kon-i but if release=PC.1sg SBJN.do.PRES-2sg
be-rav-am, …
SBJN-go.PRES-1sg
‘But if you let me go, …’
```

### 5.3.3.2 The countering *vali*

*vali* ‘but’ occurred over thirty times in our text corpus, but as stated in §5.3.3.1, it has a different context of use to *ammā* ‘but.’ Typically *vali* ‘but’ occurs with an overt or implied development of the event line. Some illustrative examples are given in (5.175), (5.176), (5.177) and (5.178).

There was only one *vali* ‘but’ used in *Māhi siāh=e kučulu* (MSK) ‘The Little Black Fish’ and it occurs in a direct speech, but it clearly has a developing function, as shown in (5.175).

### (5.175) MSK 691-693

```ghafla
māh goft: kār=e saxt=i=st
moon say.PAST.3sg work=EZ difficult=IND=COP.PRES.3sg
```
vali ādam-hā har kār del=ešān be-xāh-ad …
but person-PL any work heart=PC.3pl SBJN-want.PRES-3sg
‘The moon said: “It’s difficult, but whatever men set their minds to
do …”’

In (5.176) vali ‘but’ introduces a new development that the protagonist
now fears his right eye is bad as well as his left eye. He then sets about
testing his right eye.

(5.176) ET 78-81: developing vali

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

In (5.177a) the crowd rush to the travellers who have just arrived in the
caravan. In (5.177b) the event line is developed as everybody takes a piece
of their things, and then a further development is given in (5.177c)
introduced by vali ‘but’ that ‘Mrs. Aziz’ has got lost. The search for the
missing Mr. Aziz is then the main theme of the following 40 lines of text.

(5.177) TA 46-49: developing vali

a. jamʔiat=e ziād=i be mosāfer-ān hojum āvard-and
crowd=EZ great=IND to traveller-PL assault bring.PAST-3pl
‘A big crowd attached to the travellers.’

b. har tekke az čiz-hā=(y)ešān be dast=e yek nafar
each piece of thing-PL=PC.3pl to hand=EZ one person
bud
be.PAST.3sg
‘Everybody took a piece of their things …’

c. vali dar in miān aziz āqā gom šod
but in this middle Aziz Mrs lost become.PAST.3sg
‘But in the meantime Mrs. Aziz got lost.’

In the text preceding what is given in (5.178) mazraʔe ‘field’ is
introduced. Then a very important development on the theme of mazraʔe
‘field’ is introduced with vali ‘but.’ Catching the animal that is destroying
the field then becomes the main theme of the following 35 lines of text. After which the ‘animal’ turns out to be a magical horse.

(5.178) SAJ 8-11: developing vali

vali har šab heyvān=i mi-āmad
but every night animal=IND IPFV-come.PAST.3sg
tamām=e mazra?e=rā xarāb mi-kard
whole=EZ field=OM destroy IPFV-do.PAST.3sg
mahsul=rā mi-xord va mi-raft
crop=OM IPFV-eat.PAST.3sg and IPFV-go.PAST.3sg
‘But every night an animal would come, wreck the whole field, eat the crop and go.’

5.3.3.3 The countering balke

Mahootian (1997:75) says that balke ‘but’ and likan ‘but’ are more formal or literary conjunctions that are used infrequently in spoken Persian. She gives some examples of this usage in the expression na tanhā ... balke ...

(5.179) na tanhā biadab=e
not alone rude=COP.PRES.3sg
balke porru=am hast
but belligerent=also be.PRES.3sg
‘Not only is he rude but he is also belligerent.’

Lambton (2003 [1953]) also notes that balke is used after an expressed or implied negative. She also says that balke can be used to express the notion of emphatic countering. In (5.180) it is used after a rhetorical question to mean ‘on the contrary’ and with the affirmative verb in (5.181) it means ‘nay, rather.’ In colloquial Persian balke is sometimes used in the sense of ‘perhaps’, as in (5.182).

(5.180) eštebāh ya:ni če
mistake that.is.to.say what
‘What do you mean? A mistake?’
balke fel-vāqe amdan in kār=rā
but contrary on.purpose this work=OM
kard-e id do-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.2pl
‘On the contrary, you did it on purpose.’

(5.181) in ketāb čehel riāl mi-arz-ad
this book forty rial IPFV-worth.PRES-3sg
balke panjāh riāl
but fifty rial
‘This book is worth forty rials, nay rather fifty rials.’

(5.182) balke āmad-e bāš-ad
but come-PSPT SBJN.be AUX.PRES-3sg
‘Perhaps he has come.’

The countering balke ‘but’ occurred twice in our corpus; once in the fairly colloquial spoken text Dabir=e arabi=(y)e man (DAM) ‘My Arabic Teacher’, and once in the written text Dāi jān Nāpelon (DJN) ‘Uncle Neopolian.’ In each case balke ‘but’ occurred after a negative proposition and the English translations of the examples in (5.183) and (5.184) illustrate this.

(5.183) DAM 174-183: negative countering balke
to ne-mi-tavān-i ke bā zur=at
PN.2sg NEG-IPFV-be.able.PRES-2sg CLM with force=PC.2sg
va bā in ke be-xāh-i be man
and with this CLM SBJN-want.AUX.PRES-2sg to PN.1sg
zur be-gu-(y)i va bi?=edālati be-kon-i
force SBJN-say-2sg and injustice SBJN-do.PRES-2sg
be-xāh-i ke man=rā aziat kon-i
SBJN-want.PRES-2sg CLM me=OM annoyance SBJN.do.PRES-2sg
‘Free translation: You cannot [NEG] coerce me by forcing me to do things unjustifiably [NEG], in order to hurt me.’
balke man mi-xāst-am
but PN.1sg IPFV-want.PAST-1sg
be to nešān be-dah-am
to PN.2sg show SBJN-give.PRES-1sg
ke man mi-tavān-am
CLM PN.1sg IPFV-be.able.PRES-1sg
yek šāgerd=e xub=i bāš-am
one student=EZ good=IND SBJN.be.PRES-1sg
‘On the contrary [balke], I wanted to show you that I can be a good student.’

(5.184) DJN 56-61: negative countering balke
dāxe=e çahār divāri=(y)e bāq na tanhā mā
inside=EZ four walled=EZ garden not only PN.1pl
baĉçe-hā mazze=(y)e na-xābid-an=e ba:d az zohr
child-PL taste=EZ NEG-sleep-INF=EZ afternoon
va sar o sedā kard-an dar moqe?=e xābé= and head and sound do-INF in time=EZ sleep=EZ dāi jān=rā češid-e bud-im uncle dear=OM taste-PSPT be.AUX.PAST-1pl

‘Inside the four walls of the garden not only all of us children had a taste of not [NEG] sleeping in the afternoons and making noise during uncle’s sleeping time,\

balke kalāq-hā va kabutar-hā ham kam-tar dar ān but crow-PL and dove-PL also little-CMPR in that mahdude peydā=(y)ešān mi-šod čun area found=PC.3pl IPFV-become.PAST.3sg because dāi jān čand bār bā tofang=e šekāri ānhā=rā uncle dear several time with gun=EZ hunting PN.3pl=OM qal-o-qam kard-e bud finish.off do-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg

‘but even [balke] the crows and doves were also barely visible in that area because uncle had driven them off with an air rifle a couple of times.’

5.3.3.4 The countering āxar (āxe)

āxar ‘end, last’ (pronounced as āxe) can be used as a countering connective meaning ‘well’, ‘now’, ‘after all.’ āxar can also function as a discourse connective with the meaning of ‘finally’, ‘at last.’ Under this function āxar places the proposition in the context of the discourse. When āxar has these functions it occurs in first position in the clause.

Countering function:

Examples are given in (5.185)-(5.189) of āxar used as a countering connective. All instances occur in direct speech. (5.185) is a counter proposition by mādar ‘mother’ that māhi kučulu ‘little fish’ has to go. (5.186) is a counter proposition by mādar ‘mother’ that juybār ‘stream’ has an end. Note that āxar is also used in its primary sense in this clause. (5.187) is a counter proposition by māhi kučulu ‘little fish’ to the proposition from mādar ‘mother’ that juybār ‘stream’ goes on and on and has no end. (5.188) is the response of mārmulak ‘lizard’ to the question from māhi kučulu ‘little fish’ about how the fish have driven the fisherman mad. In (5.189) mardak ‘man’ counters his own proposition xob, nemibinam. magar zur ast? ‘Well, I cannot see. Do I have to?’ stated earlier in the discourse.

(5.185) MSK 51-52: āxar used as a countering connective
āxar sobh=e be in zudi kojā mi-xāh-i CLM morning=EZ to this earliness where IPFV-want.PRES-2sg
‘Now, where do you want to go at this hour of the morning?’

(5.186) MSK 76: āxar used as a countering connective

āxar jān=am
CLM dear=PC.1sg
juybār ke avval o āxar na-dār-ad
stream CLM first and end NEG-have.PRES-3sg
‘Well, sweetest! The stream isn’t something with a beginning and end.’

(5.187) MSK 82-83: āxar used as a countering connective

āxar mādar jān! magar na in=ast
CLM mother dear QU no this=COP.PRES.3sg
ke har čiz=i be āxar mi-res-ad
CLM every thing=IND to end IPFV-arrive.PRES-3sg
‘Well, dear mother! Isn’t it so that everything comes to an end?’

(5.188) MSK 532: āxar used as a countering connective

āxar na ke bāham=and
CLM no CLM together=COP.PRES.3pl
‘Well, now that they are together …’

(5.189) ET 141-143: āxar used as a countering connective

mardak bā asabāniat goft
man.DIM with anger say.PAST-3sg
āxar maqsud=at či=st
CLM intention=PC.2sg what=COP.PRES.3sg
če čiz=rā mi-xāh-i be-bin-i
what thing=OM IPFV-want.PRES-2sg SBJN-see.PRES-2sg
‘The man said angrily, “After all, what is your intention? What do you want to see?”’

(5.190) illustrates the climactic interchange between the wolves in the informal version of Hamrāh (H-I) ‘Companions (Informal).’ āxar occurs three times in this direct speech exchange as a countering connective. In each instance the dying wolf offers a countering proposition to the proposition stated initially by the predatory wolf that he should eat his dying companion and save himself. After this exchange this is exactly what he does!
(5.190) H-I 107-123: āxar used as a countering connective

Predatory wolf:

to ke dār-i mi-mir-i
PN.2sg CLM have.AUX.PRES-2sg IPFV-die.PRES-2sg
pas aqalan be-zār man be-xor-am=at
so at.least IMP-let.PRES PN.1sg SBJN-eat.PRES-1sg=PC.2sg
ke zende be-mān-am
CLM alive SBJN-remain.PRES-1sg

‘You see, you’re dying anyway. So at least let me eat you so I can stay alive.’

Dying wolf:

man=o be-xor-i
PN.1sg=OM SBJN-eat.PRES-2sg

‘Eat me?’

Predatory wolf:

āre mage to če=t=e
QU QU PN.2sg what=PC.2sg=COP.PRES.3sg

‘Yes, what is the issue with you?’

Dying wolf:

āxar mā sāl-hā=(y)e sāl bāham dust=e
CLM PN.1sg year-PL=EZ year together friend=EZ
junjuni bud-im
DUP.soulish be.PAST-1pl

‘But we were intimate friends for years and years.’

Predatory wolf:

barā=(y)e ham-in=e
for=EZ same-this=COP.PRES.3sg

ke mi-g-am bāyad fadākāri kon-i
CLM IPFV-say.PRES-1sg must sacrifice SBJN.do.PRES-2sg

‘This is why I say you should make a sacrifice.’

Dying wolf:

āxar man o to har do=mun
CLM PN.1sg and PN.2sg each two=PC.1pl
gorg=im mage gorg gorg=o mi-xor-e
wolf=COP.PRES.1pl QU wolf wolf=OM IPFV-eat.PRES-3sg

‘But you and I are both wolves. How can a wolf eat a fellow wolf?’
Predatory wolf:
čerā na-xor-e
why NEG-eat.PRES-3sg
agar=am tā hālā ne-mi-xord-e Ø
if=also until now NEG-IPFV-eat-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3sg
man šoru mi-kon-am
PN.1sg start IPFV-do.PRES-1sg
tā baːd-hā bačče-hā=mun ham yād be-gir-and
so later-PL child-PL=PC.1pl also learn SBJN-take.PRES-3pl
‘Why not? And even if no wolf has eaten another wolf so far, I will
start the trend so later on our children can learn from us.’

Dying wolf:
āxar gušt=e man bu=(y)e nā mi-d-e
clm meat=EZ PN.1sg smell=EZ mustiness IPFV-give.PRES-3sg
‘But my flesh has a musty smell about it.’

Specifying discourse context function:

(5.191)-(5.194) illustrate the usage of āxar as a connective that specifies
the discourse context of the following proposition. Only (5.193) occurs in
direct speech; the rest occur in the narrative of the texts.

(5.191) specifies the result of the school children misbehaving in class,
namely, that the author was blamed for it. (5.192) specifies the result of the
man trying to solve the crossword puzzle. (5.193) is the contribution of the
seventh and final neighbour fish to the proposition that the little fish is about
to leave. (5.194) is the conclusion the narrator comes to following the
proposition that the life is draining out of the little fish.

(5.191) DAM 30-31: āxar used to specify the discourse context
āxar ānče ke na-bāyad ettefāq mi-oftād
CLM whatever CLM NEG-must happening IPFV-fall.PAST.3sg
az šāns=e bad=e man ettefāq oftād
from chance=EZ bad=EZ PN.1sg happening fall.PAST.3sg
‘In the end the thing that shouldn’t have happened did happen, to my
misfortune.’

(5.192) J 96-97: āxar used to specify the discourse context
dar āxar ruznāme va medād az dast=aš
at end newspaper and pencil from hand=PC.3sg
oftād va pelk-hā=(y)e u bā xastegi
fall.PAST.3sg and eyelid-PL=EZ PN.3sg with fatigue
va sangini beham raft
and heaviness together go.PAST.3sg
‘Finally, the newspaper and pencil fell from his hand and his eyelids came together with heaviness and fatigue.’

(5.193) MSK 256: āxar used to specify the discourse context
āxar mā be did-an=e to ādat
CLM PN.1pl to see-INF=EZ PN.2sg custom
kard-e im…
do-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.1pl

‘After all, we’ve grown used to seeing you …’

(5.194) MSK 947-948: āxar used to specify the discourse context
āxar yek māhi=(y)e kučulu čeqadr mi-tavān-ad
CLM one fish=EZ little how.much IPFV-be.able.PRES-3sg
birun az āb zende be-mān-ad
outside from water alive SBJN-stay.PRES-3sg

‘After all, how long can a little fish remain alive out of water?’

5.3.4 Connectives that Constrain a Developmental Interpretation

According to D&L (2001:93) some particles ‘constrain the reader to move on to the next point … they indicate that the material so marked represents a new development in the story or argument, as far as the author’s purpose is concerned.’ New developments typically involve change: ‘a change of spatiotemporal setting or circumstances, a change in the underlying subject, or a change to or from a background comment’ (Levinsohn, 2000:72). However, for a developmental marker (DM) to be used, the information must not only contain an element of change; ‘it must also represent a new step or development in the author’s story or argument’ (loc. cit.).

Persian does not have DMs, i.e. particles dedicated to this particular function. However, the language does have a number of connectives that can be used to indicate a new development. These in particular are:

\[ baːd \] ‘then, after, next, later’
\[ tā \] ‘until, as soon as’
\[ belaxare \] ‘finally’

5.3.4.1 The developing connective \[ baːd \]

In §5.4.3.1 we show that \[ baːd \] ‘then’ has two deictic functions in our texts. The most common function of \[ baːd \] ‘then’ is to express what happened next in the discourse. A less common function is for \[ baːd \] ‘then’ to refer to a time or situation after the time being talked about with the meaning of ‘later.’ In terms of the first function where \[ baːd \] means what happened next, \[ baːd \] can be used as a developing connective.
(5.195) and (5.196) are two examples from different texts of *baːd* ‘then’ used to indicate a major new development unit. In contrast, *baːd* ‘then’ is used in *Māhi siāh=e kučulu* (MSK) ‘The Little Black Fish’ mainly to indicate only minor developments in the story. Some examples are given in (5.197). However, it is interesting to note in MSK, that most of the developmental uses of *baːd* ‘then’ apply to the main protagonist, *māhi siāh=e kučulu* ‘little black fish.’

The *baːd* in (5.195) indicates a major developmental change in *Modir=e madrese* (MM) ‘The School Headmaster’, a written text. Up to this point the scene has been the headmaster witnessing a brutal caning of the students by his school supervisor. Now the scene changes to the headmaster talking to the supervisor privately and persuading him to destroy his canes.

(5.195) MM 74-77

```plaintext
bačče-hā sekseke kon-ān raft-and tu=(y)e saf-hā child-PL sobbing do-PRPT go.PAST-3pl into=EZ queue-PL va baːd zang=rā zad-and and then bell=OM hit.PAST-3pl va saf-hā raft-and be kelās-hā and queue-PL go.PAST-3pl to class-PL va donbāl=ešān ham moallem-hā and following=PC.3pl also teacher-PL ke hame sar=e vaqt hāzer bud-and CLM all head=EZ time ready be.PAST-3pl ‘Sobbing, the children joined the queues and then they rang the bell and the queues filed into the classrooms, and following them the teachers too, who were all ready on time.’
```

(5.196) is from the spoken text *Sāšā va asb=e jāduyi* (SAJ) ‘Sasha and the Magic Horse.’ Sasha has just captured the ‘animal’ that has been destroying the field and he has discovered that it is a horse. The *baːd* in (5.196) introduces the next major development in the story, that it is a magical speaking horse who can do amazing things for Sasha.

(5.196) SAJ 73

```plaintext
baːd šoru mi-kon-ad be harf zad-an then start IPFV-do.PRES-3sg to word strike-INF ‘Then it begins to speak.’
```

(5.197) a. MSK 583

```plaintext
baːd ham be māhi-hā=(y)e ziād=i bar xord then also to fish-PL=EZ much=IND PREV eat.PAST.3sg ‘Later too she came across lots of fish.’
```
5.3.4.2 The developing connective \( t\a \)

The word \( t\a \) with the meaning of ‘until’ can be used to indicate the end of a development unit. \( t\a \) with the meaning of ‘as soon as’ can indicate a switch from one development unit to another.

(5.198) is from the spoken text \( Dabir=e arabi=(y)e man \) (DAM) ‘My Arabic Teacher.’ The \( t\a \) ‘until’ concludes the account of an exchange of accusations between ego and her Arabic teacher before the school authorities. Her mother and father are now brought into the discourse and she is told she will be expelled from school.

(5.198) DAM 81-84
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ān be-gu va man be-gu} & \quad \text{PN.3sg IMP-say.PRES and PN.1sg IMP-say.PRES} \\
\text{\( t\a \) in ke be man goft-and} & \quad \text{CLM to PN.1sg say.PAST-3pl} \\
\text{\( ke to bāyad fardā bā pedar yā \)} & \quad \text{CLM PN.2sg must tomorrow with father or} \\
\text{mādar=at be madrese bi-ā-(y)id} & \quad \text{mother=PC.2sg to school IMP-come.PRES-2pl} \\
\text{‘She spoke and I spoke until they said to me: “You will have to} & \quad \text{come to school tomorrow with your father or mother.”’}
\end{align*}
\]

(5.199) is from the written text \( Kāseb bad o birāh goft \) (KBG) ‘The Tradesman’s Curse.’ Here \( t\a \) ‘until’ is used to indicate a change of location from Kashan to Tabriz by the main protagonist. In Tabriz he encounters some ruffians who enter his kebab shop and eat a meal. But they leave without paying and threaten to come back and do the same again. So the shopkeeper then returns to Kashan. In the return journey, illustrated by (5.200), \( t\a \) ‘until’ is again used to indicate a change of location, this time from Tabriz back to Kashan. Notice too that the journey from Kashan to Tabriz is described as \( raft va raft \) ‘he went and went’ and the return journey is described as \( āmad va āmad \) ‘he came and came.’ Thus indicating that the deictic centre for the location of the story is Kashan.

(5.199) KBG 3-7: \( t\a \) concluding a development unit
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dast=e zan=aš=rā} & \quad \text{gereft} \\
\text{hand=EZ woman=PC.3sg=OM take.PAST.3sg}
\end{align*}
\]
va az kāshān xārej šod-e
and from Kashan outside become-PSPT
raft va raft tā be tabriz resid
go.PAST.3sg and go.PAST.3sg until to Tabriz arrive.PAST.3sg
‘He took his wife by the hand and left Kashan. He went and went until he arrived at Tabriz.’

(5.200) KBG 25-29: tā concluding a development unit
kāseb=e binavā az tars belāfāsele
tradesman=EZ miserable from fear immediately
dokkān=rā bast va bā zan=aš
shop=OM close.PAST-3sg and with woman=PC.3sg
az tabriz xārej šod āmad
from Tabriz outside become.PAST.3sg come.PAST.3sg
va āmad tā be šahr va diār=e xod
and come.PAST.3sg until to city and region=EZ self
ya:ni kāshān resid
that is Kashan arrive.PAST.3sg
‘Frightened the poor Kashani dealer immediately closed the shop and left Tabriz with his wife. He came and came until he arrived at his own city and region, that is, Kashan.’

(5.201) illustrates several examples of tā ‘as soon as’ used in MSK. In (5.201a) tā ‘as soon as’ begins a new development following nondevelopment ammā ‘but.’ The tā in (5.201b) has the same function. In (5.201c) the tā ‘as soon as’ signals a new development where the māhi rize ‘tiny fish’ escapes from the heron.

(5.201) a. MSK 722-723: developing tā ‘as soon as’
ammā tā xāst-and
but as.soon.as want.AUX.PAST-3pl
rāh bi-oft-and
way SBJN-fall.PRES-3pl
‘But when they were just about to set off, …’

b. MSK 1011: developing tā ‘as soon as’
ammā tā raft tu=(y)e āb
but as.soon.as go.PAST.3sg in=EZ water
‘but the moment she went into the water …’

c. MSK 1077: developing tā ‘as soon as’
tā māhīxār dahān=aš=rā bāz kard
as.soon.as heron mouth=PC.3sg=OM open do.PAST.3sg
‘The moment the heron opened her mouth …’
5.3.4.3 The developing connective belaxare

Belaxare ‘finally’ indicates a temporal break with a lapse of time. In (5.202) it introduces a new development in the written text Talab=e āmorzeš (TA) ‘Seeking Forgiveness.’ The caravan has arrived at Mashad and in the chaos of the disembarkation Mrs. Aziz has disappeared in the crowd. Now that the rest of the party have made arrangements for the night they set out to search for Mrs. Aziz.

(5.202) TA 53-56

Belaxare ba:d āz ānke xānom galin finally after that Mrs Galin va hosein āqā va mašdi ramazān and Hossein Mr and Mashdi Ramazan yek otāq=e kasif=e geli one room=EZ dirty=EZ muddy az qarār=e šab=i haft rupie kerāye kard-and from rate.of=EZ night=IND seven rupee rent do.PAST-3pl dobār= be jostoju=(y)e aziz āqā raft-and again to search=EZ Aziz Mrs go.PAST-3pl ‘Finally, after Mrs. Galin and Mr. Hossein and Mashdi Ramazan had rented a dirty and room made of mud for seven rupees a night they went to search again for Mrs. Aziz.’

In (5.203), from the written text Eynak=e tebbi (ET) ‘Medical Spectacles’, belaxare ‘finally’ is used to indicate that the task of finding a suitable target for the protagonist’s proposed eye test has ended. A few more clauses finish this episode off. Then a new major participant, ‘the man passing by’, is brought into the text.

(5.203) ET 79-81

Belaxare gonješk=i=rā ke be fāsele=(y)e sisad finally sparrow=REL=OM CLM to mid-distance=EZ 300 metri ru=(y)e sim=e barq=e xiābān nešast-e metre on=EZ wire=EZ electric=EZ street sit-PSPT bud peyda kard-am va belāfāsele be.AUX.PAST-3sg find do.PAST-1sg and immediately bā češm=e rāst emtehān kard-am with eye=EZ right examination do.PAST-1sg ‘Finally, I found a sparrow that had sat on a power cable about 300 metres away and I immediately tested (looking at it) with my right eye.’
5.4 Deixis

Deixis is the way a language indicates how the happening of an event is related to the reporting of that event (Anderson and Keenan 1985, Fillmore 1997). This relates primarily to how the personal, temporal and locational circumstances of the narrated event (the report of the event) relates to the speech event (the actual events of the report). A language will have deictic elements whose meaning and reference can only be completely determined when we know the circumstances of how the speech event relates to the narrated event. In English such deictic elements are I/you/we (personal), now/then (temporal), here/there (locational) and this/that (demonstrative). Deictic elements can have a discourse function where they refer backwards (anaphora) or forwards (cataphora) in discourse. Examples in English are that, the following, the former. Another important type of deixis is social deixis where social distinctions that relate to participant roles, such as speaker-addressee, etc., are encoded by pronouns, honorifics, vocatives and forms of address.

5.4.1 Proximal and Distal Deixis

In this section we propose the theory that in modern Persian there is a bias or preference for proximal deixis over distal deixis where there is a choice available. Proximal deixis is where the reference point of the report is in some sense near to the happening of the event and distal deixis is where the reference point of the report is in some sense far from the happening of the event. This notion of proximal and distal deixis is manifested in different ways according to the different types of deixis in Persian. We also show that where Persian prefers proximal deixis English typically prefers distal deixis.

In §5.4.2 we argue that the obligatory lack of tense sequencing in Persian complements can be viewed as a type of proximal deixis, whereas the obligatory requirement of tense sequencing in English complements can be viewed as a type of distal deixis. In §5.4.3.1 we show that the general time deictics hālā ‘now’ and baːd ‘then’ can have a proximal or distal deictic function and in §5.4.3.2 we show that with the specific time deictics emruz ‘today’, fardā ‘tomorrow’ and diruz ‘yesterday’ both fardā and diruz can be used to express either proximal or distal deixis. We also show in §5.4.3.3 that āxar indicates proximal deixis when used as a discourse connective but it can also be used to express distal temporal deixis. In §5.4.4 we show how the motion verbs raftan ‘go’ and āmadan ‘come’ can be used to keep the central location of the narrative focussed on the main participant(s). We argue that this is a type of proximal deixis and that in some contexts in English the distal deictic option would have been chosen. In §5.4.5 we show that whereas English uses the verb go to express prospective aspect Persian uses the verb āmadan ‘to come’ to express this notion. We argue that this is another example of the contrast between distal and proximal deixis in these languages. In §5.4.6 we show how the demonstratives in ‘this’ and ān ‘that’
are used in Persian texts to select discourse referentiality (reference within a text) over against objective referentiality (reference to entities in the real world). We argue here that this too is a preference for proximal deixis over distal deixis.

5.4.2 Deixis in Complements

A language like English employs the phenomenon of tense sequencing by which the tense of a finite verb in a matrix clause places constraints on the tense of a finite verb in a complement clause. In English the rule is simply that a past tense in the main clause must be followed by a past tense in the complement clause if the time-reference of the original utterance is no longer valid at the time of the reported utterance. For example, in (5.204) the report in (b) must be in the past tense because the original utterance is no longer valid in the time frame of the report. Whereas in (5.205) the report in (b) can be expressed in either a past or non-past form because the original utterance is still valid in the time frame of the report.

(5.204) a. “I am a citizen, not of Athens, but of the world,” said Socrates.
    b. Socrates said that he was a citizen, not of Athens, but of the world.

(5.205) a. “Nothing can harm a good man,” said Socrates.
    b. Socrates said that nothing could can harm a good man.

Tense sequencing represents an attempt to mold the complement to the subjective viewpoint of the speaker and is frequently associated with other changes in the complement. In effect the deictic time reference of the original utterance is shifted so that it becomes distal to the original time frame of the utterance. In (5.204a) and (5.205a) the present tense of the verb is directly relative to the time of the utterance. This is proximal deixis. However, the was in (5.204b) and the could in (5.205b) are relative to the time frame of the matrix verb and only secondarily relative to the time frame of the original utterance. This is distal deixis.

Persian, however, does not employ tense sequencing. All speech reported with goftan in the past is quoted in the same tense in which it was originally stated. (5.206) can be interpreted as either direct or indirect reported speech (the context would decide) but in both cases the verb in the quote complement must be in the present tense. By contrast the report in (5.207) is indirect but again the quote complement must be in the present tense. Thus the only option in speech reporting in Persian is proximal deixis.

(5.206) goft-am ke mi-ā-(y)am
    say.PAST-1sg CLM IPFV-come.PRES-1sg

    ‘I said, “I am coming.”’ / ‘I said that I was coming.’
(5.207) goft ke mi-ā-(y)ad
say.PAST-3sg CLM IPFV-come.PRES-3sg
‘He said that he was coming.’

Proximal deixis is also the only option available in Persian for the tense specification in complements of verbs of perception, such as seeing, hearing, knowing, guessing, understanding, thinking, etc. In (5.208) it would be unacceptable to have the complement verb in the past tense as nabud ‘it was not’, in the same way as it would be unacceptable to have the complement verb in the present tense in the English translation. The same applies to each of the other examples (5.209)-(5.210). In each case a past tense form would be unacceptable in the complement of the Persian expression and vice-versa a present tense form would be unacceptable in the complement of the English translation.

(5.208) ET 86-87
did-am dar gonješk bud-an=aš harf=i
see.PAST-1sg in sparrow be-INF=PC.3sg word=IND
nist (*nabud)
NEG.be.PRES.3sg
‘I saw there was (*is) no doubt of it being a sparrow.’

(5.209) mi-dānest-am ke šomā ne-mi-ā-(y)id (*na(y)āmadid)
IPFV-know.PAST-1sg CLM PN.2sg NEG-IPFV-come.PRES-2sg
‘I knew you weren’t (*aren’t) coming.’

(5.210) DAM 33-34
dabir=e arabi=(y)e mā fekr kard ke
teacher=EZ Arabic= EZ PN.1pl thought do.PAST.3sg CLM
in aziat o āzār=rā man mi-kon-am (*kardam)
this annoyance and harm=OM PN.1sg IPFV-do.PRES-1sg
‘My Arabic teacher thought that I was (*am) doing this mischief and trouble.’

Thus where distal deixis is obligatory in certain contexts in English, proximal deixis is obligatory in certain contexts in Persian. In the following sections we show how a preference for proximal deixis in Persian is manifested in other areas of the deictic system.

5.4.3 Time Deixis

Time deixis in Persian is expressed by time words such as:
hālā ‘now’, ba:d ‘then’
emruz ‘today’, fardā ‘tomorrow’, diruz ‘yesterday’
āxar ‘finally, at last, in the end’
We found that both the general time deictics hālā ‘now’ and ba:d ‘then’ offer a choice between proximal and distal deixis. We also found that with the more specific time deictics of emruz ‘today’, fardā ‘tomorrow’ and diruz ‘yesterday’, both fardā and diruz can be used to indicate either proximal or distal deixis. Essentially, speakers opt to use the proximal deictic forms of fardā and diruz in a distal deictic context rather than forms that express the distal deixis, such as ruz=e ba:d ‘the following day’ or ruz=e piš ‘the previous day’, respectively. With regard to āxar ‘finally, at last, in the end’, we found this too can function as either a proximal deictic when used as a temporal discourse connective in the discourse context, or as a distal deictic.

5.4.3.1 The general time deictics hālā and ba:d

Four functions of hālā ‘now’ were noted in our texts. First, it can be used to refer to the present time, usually in contrast to a previous or later time. This function expresses proximal temporal deixis and was the most common function. (5.211)-(5.212) are examples from written texts and (5.213) is an example from a spoken text.

(5.211) ET 151-152

gonješk=i ru=(y)e ān sim bud sparrow=IND on=EZ that wire be.PAST-3sg
hālā ne-mi-bin-am=aš now NEG-IPFV-see.PRES-1sg=PC.3sg
‘There was a sparrow on that wire. Now I do not see it.’

(5.212) H-I 120

agar=am tā hālā ne-mi-xord-e Ø if=also until now NEG-IPFV-eat-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3sg
‘Even if no wolf has eaten another wolf until now …’

(5.213) DAM 37-38

to dast az in kār-hā=(y)at PN.2sg hand from this work-PL=PC.2sg
bar ne-mi-dār-i hālā az kelās PREV NEG-IPFV-pick.up.PRES-2sg now from class
mi-andāz-am=at birun IPFV-throw.PRES-1sg=PC.2sg outside
‘You won’t desist from this kind of thing! Now I am throwing you out of the class.’

Second, hālā ‘now’ can be used to express what happens next in a procedure. (5.214) is from MSK. The little black fish is asking what happens next once a fish has been caught in the pelican’s beak. (5.215) is from ET.
The protagonist and narrator is asking a bystander to look at a crow across the street. Here *hālā* ‘now’ indicates the next instruction in this process.

(5.214) MSK 495-497

```
māhi goft  
fish say.PAST.3sg  
hālā agar māhi vāred=e kise šod  
now if fish enter=EZ pouch become.PAST.3sg  
digar rāh=e birun āmad-an na-dār-ad  
other way=EZ outside come-INF NEG-have.PRES-3sg
```

‘The fish said, “So if a fish ends up in the pouch, he has no way out, has he?”’

(5.215) ET 112-113

```
hālā pošt=at=rā be man be-kon  
now back=PC.2sg=OM to PN.1sg IMP-do.PRES  
va be-bin ān taraf=e xiābān  
and SBJN-see.PRES that direction=EZ street
```

‘Now turn your back to me and look across the street.’

Thirdly, *hālā* ‘now’ can be used to introduce relevant or important information. In (5.216) *māhi siāh=e kučulu* ‘little black fish’ begins her request for information on the whereabouts of the skimmer fish’s mother with *hālā* ‘now.’ Similarly, in (5.217) the dying wolf begins his request for clarification from his companion on his proposal to eat him with *hālā* ‘now.’

(5.216) MSK 342-346

```
baːd fekr kard behtar=ast  
then thought do.PAST.3sg better=COP.PRES.3sg  
bā mādar=ešān ham do kalame=i  
with mother=PC.3pl also two word=IND  
harf be-zan-ad porsid  
word SBJN-hit.PRES-3sg ask.PAST.3sg  
hālā mādar=etān kojā=st  
now mother=PC.2pl where=COP.PRES.3sg
```

‘Then she thought it would be a better idea to have a word or two with their mother too, so she asked, “Now where is your mother?”’

(5.217) H-I 128-129

```
hālā rāsrāssi mi-xā-i  
now DUP.truly IPFV-want.PRES-2sg  
man=o bo-xor-i  
PN.1sg=OM SBJN-eat.PRES-2sg
```

‘Now seriously, do you really want to eat me?’
Finally, the time deictic hālā ‘now’ can be used where the time frame of
the speech event is not coincident with that of the report of the event. Consider the example in (5.218) from MSK. The hālā ‘now’ in the second sentence refers to the time frame of the speech event rather than the time frame of the report of the event. English, for example, would prefer *then* in this context expressing distal deixis. But Persian prefers the form that expresses proximal or local deixis in this context.

(5.218) MSK 556-560

dar har vajab=ez rāh ē cis=ez tāze=(y)i
at every measure=EZ way thing=EZ new=IND
mi-did va yād mi-gereft
IPFV-see.PAST.3sg and memory IPFV-take.PAST.3sg
‘At every point along the way she saw something new and learnt
(something).’

hālā digar xoš=as mi-āmad
now other enjoy=PC.3sg IPFV-come.PAST.3sg
ke moallaq zan-ān az ābšār-hā
CLM somersault hit-PRPT from waterfall-PL
pāyin bi-of-ad va bāz šenā kon-ad
below SBJN-fall.PRES-3sg and again swim SBJN.do.PRES-3sg
‘Then she really enjoyed doing somersaults down the waterfalls and
ten to swim on again.’

The time deictics alān ‘now’ and aknum ‘now’ also occurred in our texts. In both cases they were used to refer to the present time. The time deictic *baːd* ‘then’ had two functions in our texts. The most common function was when the author is saying what happened next in the discourse. (5.219), (5.220), (5.221) and (5.222) all illustrate this function.

(5.219) SAJ 73

baːd šoru mi-kon-ad be harf zad-an
then start IPFV-do.PRES-3sg to word strike-INF
‘Then it begins to speak.’

(5.220) ET 100

va baːd porsid “čerā?”
and then ask.PAST-3sg why
‘… and then he asked (me) “Why?”’

(5.221) MM 79

va baːd zang=rā zad-and
and then bell=OM hit.PAST-3pl
‘… and then they rang the bell.’
(5.222) PL 157
avval xāhar va ba:d barādar raft-and
first sister and then brother go.PAST-3pl
piš=e hāji qoli=(y)e faršbāf
to=EZ Hāji Qoli=EZ carpet-weaver
‘First the sister and then the brother went to Hāji Qoli the carpet
weaver.’

A second function of ba:d ‘then’ is to refer to a time or situation after the
time being talked about. (5.223), (5.224), (5.225) and (5.226) illustrate this
function. The time frame referred to in each case is that of the speech event
rather than that of the report of the event. As indicated in the English
translation, English would use later or after in this context. Thus ba:d ‘then’,
like hālā ‘now’, can be used in Persian for proximal deixis where in English
distal deixis would be used.

(5.223) MSK 921
kam=i ba:d āmad be sath=e daryā
little=IND then come.PAST.3sg to surface=EZ sea
‘A little later, she came to the surface of the sea.’

(5.224) MM 64
Ya:ni ba:d nāzem gozāreš dād
it.means then superintendent report give.PAST.3sg
‘Of course, later the superintendent gave a report.’

(5.225) H-I 122
tā ba:d-hā bačče-hā=mun ham yād be-gir-an
so then-PL child-PL=PC.1pl also learn SBJN-take.PRES-3pl
‘… so later on our children can learn as well.’

(5.226) PL 229
digar ba:d az in pul=e ezāfī ne-mi-gir-id
other after from this money=EZ extra NEG-IPFV-take.PRES-2pl
‘Do not take any more extra money after this.’

In our texts the most common and primary function of the general time
deictics hālā ‘now’ alām ‘now’ and aknun ‘now’ was to relate the time frame
of the report of the event to the time frame of the happening of the event, i.e.
as a ‘pure’ time deictic. We consider this to be its proximal deictic usage.
Less common was for hālā ‘next’ to be used to express what happens next in
a procedure or to introduce relevant or important information into the
discourse. We consider this to be its secondary or distal deictic usage. On the
other hand, the most common function of ba:d ‘then’ in our texts was to
express what happened next in the discourse. Since this is a discourse
function rather than a temporal deictic function we consider this to be a
distal deictic usage. A less common function was for ba:d ‘later/after’ to
refer to a time or situation after the time being talked about. This is a
proximal deictic usage because it relates one time frame to another. So, both
hālā ‘now, next’ and ba:d ‘then, next’ can have either a proximal (time
reference) or distal (discourse) deictic function.

5.4.3.2 The specific time deictics emruz, fardā and diruz

With the time deictics emruz ‘today’, fardā ‘tomorrow’ and diruz ‘yester-
day’, we found that both fardā ‘tomorrow’ and diruz ‘yesterday’ can be used
to express either proximal or distal deixis. For the expression of distal deixis
the speaker would have a choice and could use distal deictic equivalents,
such as ruz=e ba:d ‘the following day’ for fardā or ruz=e piš ‘the previous
day’ for diruz, but in the text corpus the use of the proximal deictic forms is
preferred to express the distal deixis.

The deictic temporal fardā ‘tomorrow’ can be used with direct reference
in the speech event. Examples of this usage are given in (5.227) from DAM
and in (5.228) from PL. In both cases it is proximal deixis since fardā refers
to the time frame of the utterance.

(5.227) DAM 85-86
   to bāyad fardā bā pedar yā mādar=at
   PN.2sg must tomorrow with father or mother=PC.2sg
   be madrese bi-āy-id
to school IMP-come.PRES-2pl
   ‘You will have to come into school tomorrow with your mother or
   father.’

(5.228) PL 242
   fardā mi-ā-(y)am xāne=tān
tomorrow IPFV-come.PRES-1sg house/home=PC.2pl
   ‘Tomorrow I will come to your home.’

Fardā ‘tomorrow’ can also be used with indirect reference to the report of
the event, as illustrated in (5.229) and (5.230). Here the form that expresses
proximal deixis is preferred to a form that would express distal deixis, such
as ruz=e ba:d ‘the following day’.

(5.229) SAJ 132-133
   vali az fardā mi-bin-and
   but from tomorrow IPFV-see.PRES-3pl
   ke digar hic heyvān=i na-(y)āmad
   CLM other not animal=IND NEG-come.PAST.3sg
   ‘But from the next day they see that no animal comes any more.’
From the next day I saw that the foremen and the older children were whispering amongst themselves and saying things in each others’ ears…’

The deictic temporal *diruz* ‘yesterday’ can also be used with indirect reference in the speech event. (5.231) provides an example of the default use of *diruz* with direct reference to the speech event. Here the event happened at the same time as specified by the temporal deictic, i.e. yesterday. This is proximal deixis. (5.232) gives an example from the PL text where *diruz* is used to express indirect reference in the speech event. The expression *dafe=*(y)e *diruzi* refers to the weaver’s comb that Tari Verdi had used to wound Haji Qoli the previous day. So here the event of *bar dāšt* is not within the time frame specified by *diruz*, since this *diruz* refers to the previous day with respect to the reported event. But *diruz* has proximal deixis and an alternative form, such as *ruz=*=piš ‘the previous day’, which expresses distal deixis is dispreferred.

(5.231) man *diruz* be madrese raft-am PN.1sg yesterday to school go.PAST-1sg
‘I went to school yesterday.’

(5.232) PL 333
*dafe=*(y)e *diruzi=rā* bar dāšt-am comb=EZ yesterday.OM adj=OM up have.PAST-1sg
‘I picked up the weaver’s comb of the previous day.’

No examples were found in our text corpus of *emruz* ‘today’ being used where the deixis was distal. But since *fardā* and *diruz* can be used in this way, it is likely *emruz* can be too.

5.4.3.3 The discourse/time deictic *āxar*

In §5.3.3.4 we showed that *āxar* ‘finally, in the end, at last’ can be used as a discourse connective that specifies the temporal context (within the discourse) of the following proposition. A further example of this usage is given in (5.233). This is proximal deixis within the discourse context.
Finally, I freed myself.

However, āxar can also be used to express distal temporal deixis. In (5.234), for example, āxarin does not relate to the temporal position of the following proposition within the discourse context, but instead it relates to a time frame seven years ago. Similarly, in (5.235) in āxarhā relates to an earlier time frame and not to the discourse context. Thus āxar can also be used to express both proximal and distal deixis.

The last time I went to see them was seven years ago.

Sir, in those final days Haji Qoli the bastard used to come…

In the Persian texts we have, the motion verbs raftan ‘go’ and āmadan ‘come’ are used to keep track of the deictic centre of location. Table 5.5 shows how this works in the text Sāšā va asb=e jāduyi (SAJ) ‘Sasha and the Magic Horse.’ The initial location of the story is in a field owned by an old man with three sons. There is an animal that comes at night and eats the crops. The old man tells his sons they must sleep in the field and catch the animal. The first night the oldest son goes to the field, stays all night, but fails to catch the animal. He comes home. Then the middle son goes to the field, stays all night, but fails to catch the animal. His coming home is left implicit in the text as the youngest son, called Sasha decides to go. He then goes to the field. He manages to stay awake and the animal comes. The animal turns out to be a magical horse with whom Sasha makes an agreement. He releases the horse and it goes. Then Sasha returns home. Here the verb bar gaštan ‘to return’ is used instead of āmadan ‘to come’ but the deixis is the same. In these opening paragraphs the field is the deictic centre of location, since all three sons go and come to the field. However, there is a nested shift of deixis with each son, as the horse comes and goes to each son.
After this there is nested change in location involving Sasha. Sasha goes to the forest, the horse comes to him and together they go to the palace to see the princess. Then Sasha comes to the forest, the horse goes and Sasha comes home. This use of the ‘come’ and ‘go’ verbs indicate that in this part of the story the field remains the primary deictic centre of location but the forest is set up as a secondary deictic centre of location.

Table 5.5: Motion verbs and deictic centre of location in the SAJ text

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Motion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>šab=e avval pesar=e bozorg-tar mi-rav-ad</td>
<td>first son goes (to the field)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>night=EZ first son=EZ big-CMPR IPFV-go.PRES-3sg</td>
<td>first son comes home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi-ā-(y)ad xāne IPFV-come.PRES-3sg home</td>
<td>second son goes (to the field)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šab=e dovom pesar=e vasati ham</td>
<td>second son comes home (left implicit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>night=EZ second son=EZ middle also</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi-rav-ad IPFV-go.PRES-3sg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šab=e sevvom pesar=e kuček mi-rav-ad</td>
<td>third son (Sasha) goes (to the field)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>night=EZ third son=EZ small IPFV-go.PRES-3sg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heyvān=i mi-ā-(y)ad animal=IND IPFV-come.PRES-3sg</td>
<td>an animal comes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asb mi-rav-ad horse IPFV-go.PRES-3sg</td>
<td>horse goes (back to forest)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u ham bar mi-gard-ad xāne PN.3sg also PREV IPFV-return.PRES-3sg home</td>
<td>Sasha returns home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sāšā mi-rav-ad jangal Sasha IPFV-go.PRES-3sg forest</td>
<td>Sasha goes to forest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asb mi-ā-(y)ad horse IPFV-come.PRES-3sg</td>
<td>the horse comes to Sasha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sawār=e asb mi-šav-ad mount=EZ horse IPFV-become.PRES-3sg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>va dav-ān dav-ān mi-rav-ad and run-PRPT run-PRPT IPFV-go.PRES-3sg</td>
<td>Sasha goes (to the palace)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sāšā mi-ā-(y)ad tu=(y)e jangal Sasha IPFV-come.PRES-3sg in=EZ forest</td>
<td>Sasha comes to the forest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>va mi-gu-(y)ad bo-ro and IPFV-say.PRES-3sg IMP-go.PRES</td>
<td>Sasha tells the horse to go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>va mi-ā-(y)ad xāne and IPFV-come.PRES-3sg home</td>
<td>Sasha comes home</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
After this in the Sasha and the Magic Horse text there is a subtle change in the deictic centre of location. Sasha goes to the palace on his magic horse and takes a ring off the finger of the princess in the palace. Then the princess makes an announcement that all the men in the kingdom must *come* to a party at the palace so that she can discover who took her ring. This speech is then reported in (5.236). In Persian all speech reported with *goftan* ‘to say’ in the past is quoted in the same tense in which it was originally stated. This applies to both direct and indirect reporting. The past perfective form of the speech verb would indicate that this speech reporting is indirect. But as well as the verb remaining in the present subjunctive it also stays as *bāyad biāyand* ‘they must *come*.’ So not only does the tense deixis stay the same as the original speech in the report, but also the locative deixis stays the same. The effect is to shift the locative deictic anchorage of the text to the palace. After this Sasha and his brothers go to the palace and there is no return to the field.

(5.236) SAJ 268-271

We would maintain that the use of ‘go’ and ‘come’ in this text keeps the deictic centre of the narrative with the main events of the story. The three sons go and come to the field and have different encounters with the horse. The horse comes and goes in its meetings with Sasha. Sasha goes to the forest and then goes to the palace. Then he comes from the palace and comes from the forest. At one point the text says Sasha’s brothers go to the palace and then there is the account of Sasha going to the forest meeting the magic horse and going to the palace to take the princess’s ring. But there is no account of the brother’s return to the field after this incident. This is because only what the author considers to be the important events are given a full go and come account. We would maintain that in this text go and come are used to keep the important events proximal to the main participant, i.e. Sasha.

In the *Dabir=e arabi=(y)e man* (DAM) ‘My Arabic Teacher’ text the author tells of her difficult experience with her Arabic teacher at school, the deictic centre of location for the text throughout is the school. At one point
her mother and father are referred to and she is expelled from school. How-
never, the deictic centre of location for the discourse remains at the school
and this is indicated by use of the verb āmadan ‘to come.’ For example,
when the possibility of expulsion from school is raised there is (5.237) which
talks of not being allowed to come to school, rather than go to school. Then
when she is actually expelled from the school there is (5.238) which talks of
her coming to the school with her father, rather than going to the school. In
this case the important events happened at the school and the main
participant is ego. Go and come are used to keep these two linked as
proximal deixis.

(5.237) DAM 91-92
ne-mi-gożār-ad man be madrese bi-ā-(y)am
NEG-IPFV-let.PRES-3sg PN.1sg to school SBJN-come.PRES-1sg
‘They will not allow me to come to school.’

(5.238) DAM 96
pedar=am bā man āmad be madrese
father=PC.1sg with PN.1sg come.PAST.3sg to school
‘My father came to school with me.’

Another text that uses ‘come’ and ‘go’ in a slightly different way is the
written text Kāseb bad o birāh goft (KBG) ‘The Tradesman’s Curse’ about a
Kashani tradesman who leaves Kashan and goes and goes until he arrives at
Tabriz. There he sets up a kebab shop. But he has a bad encounter with some
ruffians who refuse to pay and threaten to come back and eat without paying
again. Then the text says he leaves Tabriz and comes and comes until he
arrives back at Kashan. So in this story Kashan is the deictic centre of
location. But when he arrives back at Kashan he goes up on the roof of his
house there and pronounces a curse on the ruffians at Tabriz. This is the
climax of the story. One could argue here that this is the most important
event of the story and the main participant is ‘brought back’ to Kashan to
experience it.

The motion verbs āmadan ‘to come’ and raftan ‘to go’ can also be used to
maintain the deictic centre in speech reporting. Examples (5.239) and
(5.240) are both taken from the SAJ text. In (5.239) there is the direct quote
“All the men of the city must come to this party.” A few lines later in the
text is the indirect reference to this quote which is reported as ‘All the men
of the city must come.’ Notice that the motion verb is kept as ‘come’ which
maintains the deictic reference as the place where the speech was made. In
English we would have changed it to ‘go’, i.e. ‘… the king’s daughter had
said that all the men of the city must go (to the party)’, since the point of
reference is shifted to the narration of the event.
Finally the king’s daughter throws a party, and says, “All the men of the city must come to this party.”

This time the brothers have no choice but to take Sasha with them too, since the king’s daughter had said that all the men of the city must come.

We have shown how the motion verbs *raftan* ‘go’ and *āmadan* ‘come’ can be used in text to keep the central location of the narrative focussed on the main participant(s). We argue that this is a type of proximal deixis. We also argued from examples (5.239) and (5.240) above that the use of *biāyand* ‘must come’ in the indirect report is another instance of proximal deixis in the complement.

5.4.5 Motion Verbs and Prospective Aspect

There is another way in which the difference between proximal and distal deixis is manifested in Persian by use of motion verbs. In Persian the prospective aspect is expressed by *āmadan* ‘to come’ and an example of this usage was found in two of our interlinearized texts in appendix 2. (5.241) is from *Māhi siāh=e kučulu* and (5.242) is from *Pesarak=e labuforuš*.

In (5.241) *āmadand* does not mean ‘they came’, rather it expresses the notion of prospective aspect that the event of the other fishes in the pond being about to grab the little fish. Similarly, in (5.242) *nemiāyand* does not mean ‘they are not coming’, instead it expresses the prospective notion that...
this kind of person will not become true relatives of the villagers. So here the verb āmadan is being used to say what is not about to happen.

(5.241) MSK 222-225: prospective aspect

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{māhi-hā} & \quad \text{tā} \quad \text{āmad-and} \\
\text{fish-PL} & \quad \text{as.soon.as} \quad \text{come.PAST-3pl} \\
\text{māhi} & \quad \text{siāh=e} \quad \text{kučulu=rā} \quad \text{be-gir-and} \\
\text{fish} & \quad \text{black=EZ} \quad \text{little=OM} \quad \text{SBJN-take.PRES-3pl} \\
\text{dust-ān=aš} & \quad \text{u=rā} \quad \text{dowre\_kard-and} \\
\text{friend-PL=PC.3sg} & \quad \text{PN.3sg=OM} \quad \text{away do.PAST-3pl} \\
\text{va az ma:reke birun=aš} & \quad \text{bord-and} \\
\text{and from battlefield outside=PC.3sg} & \quad \text{take.PAST-3pl}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Just as the fish were going to grab the little black fish, her friends surrounded her and carried her out of the danger area.’

(5.242) PL 301-303: prospective aspect

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kadxodā} & \quad \text{to} \quad \text{xod=at ke mi-dān-i} \\
\text{village.elder PN.2sg self=PC.2sg CLM IPFV-know.PRES-2sg} \\
\text{injur ādam-hā} & \quad \text{ne-mi-ā-(y)and} \\
\text{this.kind person-PL} & \quad \text{NEG-IPFV-come.AUX.PRES-3pl} \\
\text{bā mā deḥāti-hā} & \quad \text{qowm o xiš=e} \\
\text{with PN.1pl villager-PL} & \quad \text{people and relative} \\
\text{rāst-rāsti be-šav-and} & \quad \text{real SBJN-become.PRES-3pl}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Village elder, you yourself know, don’t you, that such people are not going to become true relatives of us villagers.’

The relevance of this to distal and proximal deixis is that, whereas Persian uses āmadan ‘to come’ to express this notion, English uses the verb go to express prospective aspect. This can be seen by the English translations of these passages. The contrast is that whereas in English you go (move from here to there) towards the prospective event (a distal reference), in Persian you come (move from there to here) towards a prospective event (a proximal reference). The expression of prospective aspect in English views the prospective event as distant to the time frame of the moment of speaking and the speaker’s deictic centre moves towards the prospective event. Whereas the expression of prospective aspect in Persian views the prospective event as moving towards the deictic centre of the speaker therefore making it proximal deixis.

5.4.6 The Demonstratives in ‘this’ and ān ‘that’ and Discourse Deixis

Fillmore (1997) and Anderson (1985) say that place or time deictics, such as this (proximal) and that (distal) in English have both an objective
function, where a proper interpretation of the reference is with respect to the physical aspect of the communication situation, and a metaphorical function, where a proper interpretation is with respect to the discourse context of the expression. Also a number of linguists, such as Payne (1997:264-266), Givón (1979), and DuBois (1980), have pointed out that natural languages are more concerned with discourse referentiality (reference within a text) than with objective referentiality (reference to entities in the real world).

This is the case with Persian. The deictics in ‘this’ and ān ‘that’ are used far more in Persian texts for discourse reference than for objective reference. In fact, in Persian, where the author has a choice between expressing objective or discourse reference in reported speech then the discourse reference has precedence. Unlike English, for example, in which objective reference has precedence where there is a choice. In the following sections we will show how in ‘this’ and ān ‘that’ can be used both objectively and metaphorically in Persian discourse.

5.4.6.1 The functions of in ‘this’

Several instances of objective proximal use of in ‘this’ were found in our text corpus, but by far the majority uses of in ‘this’ were for discourse reference. Most of the instances of discourse reference noted were anaphoric, but some examples of cataphoric reference were also found. However, the basic discourse function of in ‘this’ is to indicate that the entity referred to is currently active in the discourse. We will now illustrate the following deictic functions of in ‘this.’

- objective: spatially close to the point of reference
- anaphoric: in the discourse immediately prior to the point of reference - typically thematic
- cataphoric: in the discourse immediately post to the point of reference

Objective reference

Example (5.243) is taken from a portion of direct speech in the written text Eynak=e tebbi (ET) ‘Medical Spectacles.’ With the expression in eynak ‘these spectacles’ the speaker is referring to the spectacles on his face. The context of this reference is in the context of the physical situation and is therefore an objective reference.

(5.243) ET 15-16

va maːlum šod ke češm=e
and apparent become.PAST-3sg CLM eye=EZ
čap=am zaif šod-e Ø
left=PC.1sg weak become-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3sg
va doktor in eynak=rā dād
and doctor this spectacles=OM give.PAST-3sg
“… and it had become apparent that my left eye had become weak and the doctor gave (me) these spectacles to wear (on my eyes).”

Example (5.244) is a portion of direct speech from the spoken text Sāšā va asb=e jādūyī (SAJ) ‘Sasha and the Magic Horse.’ Here the king’s daughter is speaking to the hero figure Sasha. When she speaks of in šekl ‘this form’ she is referring objectively to the clothes that Sasha is wearing standing before her.

(5.244) SAJ 293-294

vali to in šekl na-bud-i
but PN.2sg this form NEG-be.PAST-2sg
asb=at kojā=st
horse=PC.2sg where=COP.PRES.3sg

‘She says, “But you didn’t look like this. Where is your horse?””

Example (5.245) is a portion of direct speech from the written text Hamrāh (H-I) ‘Companions (Informal).’ in šab=e barfi ‘this snowy night’ refers to the physical situation the two protagonists find themselves in. It is an objective reference.

(5.245) H-I 39

ki āqol=rā tu in šab=e barfi
who sheep.pen=OM in this night=EZ snowy
tanhā mi-zār-e
alone IPFV-put.PRES-3sg

‘Who will leave the sheep-pen alone in such a snowy night as this?’

Example (5.246) has a portion of narrative text taken from the Jadval (J) ‘The Crossword Puzzle.’ Here the expression in donyā ‘this world’ literally refers to the real world. It is an objective rather than a discourse reference.

(5.246) J 70-72

hess mi-kard ke dar in donyā
feel IPFV-do.PAST.3sg CLM in this world
be dard=e hič kār=i ne-mi-xor-ad
to pain=EZ no work=IND NEG-IPFV-eat.PRES-3sg
va bātel va bihude=ast
and useless and futile=COP.PRES.3sg

‘He felt he could not do any work in this world, and that he was useless and futile.’

An interesting use of objective reference is illustrated in (5.247) from the spoken text DAM. The situation here is that the author is reporting an
incident where she and her teacher are speaking before the headmaster of the school. The teacher refers to the author as *in* ‘this one.’ This is an objective reference but because she is the only pupil in the room there is no need to use a demonstrative. The normal reference to a person is made with the personal pronoun *u* ‘he, she’ or the more polite form *išān*. By using the demonstrative the implicature is a derogatory reference to the author by the teacher.

(5.247) DAM 75-77

va goft
and say.PAST.3sg
ke in hamiše tu=(y)e kelās
CLM this(one) always in=EZ class
šeytuni mi-kon-ad
mischievousness IPFV-do.PRES-3sg
hamiše kelās=rā be ham mi-riz-ad
always class=OM in together IPFV-pour.PRES-3sg
‘She said: “This one always makes trouble in class, and always stirs things up.”’

Anaphoric discourse reference

With example (5.248) the participant *pir=e mard* ‘old man’ is introduced in the first sentence. In the last sentence *in pir=e mard* ‘this old man’ refers back to the ‘old man’ introduced in the first sentence. In between these two sentences the major participant or VIP of ‘Sasha’ is introduced into the story.

(5.248) SAJ 3-6

pir=e mard=i bud
old=EZ man=IND be.PAST.3sg
ke se=tā pesar dāšt
CLM three=CL son have.PAST.3sg
‘There was an old man who had three sons.’

esm=e pesar=e kuček sāšā bud
name=EZ son=EZ small Sasha be.PAST.3sg
‘The name of the youngest son was Sasha.’

in pir=e mard yek mazraʔe dāšt
this old=EZ man a field have.PAST.3sg
‘This old man had a field.’

(5.249) illustrates a similar example from *Hamrāh* (H-I) ‘Companions (Informal).’ The two wolves are introduced in the opening paragraph of the story (5.249a). Then in the following paragraph (5.249b) they are referred to by *in do gorg* ‘these two wolves’.

250
(5.249) a. H-I 2-3

\[ \text{do=tā gorg bud-and} \]
\[ \text{two=CL wolf be.PAST-3pl} \]
\[ \text{ke az kučeki bā ham dust bud-and} \]
\[ \text{CLM from childhood with each-other friend be.PAST-3pl} \]

‘There were two wolves who were friends since childhood.’

b. H-I 7-9

\[ \text{yek sāl zemestān=e bad=i šod} \]
\[ \text{one year winter=EZ bad=IND become.PAST.3sg} \]
\[ \text{va be qadr=i barf ru zamin nešast} \]
\[ \text{and so much=IND snow on earth sit.PAST.3sg} \]
\[ \text{ke in do gorg gorosne mānd-and} \]
\[ \text{CLM this two wolf hungry remain.PAST-3pl} \]

‘One year there appeared a terrible winter, and there was so much snow on the ground that these two wolves went hungry.’

In (5.250) in mādar morde (lit. the one who’s mother is dead) ‘this poor fellow’ refers to the man that ego has asked to help him conduct a test of his eyes. This participant is the subject of the previous sentence and is the one who says he saw nothing. Ego is the global theme of this text but at this point in the story ‘the man’ has been made the local theme. The referential expression in mādar morde ‘this poor fellow’ indicates that this participant is still the current local theme and has precedence over ego as the global theme. Note that this is a discourse reference rather than an objective reference because at the time the writer is reporting the event he is not physically in the situation.

(5.250) ET 119-122

\[ \text{va goft hičči} \]
\[ \text{and say.PAST-3sg nothing} \]
‘… and he said (he saw), “Nothing!”’

\[ \text{did-am in mādar mord-e} \]
\[ \text{see.PAST-1sg this mother die-PSPT} \]
\[ \text{az man kur-tar=ast} \]
\[ \text{from PN.1sg blind-CMPR=COP.PRES-3sg} \]

‘I saw that this poor fellow was blinder than I was.’

Example (5.251) illustrates that explicit mention of the antecedent does not necessarily have to be in the preceding clause or sentence for it to be considered currently active. In this text ezdehām=e mahibi ‘a formidable crowd’ is first introduced in clause 8 of the text, (5.251a). There then follow some twenty clauses in which the various people in the crowd are described. After this in jam?iat refers back to ‘this crowd’ in clause 28 of the text,
The crucial point here is that the crowd is still active in the discourse up to clause 28. If other participants had been active since the first mention of ezdehām ‘crowd’ then in ‘this’ could not have been used.

(5.251) a. TA 8
dar injā ezdehām=e mahib=i
at here crowd=EZ formidable=IND
bar pā šod
on foot become.PAST.3sg
‘In here there was a formidable crowd. …’

b. TA 28
in jamʔiat be anvāʔ=e gunāgun jalb=e
this crowd to way.PL=EZ various attract=EZ
moštari mi-kard
customer IPFV-do.PAST.3sg
‘This crowd was attracting customers in various ways. …’

In (5.252) the expression in dafʔe ‘this time’ refers to the current time in the discourse and contrasts with a previous occasion described about 100 clauses earlier where the brothers of Sasha refused to take him with them to the palace.

(5.252) SAJ 268-269
in dafʔe digar barādar-hā majbur mi-šav-and
this time other brother-PL obliged IPFV-become.PRES-3pl
sāšā=rā ham bā xod=ešān be-bar-and
Sasha=OM also with self=PC.3pl SBJN-take.PRES-3pl
‘This time though the brothers have no choice but to take Sasha with them too.’

In one text the author uses the discourse function of in ‘this’ to special effect. Example (5.253) has the opening clause of the story Azān=e qorub (AQ) ‘Call to Evening Prayer’ which begins with in javān ‘this young (man).’ This is the main participant of the story and he is brought into the text without introduction. By using in ‘this’ this participant is presented as an anaphoric reference, but since there is no antecedent to refer to the effect is to engage the reader with events already underway.

(5.253) AQ 1
soāl=e in javān=e ajib …
question=EZ this young=EZ strange
‘There was the question of this strange young (man) …’

Now consider examples (5.254), (5.255) and (5.256) which are all instances of reported direct speech. Example (5.254) is from the folktale
Sāšā va asb=e jāduyi (SAJ) ‘Sasha and the Magic Horse.’ In the scene described, the hero (Sasha) races away from the princess on his magic horse and her attendants cry out, ‘Catch him! Catch him! Who was THIS?.’ Persian uses in ‘this’ because it refers to the person being talked about at this point in the story. By contrast, English would have used ‘Who was THAT?’, as indicated by the translation, because the hero could no longer be seen. Therefore it can be deduced from this that in Persian, discourse reference has precedence over objective reference in speech reporting.

(5.254) SAJ 202-206

hame bā ham mi-gu-(y)and
all with also IPFV-say.PRES-3pl
u=rā be-gir-id u=rā be-gir-id
PN.3sg=OM IMP-take.PRES-2pl PN.3sg=OM IMP-take.PRES-2pl
in ke bud in ke bud
this CLM be.PAST.3sg this CLM be.PAST.3sg
‘Everyone says together: “Catch him! Catch him! Who was that? Who was that?”’

In (5.255) the use of ānja ‘that-place (there)’ indicates that the location is distal yet the speaker (Sasha) refers to his involvement in the event with in man nabudam ‘this wasn’t me.’ Here in ‘this’ is a discourse reference to the current theme. In English ‘that’ would be used here, because in this language objective reference has precedence over discourse reference in speech reporting.

(5.255) SAJ 241-243

mi-gu-(y)ad
IPFV-say.PRES-3sg
dādāš=hā=(y)e man in man na-bud-am
brother-PL=EZ PN.1sg this PN.1sg NEG-be.PAST-1sg
ke ānjā bud-am
CLM that.place be.PAST-1sg
‘He says, “My brothers, maybe it was me who was there?”’

In (5.256) ān ruz ‘that day’ indicates that the time of the event referred to is distal in time to the reporting of that event yet the addressee’s involvement in that event is referred to by in ‘this’ in in to budi ‘Was THIS you?.’ Here again a discourse reference to the current theme takes precedence over an objective reference to the time of the event.

(5.256) SAJ 287-289

mi-gu-(y)ad in to bud-i
IPFV-say.PRES-3sg this PN.2sg be.PAST-2sg
ke ān ruz bā asb āmad-i
CLM that day with horse come.PAST-2sg
‘She says: “Was that you, who came on horseback that day?”’

The MSK text has numerous examples where a discourse reference to the current theme or topic is preferred. In (5.257) the reference is to in juybār ‘this stream’ as the immediate discourse topic rather than the more objective and distal ān juybār ‘that stream’, in (5.258) it is in bačče ‘this child’ rather than ān bačče ‘that child’, in (5.259) it is in vaqt ‘this time’ rather than ān vaqt ‘that time’, in (5.260) it is in morq=e saqqā bud ‘this was the pelican’ rather than ān morq=e saqqā bud ‘it was the pelican’, and in (5.261) it is in bud ke goft ‘this is why she said’ instead of ān bud ke goft ‘that is why she said’, as in the English translation.

(5.257) MSK 5-7: in ‘this’ instead of ān ‘that’
yek māhi=(y)e siāh=e kučulu bud ke bā one fish=EZ black=EZ little be.PAST.3sg CLM with
mādar=aš dar juybār=i zendegi mi-kard mother=PC.3sg in stream=IND living IPFV-do.PAST.3sg
in juybār az divāre-hā=(y)e sangi=(y)e kuh this stream from wall-PL=EZ rocky=EZ mountain
birun mi-zad … outside IPFV-hit.PAST.3sg
‘There was a little black fish that used to live with her mother in a brook. This brook sprang from the rocky side of a mountain …’

(5.258) MSK 19: in ‘this’ instead of ān ‘that/she’
in bačče yek=i yek dāne bud this child one=IND one seed be.PAST.3sg
‘This was an only child’

(5.259) MSK 125: in ‘this’ instead of ān ‘that’
dar in vaqt māhi=(y)e bozorg=i in this time fish=EZ big=IND
be xāne=(y)e ānhā nazdik šod to house=EZ PN.3pl near become.PAST.3sg
‘At this moment, a big fish drew near their home’

(5.260) MSK 743-744: in ‘this’ instead of ān ‘that/it’
nāgahān sedā=(y)e qahqahe=(y)e tarsnāk=i suddenly sound=EZ cackling=EZ frightful=IND
dar āb pičid. in morq=e saqqā bud in water turn.PAST.3sg this pelican be.PAST.3sg
Suddenly the sound of frightful cackling spread through the water. It was the pelican that laughed.

(5.261) MSK 966-970: *in* ‘this’ instead of ān ‘that/it’

māhi siāh fekr kard
fish black thought do.PAST.3sg
agar be xoški be-res-im
if to dry.land SBIN-arrive.PRES-1pl
digar kār tamām=ast
other work finished=COP.PRES.3sg
in bud ke goft
this be.PAST.3sg CLM say.PAST.3sg
‘The black fish thought, if we reach the dry land, it will all be over. That is why she said:’

Thus we conclude that in both spoken and written Persian a proximal reference to the current discourse theme or topic is preferred to a distal objective reference to a discourse external context.

Cataphoric discourse reference

Several examples of cataphoric discourse reference were found in the text corpus. One from the written text *Dāi jān Nāpelon* (DJN) ‘Uncle Neopolian’ is illustrated in (5.262). Here the *in* ‘this’ refers to what follows ‘that daddy would go to sleep ….’

(5.262) DJN 17-19

vali ān ruz ham mā mesl=e har ba:d
but that day also PN.1pl like=EZ every after
az zohr=e digar dar entezār=e in bud-im
from noon=EZ other in expectation=EZ this be.PAST-1pl
ke āqā jān xāb=aš be-bar-ad
CLM daddy dear sleep=PC.3sg SBIN-take.PRES-3sg
va barā=(y)e bāzi be bāq be-rav-im
and for= EZ play to garden SBIN-go.PRES-1pl
‘But on that day too we had this expectation that like every other day in the afternoon daddy would go to sleep and we would go in the garden to play.’
5.4.6.2 The functions of ān ‘that’

The deictic ān ‘that’ has more syntactic functions than in ‘this’ but its use in discourse reference is still much greater than its use for objective reference. ān ‘that’ has the following functions:

- distal: the point of reference is either spatiotemporally or psychologically distal to the entity referred to - this can be an objective or discourse reference
- pronominal: as the inanimate third person singular pronoun ‘it’
- resumptive pronoun in relative clauses

**Objective reference**

In (5.263) ān sim ‘that wire’ refers to a wire the speaker can see. It is therefore an objective reference.

\[
\text{(5.263) ET 150-152}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gof}t\text{-}am & \quad \text{gonješk}=i & \quad \text{ru}=(y)e & \quad \text{ān} & \quad \text{sim} & \quad \text{bud} & \quad \text{say.PAST-1sg} & \quad \text{sparrow=}\text{IND} & \quad \text{on=}\text{EZ} & \quad \text{that wire =be.PAST-3sg} \\
\text{hālā} & \quad \text{ne-mi-bin-am=}aš & \quad \text{now} & \quad \text{NEG-IPFV-see.PRES-1sg=}\text{PC.3sg}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I said, “There was a sparrow on that wire. Now I do not see it.”’

In (5.255) ānjā ‘that place’ is a distal objective reference to the place where the event happened and it contrasts with the in man nabudam ‘this wasn’t me’ where in ‘this’ refers to a current theme in the discourse. In (5.256) ān ruz ‘that day’ is a distal objective reference to the time of the event and contrasts with in to budi ‘Was that you?’ where in ‘this’ also refers to a current theme in the discourse.

**Distal reference**

The context in (5.264) is that Sasha has just returned from discovering that the ‘animal eating the wheat’ is actually a magic horse who can speak and do magical things and, furthermore, he has entered into an agreement with this horse. In the speech of the brothers the author refers to the previous theme (now distal) of ‘that animal which is eating the wheat’ with ān ‘that.’ Note that hevān ‘animal’ functions as direct object of the main verb gerefti ‘you caught’ and subject of the verb in the relative clause, mixorad ‘it eats.’ The object marker =rā is here found only marked on gandomhā ‘wheat’ which functions as the direct object of mixorad ‘it eats’ in the relative clause.

\[
\text{(5.264) SAJ 104-106}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mi-gu}-(y)\text{and} & \quad \text{ān} & \quad \text{hevān}=i & \quad \text{IPFV-say.PRES-3pl} & \quad \text{that animal}=\text{REL}
\end{align*}
\]
‘They say, “Did you catch the animal which was eating the wheat?”’

The context of (5.265) is that the Kashani tradesman has travelled from Kashan to Tabriz to open a kebab shop. The previous text says ‘he went and went until he arrived.’ This is immediately followed by ‘in that place ….’ By using ānjā ‘that place’ rather than injā ‘this place’ the author is indicating that the discourse centre of location remains in Kashan even though the tradesman has travelled to Tabriz. This is confirmed by the fact that later when the tradesman returns to Kashan the author says ‘he came and came until he arrived.’

(5.265) KBG 9

dar ānjā yek dokkān=e kabābpazi
in that.place one shop=ez kebab.cooking
dāyer kard
open do.PAST.3sg
‘There (in that place) he opened a kebab shop.’

Now consider the contrast presented in (5.266) with in ‘this’ and ān ‘that.’ These portions are extracted from the tale of a man trying unsuccessfully to solve a crossword puzzle. In (5.266a) the opinions of those who knew the man in the place he lived in before are given. However, although they consider his work of solving crossword puzzles to be useless and stupid this work is referred to as in kār=aš ‘this work of his.’ In this way the narrator indicates the work is closely identified with the chief protagonist. Then the story is told of how he is not able to solve the crossword puzzle and that he becomes increasingly agitated at this inability. Then there is the portion of text given in (5.266b) and here the work of solving crossword puzzles is referred to simply by ān ‘that.’ In this way the narrator indicates that the chief protagonist has distanced himself from what before he wanted to claim as his own.

(5.266) a. J 16-18

mi-dānest ke in kār=aš
IPFV-know.PAST.3sg CLM this work=PC.3sg
be nazar=e ānhā če andāze bima:ni
to opinion=ez PN.3pl what size meaningless
va puč va ablahāne=ast
and silly and stupid=Cop.PRES.3sg
‘He knew that in their opinion this work of his was completely meaningless, absurd and stupid.’
b. J 75-77

tāze ne-mi-tavānest az
even NEG-IPFV-be.able.PAST.3sg from

ohde=aš bar ā-(y)ad
responsibility=PC.3sg PREV SBJN.come.up.PRES-3sg

yā az ān estefāde=i kon-ad
or from that(work) use=IND SBJN.do.PRES-3sg

‘He was not even able to take responsibility or make use of that (work).’

In (5.267) dast=aš ‘his hand’ angoštar ‘ring’ are both marked with ān ‘that.’ The ān ‘that’ in the relative clause preceding angoštar ‘ring’ is a resumptive pronoun that refers back to ‘his hand.’ It is the ān ‘that’ qualifying dast=aš ‘his hand’ that we want to take note of. This use of ān ‘that’ cannot possibly have an objective function, since the reference is to ‘his hand’, actually the hand of Sasha in the story. At this point ‘hand’ has not been active in the immediately preceding context of the text and is a distal reference. ān ‘that’ is used here to reactivate the hand with the ring on in the discourse.

(5.267) SAJ 218-220

ān dast=aš=rā ke ru=(y)e
that hand=PC.3sg=OM CLM on=EZ

ān angoštar=e doxtar=e pādešāh bud
that ring=EZ daughter=EZ king be.PAST.3sg

bā yek tekke pārče mi-pič-ad
with one piece cloth IPFV-wrap.PRES-3sg

va mi-ā-(y)ad xāne
and IPFV-come.PRES-3sg home

‘He wraps with a piece of cloth that hand of his on which was the ring of the king’s daughter, and comes home.’

Pronominal function

ān can also have a pronominal function referring to a nonhuman entity. Examples (5.268) and (5.269) illustrate this usage. Where the reference is human the personal pronoun u ‘he, she’ is used.

(5.268) TA 68-69

ān=rā mi-bus-ad
that=OM IPFV-kiss.PRES-3sg

va faryād mi-zan-ad
and cry IPFV-hit.PRES-3sg

‘(she) was kissing it and crying out loud.’
According to Thackston (1993:86-87) ān ‘that’ functions as a resumptive pronoun in relative clauses. He says where the functions of the head noun (the entity being modified by the relative clause) and the relativized noun (the constituent which has been replaced by the relativizer ke) are both direct object then ān is optional, as illustrated with (5.270). But native speaker informants advise that it is not possible to have both the relativized noun and the resumptive pronoun.

(5.270) nāme=i=rā ke diruz (ān=rā) nevešt-am
letter=REL=OM CLM yesterday (PN.3pl=OM) write.PAST-1sg
ferestād-am
send.PAST-1sg

‘I sent the letter that I wrote yesterday.’

However, for an oblique locative function where the relativized noun functions as the object of a preposition ān must occur as a resumptive pronoun. Examples (5.271) and (5.272) illustrate this.

(5.271) šahr=i ke az ān āmad-e am
city=REL CLM from that come-PSPT be.AUX.PRES-1sg
az injā dur=ast
from this.place far=COP.PRES-1sg

‘The city from which I have come is far from here.’

(5.272) otāq=i ke dar ān nešast-e im
room=REL CLM in that sit-PSPT be.AUX.PRES-1pl
xeyli kuček=ast
very small=COP.PRES-3sg

‘The room in which we are sitting is very small.’

One example of this latter use of ān ‘that’ has already been presented from the text corpus in (5.267). Another example is illustrated with (5.273). Here the resumptive pronoun in the relative clause refers back to šahr ‘city.’

(5.273) M 3
šahr=i ke man qablan dar ān
city=REL CLM PN.1sg previously in that
zendegi mi-kard-am
life IPFV-do.PAST-1sg

‘In the city where I used to live …’
6. Linguistic Coding of Thematic Groupings

In §3.4 we said thematic groupings reflect the cognitive need for conceptual chunking. Information, especially information in a discourse, is easier to process if it can be grouped into comprehensible chunks. In this chapter we look at a range of linguistic notions applicable to thematic grouping and how they are manifested in Persian.

Foreground and background are notions of IS that apply primarily at the discourse level. In §6.1 we see how these notions apply to a written and a spoken Persian text. Represented speech or reported conversations typically are not an end in themselves, but point forward to the nonspeech events which form the foreground of the story. Thus they are an important aspect of thematic grouping. In §6.2 represented speech in Persian is described and its function at the discourse level investigated. The various linguistic devices used in Persian for indicating the climax in a narrative text are described in §6.3. Finally, the four thematic dimensions of time, place, action and participants and their properties of continuity and discontinuity in Persian are described and discussed in §6.4.

6.1 Foreground and Background

Narrative discourse is agent oriented with its events organized chronologically. Consequently, the theme line for narrative is made up of events that are performed in chronological sequence by agents (effectors). However, to be foreground material the events must develop the theme of the discourse and carry the course of the discourse forward. Events which do not achieve this would be considered background. Non-event material is therefore classified as background material in narrative by default. As outlined in §3.7.3, nonevent material can be: participant orientation, setting, explanation, evaluation (direct or indirect), discourse irrealis, and performative information.

Some languages have one or more markers for backgrounding whole sentences. However, Persian does not have such markers. Instead, in Persian there is a correlation between the verb form used and foreground versus background information. Foley and Van Valin (1984) note two areas of correlation. One is with the ‘semantic verb type’ and the other is with the aspect of the verb.
If we encounter a stative main verb such as *was* in a narrative, we expect the sentence concerned to be conveying background information. Foley and Van Valin go further; they discern a natural correlation between four basic verb types and background versus foreground information. They use syntactic and semantic criteria proposed by Vendler (1967) to distinguish the following types:

- achievement (e.g. *recognise, find, die*)
- accomplishment (e.g. *make something, paint a picture*)
- activity (e.g. *run, drive a car*)
- state (e.g. *know, have*).

Foley and Van Valin point out (p. 371) that clauses ‘with achievement and accomplishment verbs will strongly tend to occur in the temporal structure.’ In other words, such clauses will tend to present foreground information in narrative. In contrast, clauses ‘with activity and state verbs [will strongly tend to occur] in the durative/descriptive structure.’ That is to say, such clauses will tend to present background information in narrative. The selection of a particular semantic verb type therefore tends naturally to determine whether the clauses in which it appears will convey information of more or less importance for the genre concerned.

Before looking at the correlation between certain verbal aspects and background versus foreground, we need a reminder of what linguists mean by aspect. Verbal aspect is a way of portraying an event. It is ‘the speaker’s subjective view of a process or event’ (Reed & Reese 1996:183). It ‘reflects the subjective conception or portrayal by the speaker’ (Fanning 1990:31). When the imperfective aspect describes an event, the event is portrayed as not completed. Fanning (pp. 84f) calls the imperfective the ‘internal’ aspect, which views the action ‘from a reference-point *within* the action, without reference to the beginning or end-point of the action.’ When the perfective aspect describes an event, the event is portrayed as a whole. Fanning (loc. cit.) calls the perfective the ‘external’ aspect, which views the action ‘from a vantage-point outside the action … without reference to its internal structure.’

Foley and Van Valin point out that there is an inherent correlation between perfective versus imperfective aspect and foreground versus background (see also Hopper 1979:215f):

> [T]he perfective aspect is the primary aspectual category found in the temporal structure of narrative discourse in a number of languages and imperfective aspect is primary in durational/descriptive structure. (p. 373)

This finding [the statement on p. 373] is not surprising, since perfective aspect codes completed actions and events and imperfective incomplete events and actions and the former fit more
naturally into the temporal structure of narrative, the latter into
durational/descriptive structure. (p. 397)

Thus, in narrative, the imperfective (imperfect) tends to correlate with
background information and the perfective (aorist) with foreground events,
because of their inherent nature.¹

Table 6.1: Persian verb system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Imperfective:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>ne-mi-rav-ad</td>
<td>be-rav-ad / na-rav-ad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘is not going’</td>
<td>‘be go / not go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>ne-mi-raft</td>
<td>ne-mi-raft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘wasn’t going’</td>
<td>‘wouldn’t go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inferential</td>
<td>ne-mi-raft-e ast</td>
<td>ne-mi-raft-e ast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>‘hasn’t gone’</td>
<td>‘wouldn’t have gone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple Past</td>
<td>na-raft</td>
<td>na-raft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘didn’t go’</td>
<td>‘weren’t to go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Perfective:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>na-raft-e ast</td>
<td>na-raft-e bāšad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘hasn’t gone’</td>
<td>‘wouldn’t have gone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>na-raft-e bud</td>
<td>na-raft-e bud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘hadn’t gone’</td>
<td>‘wouldn’t have gone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inferential</td>
<td>na-raft-e bud-e ast</td>
<td>na-raft-e bud-e ast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>‘he hadn’t gone’</td>
<td>‘he hadn’t gone’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Windfuhr (1989:535-536) describes the basic Persian verb system as
given in Table 6.1 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 (simple past) 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

¹ Imperfect and aorist are the terms used in Windfuhr (1989). Imperfective aspect refers to the
internal temporal consistency of a situation and perfective aspect does not.
negation. Thus under Windfuhr’s analysis a basic perfective vs. imperfective distinction underlies the Persian verbal system and events may be reported from an ‘outside’ perspective or an ‘inside’ perspective. In the typology proposed by Bhat (1999) Persian is an aspect prominent language, in contrast to English, for example, which is a tense prominent language.

Windfuhr (1982:263-287) also 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. Table 6.2 illustrates the correlation between direct and inferential reporting of past events. Thus the continuous past form would be used by a speaker to report an event from an imperfective perspective that s/he had direct evidence for and the past habitual form would be used where the evidence the speaker has is not direct. To report a past event from a perfective perspective where the speaker has direct evidence then the simple past form is selected when the point of reference is the moment of speaking or the past perfect form is selected when the reference point is prior to the moment of speaking. If the speaker does not have direct evidence for what s/he is reporting then the present perfect is selected where the reference point is the moment of speaking and the remote past perfect is selected where the reference point is prior to the moment of speaking. The inferential past forms are also used where the reported event is still somehow relevant to the context of the speech reference point.

Table 6.2: Direct and inferential past in Persian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>direct</th>
<th>mikard</th>
<th>kard</th>
<th>karde bud</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cont.past</td>
<td>simple.past</td>
<td>past perfect</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>inferential</th>
<th>mikarde (ast)</th>
<th>karde (ast)</th>
<th>karde bude (ast)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>past.hab</td>
<td>pres.perf</td>
<td>rem.past.perf</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(relevant)</td>
<td>(relevant)</td>
<td>(relevant)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.1.1 Foreground and Background in Māhi siāh=e kučulu

In the following sections we show how the tense/aspect system in Persian is intimately involved in defining foreground and background information. The simple past tense is the default tense for the MSK text. The four tense/aspects of past continuous, past perfect, present perfect and present tense are all used in the narrative. Each has a different discourse function. Past continuous has both an aspectual and tense function and is used to describe habitual events, simultaneous events and background information. Past perfect has a purely tense function to indicate that the temporal reference point of the past perfect verb is prior to the reference
point already established by some other event in the discourse. Thus past perfect always represents background information. Present perfect has an evidential function and is used where the evidence for the event is inferred rather than direct. Present perfect therefore usually represents background information. Present tense is used as the historical present for dramatic purposes. This is typically part of foreground information.

We also show that in Persian it is not the case that a particular class of verb indicates foreground or background information or that there are syntactic devices which are only associated with one type of information. Instead we demonstrate that the notions of foreground and background information have a semantic motivation and different types of syntactic devices and constructions can be used to these two types of grounding.

6.1.1.1 The Persian tense/aspect system and discourse structure

Before investigating how foreground and background are indicated in Māhi siāh=e kučulu we need to familiarize ourselves with how the Persian tense/aspect system is used in discourse. The default tense for the telling of MSK is the simple past tense and by far the majority of the verbs in the narrative are marked for this tense. Four other tense/aspects are used in this narrative, viz. past continuous, past perfect, present perfect and present tense. Each is used for a different purpose as illustrated in Figure 6.1.

![Figure 6.1: Use of tense/aspect in Māhi siāh=e kučulu](image)

Past continuous is the most ubiquitous of the additional tense/aspects and this is used to express the basic imperfective meaning of viewing an event from the inside. The commonest aspects of imperfectivity expressed are, firstly, habitual events in the past and, secondly, one event temporally overlapping with another event. (6.1a) illustrates an example of the past habitual function and (6.1b) is an example of the temporal overlap function.
(6.1) a. MSK 11: past continuous as past habitual

\[
\text{šab-hā dotāyī zir=e xaze-hā} \\
\text{night-PL two.CL.ADVBL under=EZ seaweed-PL} \\
\text{mi-xābid-and} \\
\text{IPFV-sleep.PAST-3pl}
\]

‘At night, the two would sleep under the seaweed.’

b. MSK 262-263: past continuous as temporal overlap

\[
\text{māhi kučulu vaqti az ānhā} \\
\text{fish little when from PN.3pl} \\
\text{jodā mi-šod goft} \\
\text{depart IPFV-become.PAST.3sg say.PAST.3sg}
\]

‘The little fish, as she parted from them, said, …’

The past continuous also functions to indicate background information in the MSK text. (6.2a) ¶102: 578-580\(^2\) is a paragraph in the MSK text that changes both the time and place setting of MSK. As indicated in MSK 578, the time setting is changed to \text{baːd az zohr} ‘afternoon’ and the place setting is changed to \text{jā=(y)i} ‘a place.’ However, MSK 579-580 describe the scene. This is typical background information but the verbs \text{pahn mi-šod} and \text{migozašt} are in the past continuous. (6.2b) is at the end of a sequence of clauses in the past continuous from MSK 554 to MSK 563. This is all background information. Then in MSK 564 the narrative switches back to past tense which indicates foreground information.

(6.2) a. MSK ¶102: 578-580: past to past continuous

\[
\text{baːd az zohr be jā=(y)i resid} \\
\text{after noon to place=IND arrive.PAST.3sg} \\
\text{ke darre pahn mi-šod} \\
\text{CLM valley broad IPFV-become.PAST.3sg} \\
\text{va āb az vasat=e biše=(y)i mi-gozašt} \\
\text{and water from middle=EZ copse=IND IPFV-pass.PAST.3sg}
\]

‘In the afternoon she reached a place where the valley broadened and the water ran through the middle of a copse.’

b. MSK ¶99: 563-564: past continuous to past

\[
\text{yek jā āhu=(y)i bā ajale āb mi-xord} \\
\text{one place gazelle=IND with haste water IPFV-drink.PAST.3sg}
\]

‘In one place, a gazelle was hurriedly drinking water.’

\[
\text{māhi kučulu salām kard} \\
\text{fish little greeting do.PAST.3sg}
\]

\(^2\) ¶102 means ‘paragraph 102’. Subsequent uses of the symbol ¶ mean ‘paragraph’.
‘The little fish said hello’

Past perfect is the next most common additional tense/aspect. This is used where the reference point (R) is not coincident with the time of utterance (S) within the event frame (E). As shown in Figure 6.2, with deictic tense the time of the utterance is coincident with the reference point and the reported event can be past, present or future to the time of the report. With nondeictic tense, on the other hand, the event is reported as prior, simultaneous or post to some other temporal reference point.

Deictic tense – has the utterance time (S) as the point of reference (R) (absolute tense): past, present, future to reference point

Nondeictic tense – has some other event as the reference point (relative tense): prior, simultaneous, post to reference point

Figure 6.2: Deictic and non-deictic tense

(6.3) illustrates the past perfect used with reference to a preceding verb marked for (perfective) past tense and (6.4) illustrates the past perfect used with reference to a preceding verb marked for (imperfective) past continuous. This demonstrates that the past perfect is used solely for tense deixis, to indicate that the temporal reference point of the past perfect verb is prior to the reference point already established in the discourse context.

(6.3) MSK 19-21: from past to past perfect

in bačče yek=i yek dāne bud
this child one=IND one seed be.PAST.3sg
čun az dah hezār toxm=i ke mādar
since from ten thousand egg=REL CLM mother
gozāšt-e bud tanhā hamin bačče
lay-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg alone same.this child
proper PREV come-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
‘This was an only child, since from ten thousand eggs that mother had laid only this very child had come out properly.’

(6.4) MSK 1008-1010: from past continuous to past perfect

māhī mesl=e barq dar havā širje mi-raft
fish like=EZ lightning in air plunge IPFV-go.PAST.3sg
‘The fish was plunging through the air like lightning.’

az eštīaq=e āb=e daryā bixod šod-e
from eager=EZ water=EZ sea no.purpose become-PSPT
bud va dahan=e xošk=aš=rā
be.AUX.PAST.3sg and mouth=EZ dry=PC.3sg=OM
be bād=e martub=e daryā sepord-e bud
to wind=EZ moisture=EZ sea dedicate-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
‘She was desperately eager for the water of the sea and had given over her dry mouth to the moist sea breeze.’

The least common additional tense/aspects are present perfect and present tense. Present perfect is used where the evidence for the event is inferred rather than direct. This is an evidentiality function and is realized primarily with the perception verbs in the MSK text. Table 6.3 illustrates these perception verbs with their complements. They can be divided between complements that express inferred evidence and those that express direct evidence. In MSK 452 the complement čupān=i lab=e āb istādā Ø ‘a shepherd boy standing at the edge of the water’ is in the present perfect. This is the inferential past and indicates that the shepherd boy was already standing there when the māhī kučulu ‘little fish’ saw him. In MSK 621 the complement māhī siāh=e kučulu=i az rāhhā=(y)e dur āmad-e Ø ‘a little fish had come from afar’ is rumour, so necessarily inferred evidence. In MSK 645 the complement māh tu=(y)e āb oftāde Ø ‘the moonlight had fallen on the water’ is in the present perfect. This is because the moonlight had already fallen on the water when māhī kučulu ‘little fish’ looked. In MSK 730 the complement tu=(y)e kise=(y)e morq=e saqqā gir oftāde and ‘they had been trapped in the pouch of the pelican’ is in the present perfect. In this case it expresses the conclusion the fish come to. For all the remaining complements of perception verbs in Table 6.3 the complement is in a tense/aspect with direct evidentiality, either past, as in MSK 707, 725, and 1006, or present, as in MSK 316, 862, 872, 875, 1019 and 1085. This indicates that in each case the evidence for the proposition expressed by the complement is direct.
Table 6.3: Evidentiality and perception verbs in *Māhi siāh=e kučulu*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inferred Evidence:</th>
<th>Direct Evidence:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>451 MSK saw <em>(did)</em></td>
<td>315 KM saw <em>(didand)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>452 boy standing</td>
<td>452 MSK telling truth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>620 rumour spread <em>(čow oftād)</em></td>
<td>706 MR saw <em>(didand)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>621 MSK had come</td>
<td>724 MR+MSK saw <em>(didand)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>644 MSK saw <em>(did)</em></td>
<td>725 water raised up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>645 moonlight had fallen</td>
<td>726 lid over heads …</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>729 MSK understood <em>(fahmid)</em></td>
<td>861 MSK saw <em>(did)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>730 trapped in pelican’s pouch</td>
<td>862 water has no bottom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1016 MSK did not realise <em>(nafahmid)</em></td>
<td>871 nāgahān MSK saw <em>(did)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1017 what calamity had come</td>
<td>872 animal attacking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>874 MSK thought <em>(fekr kard)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>875 now was the moment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>876 swordfish destroy MSK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1005 heron saw <em>(did)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1006 been defrauded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1018 but MSK felt <em>(hess mikard)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1019 everything moist and dark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1020 nowhere to go …</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1084 nāgahān fish saw <em>(did)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1085 heron thrashing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1086 screaming</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participants: *māhi siāh=e kučulu* ‘little black fish’ [MSK], *kafče māhi* ‘skimmer fish’ [KM], *māhi=(y)e riz* ‘tiny fish’ [MR].
Apart from the present perfect complements of perception verbs given in Table 6.3, there are two more instances of present perfect in the narrative of the MSK text. These are illustrated in (6.5) and (6.6). The verb in the first clause in (6.5), mānde bud ‘there remained’, is in the past perfect and expresses desire. The desire itself is expressed in the following complement and since this is as yet unrealized, the verb in the complement, šode Ø ‘might happen’, is in the present perfect. This shows that irrealis events, such as desires and wishes, can also be marked with the present perfect.

(6.5) MSK 12-14: present perfect and desiderative
māhi kučulu hasrat be del=aš mānd-e
fish little longing to heart=PC.3sg remain-PSPT
bud ke yek daf?e ham ke
be.AUX.PAST.3sg CLM one time.PL also CLM
šod-e Ø mahtāb=rā
become-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3sg moonlight=OM
tu=(y)e xān=šān be-bin-ad
in=EZ house=PC.3pl SBJN-see.PRES-3sg

‘As for the little fish, there remained a longing in her heart that if only for once she might see the moonlight in their house!’

In (6.6) present perfect is used in the second clause because there is no evidence of māhi siāh=e kučulu up until the ‘now’ of the discourse. So here the present perfect is used to describe an event that has not happened.

(6.6) MSK ¶183: 1092-1093: present perfect ending
ammā az māhi siāh=e kučulu hič xabar=i
but from fish black=EZ little not sign=IND
na-šod va tā be hāl ham
NEG-become.PAST.3sg and until to now also
hič xabar=i na-šod-e Ø ...
not sign=IND NEG-become-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3sg

‘But there was not a sign of the little black fish and still until now there has been no sign.’

Finally, the present tense is used in the MSK text to add vividness by drawing the audience into the events. This is an instance of tense neutralization where the present tense marked does not have the present context as the point of reference. This usage is known as the historical present. The counter in MSK 31-32, shown in (6.7a), to the false proposition in MSK 28-30 is marked with the present tense. This highlights the counter. (6.7b) is a rhetorical question asked at the climax of the story where māhixār ‘heron’ has caught MSK in her beak. Note also the example in (6.7c). Here
in MSK 946 the auxiliary *dāšt* ‘have’ is used to express the ingressive notion of ‘about to’. This adds dramatic vividness to the narrative.¹

(6.7) a. MSK 31-32: historical present tense

\[
\text{ammā na-gu ke dard=e māhi siāh but NEG-say.PRES CLM pain=EZ fish black}
\]

\[
\text{az čiz=e digar=i st from thing=EZ other=IND=COP.PRES.3sg}
\]

‘But the truth is that the black fish’s pain springs from something else!’

b. MSK 947-948: historical present tense

\[
\text{āxar yek māhi=e kučulu čeqadr mi-tavān-ad CLM one fish=EZ little how.much IPFV-be.able.PRES-3sg}
\]

\[
\text{birun az āb zende be-mān-ad outside from water alive SBJN-stay.PRES-3sg}
\]

‘After all, how long can a little fish remain alive out of water?’

c. MSK 945-946: *dāšt* ‘have’ expressing an ingressive event

\[
\text{māhīxār kamargāh=e u=rā čenān seft o saxt heron waist=EZ PN.3sg=OM so hard and tight}
\]

\[
\text{gereft-e bud ke dāšt grasp-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg CLM have.AUX.PAST.3sg}
\]

\[
\text{jān=aš dar mi-raft soul=PC.3sg PREV IPFV-go.PAST.3sg}
\]

‘The heron had grasped her waist so hard and tight that the life was about to drain out of her!’

6.1.1.2 Identifying foreground and background in the MSK text

In narrative discourse, the theme line is made up of events that are performed in chronological sequence by agents (effectors) and that to be foreground material the events must develop the theme of the discourse and carry the course of the discourse forward. Nonevent material can be: participant orientation, setting, explanation, evaluation (direct or indirect), discourse irrealis, and performative information. Discourse irrealis can be negation (what did not happen) and possible outcomes (what could happen). Possible outcomes form strong cohesive ties as the hearer’s interest is aroused to find out what actually happened. According to text linguistic theory several different types of syntactic devices can be used to distinguish foreground and background information:

¹ Thackston (1993:211) notes that in colloquial Persian the auxiliary *dāšt* can be used with the present or past imperfective to express progressive aspect.
Foreground events will be higher on the transitivity scale, as given in Table 3.3, than background events. Under this scaling, perfective aspect is associated with foreground events and imperfective aspect is associated with background events.

Achievement and accomplishment verbs will strongly tend to occur in the temporal structure of the narrative and are therefore associated with foreground information. Whereas activity and state verbs will strongly tend to occur in the durative/descriptive structure of the narrative and are therefore associated with background information.

Subordinate clauses most frequently present background information and main clauses can present background or foreground. Although post-nuclear subordinate clauses can encode foreground.

With this in mind, we can now examine the indicators of foreground and background information in the Māhi siāh=e kučulu text. The main theme of MSK is māhi siāh=e kučulu ‘little black fish’ going to find what is at the end of the stream. Therefore the events that develop this theme will be foreground and events which do not develop this theme will be background.

In Appendix 1, the initial temporal setting is given in MSK 1 as šab=e čelle bud ‘the night of the Winter Solstice.’ The verb is stative and this is background information. The initial locative setting is given in MSK 2 as tah=e daryā ‘the bottom of the sea.’ The verb is active and perfective aspect but because it is marked as past perfect it takes its temporal point of reference from the preceding stative verb and is therefore also background. The verb migof ‘she was saying’ in MSK 3 is marked with the past continuous indicating that this event overlaps with that in MSK 2. It therefore takes clause 2 as its event status context and also describes background information. By use of the past continuous - imperfective and stative verbs in MSK 4-11 the author maintains the background status of the information presented. In MSK 12 background information on māhi kučulu is presented with a stative verb in the past perfect. The activity verbs in MSK 15-18 are all in the past continuous. In this case the habitual past is represented and so the events are background. Another piece of background information on māhi kučulu is presented in MSK 19 with a stative verb in the past tense. Then more information is added in MSK 20-21 with verbs in the past perfect which take their point of reference from MSK 19.

A new development in the narrative is intimated in MSK 22 with a stative clause in the past tense expressing a shift in the temporal setting from background information to the main event line of the discourse. But MSK 22 is subordinate to the MSK 23-24 which are in the past continuous. So MSK 22-24 is still background. A false presupposition by mādar ‘mother’ is presented in MSK 28-30. This is an instance of discourse irrealis which is countered in MSK 31-32. The counter is expressed in the present tense.
which highlights what is said in these clauses, but it is still background information.

This analysis also shows that the speeches are a significant part of the main events. Typically the speeches develop the plot in some way. All but a few of the speech verbs are in the past tense which indicates that the speeches are foreground information. There are some speech verbs that are not in the past tense and these instances are interesting. (6.8) illustrates the first non-past speech verb in MSK. All the verbs in MSK 226-228 are in the past continuous and they describe the lament of the mother as her child leaves her. This immediately follows the foreground event of the friends of māhi kučulu surrounding her and taking her to safety from the threat of the neighbours. The past continuous relates the mother’s lament to this previous action but it also, in effect, backgrounds the mādar ‘mother.’ She has one more short speech role in MSK 257 but after that plays no further part in the story.

(6.8) MSK 226-228: past continuous as backgrounding

mādar=e māhi siāh tu=(y)e sar o sine=aš
mother=EZ fish black on=EZ head and breast=PC.3sg
mi-zad va gerye mi-kard
IPFV-hit.PAST.3sg and crying IPFV-do.PAST.3sg
va mi-goft
and IPFV-say.PAST.3sg

‘The black fish’s mother was beating herself and crying and saying.’

The function of the second instance of past continuous with a speech verb is the opposite to that of the first instance. In (6.8) the past continuous indicates the exit of a character from the story but in (6.9) the past continuous is used in the introduction of a new main character to the story. Firstly, the past continuous relates the event described in (6.9) to the immediately preceding event: nāgahān sedā=(y)e qahqahe=(y)e tarsnāk=i dar āb pičid ‘suddenly the sound of frightful cackling spread through the water.’ The cackling is revealed to come from morq=e saqqā ‘pelican.’ D&L (2001:16) say that tail-head linkage, where the main verb in one clause is repeated in a following subordinate clause, is primarily a feature of spoken discourse. But in (6.9) there is tail-head linkage between mixandid in the first clause and mixandid in the second clause, and it is used to indicate that this is a climactic event. The climax is expressed in the quote where morq=e saqqā says he will swallow the fish. Thus (6.9) has to be considered foreground because it introduces a main character and is climactic, even though it is in the past continuous. One might say this use of the past continuous to either background a participant out of the story or foreground a participant into the story is the ‘fade out’ and ‘fade in’ usage of the past continuous, respectively.
But the past continuous can also indicate an event is contemporary to other events and not necessarily background. (6.10) is a response to MSK 793 where māhi rizehā ‘tiny fish’ attack māhi kučulu. Here the function of the past continuous seems to be to indicate that the events in MSK 794-795 overlap with the event in MSK 793. Since the events in MSK 794-795 have the chief protagonist as actor they are possibly more salient than the event in MSK 793 and therefore must be foreground.

This shows that it is not necessarily the case that past continuous (imperfective) marks background information. Where it has its simultaneous tense meaning it can mark foreground information. There are several other places in the MSK text where past continuous is marked on foreground events.

The events described in (6.11) are a type of interregnum between the event described in MSK 939-941 where māhīxār ‘heron’ comes and grabs māhi kučulu and carries her off and MSK 953-955 where māhi kučulu begins a dialogue with māhīxār. MSK 942-948 describe the unsuccessful attempts by māhi kučulu to escape from heron’s grasp. The past continuous is used to indicate these events are secondary to the primary event of heron carrying little fish off. But they are still part of the foreground. It should also be noted that the author uses the auxiliary verb dāšt ‘have’ in MSK 946 to emphasize the desperate situation māhi kučulu is in.
but NEG-IPFV-be.able.PAST.3sg
xod=aš=rā nejāt be-dah-ad
self=PC.3sg=OM rescue SBJN.give.PRES-3sg
‘but she couldn’t free herself.’
māhixār kamargāh=e u=rā čenān seft o saxt
heron waist=EZ PN.3sg=OM so hard and tight
gereft-e bud ke dāšt
grasp-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg CLM have.AUX.PAST.3sg
jān=aš dar mi-raft
soul=PC.3sg PREV IPFV-go.PAST.3sg
‘The heron had grasped her waist so hard and tight that the life was
draining out of her!’
āxar yek māhi=e kučulu čeqadr mi-tavān-ad
CLM one fish=EZ little how.much IPFV-be.able.PRES-3sg
birun az āb zende be-mān-ad
outside from water alive SBJN-stay.PRES-3sg
‘After all, how long can a little fish remain alive out of water?’

(6.12) gives another example of past continuous marked on a foreground
event. MSK 1018 elaborates on the calamity described in MSK 1017 and the
events in MSK 1019-1021 are described in the present tense to heighten the
tension. Thus MSK 1018-1021 are foreground.

(6.12) MSK 1018-1021: past continuous with foreground event
faqat hess mi-kard
only feeling IPFV-do.PAST.3sg
ke hame jā martub va tārik=ast
CLM all place moisture and darkness=COP.PRES.3sg
va rāh=i nist
and way=IND NEG.be.PRES.3sg
va sedā=(y)e gerye mi-ā-(y)ad
and sound=EZ crying IPFV-come.PRES-3sg
‘She only felt that everywhere was moist and dark and there was
nowhere to go and there was a sound of crying coming from
somewhere.’

As illustrated in (6.2), the past continuous can mark background
information in the MSK text. In the sections ¶99: 554-563, ¶101: 574-577,
¶102: 579-580, ¶118: 648-654, ¶169: 922-926 there are sequences of main
verbs in the past continuous tense/aspect. ¶99: 554-563 describe MSK’s
continued journey and what she saw after she had been given the dagger by
mārmulak ‘lizard’, ¶101: 574-577 describe seeing the tortoises, hearing the
partridges and smelling the mountain herbs, ¶102: 579-580 describe the broadening of the valley, ¶116: 620-625 recount the rumour about MSK’s quest to find the end of the river, ¶118: 648-654 is the reminiscence by MSK of when she lived with her mother and wanted to go out and speak to *māh* ‘moon’, and ¶169: 922-926 describe MSK’s enjoyment of being in the sea. These are all events off the main event line and therefore background information.

Although past continuous is not necessarily indicative of background information, this would seem to be the case with past perfect. All the uses of past perfect in the MSK text, i.e. 2, 12, 206, 278, 348, 376, 380-382, 383, 386, 388, 456, 581, 584-585, 763, 855, 857-858, 867, 945, 964, 1009-1010, 1024, 1076, are for background events. This stands to reason if the primary function of the past perfect is to shift the reference point for the event to prior that of the time line of the discourse.

Thus we see that only past perfect always represents background in the MSK text. Simple past, past continuous, present perfect and present tense may all represent either background or foreground material. What of the claim by Foley and Van Valin (1984) that activity and stative verbs tend to represent background information and that accomplishment and achievement verbs tend to represent foreground information? This is not substantiated in the MSK text. Achievement verbs occurred in both the foreground and background, as illustrated in (6.13), and accomplishment verbs also occurred in both the foreground and background, as illustrated in (6.14).

(6.13) a. MSK 276: achievement verb in foreground

```
ammā ba:d šoru kard be šenā kard-an
but then begin do.PAST.3sg to swim do-INF
'But then she started swimming about.'
```

b. MSK 117: achievement verb in background

```
vaqti harf-hā=(y)e māhi kučulu tamām šod
when word-PL=EZ fish little finish become.PAST.3sg
'When the little fish had finished talking, …’ (lit. When the words of the little fish had become finished …)
```

(6.14) a. MSK 314: accomplishment verb in foreground

```
kače māhi-hā xeyli asabāni šod-and
skimmer fish-PL very angry become.PAST-3pl
'The skimmer fish got very angry,'
```

b. MSK 376: accomplishment verb in background

```
juybār ham āb=aš čand barābar
stream also water=PC.3sg some equal
```
Šod-e bud
become-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
‘The stream also increased in flow.’ (lit. The stream’s water became so much again.)

Similarly, activity verbs occurred in both the background and foreground. In fact, activity verbs occurred more frequently in the foreground. And surprisingly, stative verbs also occurred in both the background and foreground. This is because a perception verb, such as didan ‘to see’ is semantically stative. In (6.15), for example, the ‘coming to senses’ and ‘seeing’ are the foreground events and are marked as such by the event highlighting adverb nāgahān ‘suddenly.’

(6.15) MSK 860-862: stative verb in foreground
nāgahān be xod āmad
suddenly to self come.PAST.3sg
va did āb tah na-dār-ad
and see.PAST.3sg water bottom NEG-have.PRES-3sg
‘Suddenly she came to her senses and saw that the water had no bottom.’

We have shown in the preceding paragraphs that, apart from the past perfect, there is no tense/aspect form that necessarily indicates foreground or background and there is no class of verb, i.e. activity, stative, achievement or accomplishment, that is necessarily associated with foreground or background. So, are there any syntactic devices in Persian which necessarily indicate foreground or background? It turns out that the notions of foreground and background have a semantic motivation and different types of syntactic devices and constructions are used to express the various kinds of grounding motivated by the discourse. Table 6.4 shows how the grounding functions correlate with the syntax.

(6.16)-(6.18) give examples of the general non-event category in Table 6.4. In (6.16) past continuous is marked in MSK 262 to indicate that this event is concurrent with the event in MSK 263. This, along with the temporal expression vaqti ‘when’, marks MSK 262 as background. In (6.17) xarčang goft ‘the crab said’ in MSK 420 is repeated in MSK 434 after the quote. This marks MSK 434 as background. (6.18) illustrates the existential clause in MSK 5 that introduces māhi siāh=e kučulu ‘little black fish.’ This is the only character introduced by an existential clause and is background, of course.
Table 6.4: Persian foreground and background characteristics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grounding</th>
<th>Semantic</th>
<th>Syntactic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Background</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-event</td>
<td>static, descriptive, supportive material, less salient known information</td>
<td>simultaneity, repetition, imperfective, past continuous, existential stative verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>setting</td>
<td>where, when, who, circumstances</td>
<td>temporal and locative PoDs focus-presupposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>explanation</td>
<td>why, explanations, clarifications</td>
<td>subordination past perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>evaluation</td>
<td>evaluations (direct or indirect), external contextualization, feelings, thoughts, motives, opinions</td>
<td>present perfect perception verbs, e.g. didan 'to see', fekr kardan 'to think'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>discourse irrealis</td>
<td>what did not happen, what could happen, questions, desires/plans, secondary events, habitual events</td>
<td>negation, subjunctive, counterfactual, past continuous, present perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>performative</td>
<td>speaker-hearer orientation, moral attitudes, conclusions, applications to the audience</td>
<td>invitations, rhetorical questions, deductions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreground</td>
<td>dynamic, kinetic, thematic events, actual events, more salient figures, new information, positive, primary events</td>
<td>chronological sequencing; close sequence, e.g. baːd ‘then’, coordination, topic-comment, predicate focus, simple past, perfective, activity verb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(6.16) MSK 262-263: simultaneity as background
māhi kučulu vaqti az ānhā jodā mi-šod
goft say.PAST.3sg
‘The little fish, when she parted from them, said:’

(6.17) MSK 434-435: repetition as background
xarčang in harf-hā=rā goft
crab this word-PL=OM say.PAST.3sg
va paspasaki rāh oftād taraf=e māhi kučulu and back.back way fall.PAST.3sg direction=EZ fish little
‘Having said this the crab made its way sideways towards the little fish.’

(6.18) MSK 4-5: existential clause as background
yek=i bud yek=i na-bud one=IND be.PAST.3sg one=IND NEG-be.PAST.3sg
yek māhi=(y)e siāh=e kučulu bud one fish=EZ black=EZ little be.PAST.3sg
‘Once upon a time there was a little black fish.’

Table 4.1 illustrates the temporal PoDs in MSK. (6.19) illustrates a temporal PoD that introduces background and (6.20) illustrates a temporal PoD that introduces foreground.

(6.19) MSK 117-118: temporal PoD introduces background
vaqtī harf-hā=(y)e māhi kučulu tamām šod when word-PL=EZ fish little finish become.PAST.3sg
mādar=aš goft mother=PC.3sg say.PAST.3sg
‘When the little fish had finished talking, her mother said:’

(6.20) MSK 125-126: temporal PoD introduces foreground
dar in vaqt māhi=(y)e bozorg=i be xāne=(y)e ānhā in this time fish big=IND to house=EZ PN.3pl
nazdik šod va goft near become.PAST.3sg and say.PAST.3sg
‘At this moment, a big fish drew near their home and said:’

Locative PoDs typically maintain the established foreground or background. (6.21) is a locative clause which changes the locational setting and is therefore background. The clause in (6.22) has a locative PoD. It serves to introduce the participant āhu ‘gazelle’ into the discourse and is therefore background. The next clause is foreground as the māhi kučulu converses with āhu ‘gazelle.’

(6.21) MSK 633: locative clause switches to background
lab=e rudxāne deh=i bud
bank=EZ river village=IND be.PAST.3sg
‘On the bank of the river was a village.’
(6.22) MSK 563: locative PoD in background

\textit{yek jā āhu=(y)i bā ajale āb mi-xord one place gazelle=IND with haste water IPFV-drink.PAST.3sg}

‘In one place, a gazelle was hurriedly drinking water.’

Explanation grounding provides reasons, explanations and clarifications as background information. In (6.23), MSK 205 is the foreground and MSK 206 provides the background explanation. The explanation is marked with past perfect. The explanation in (6.24) is in the simple past and the explanation in (6.25) is in a subordinate clause.

(6.23) MSK 205-206: explanation grounding in past perfect

\textit{sedā=(y)e begu-magu māhi-hā=(y)e digar=rā sound=EZ quarrel fish-PL=EZ other=OM ham be ānjā keš-ān-d also to there draw.PRES-CAUS-PAST.3sg}

‘The noise of the argument drew the other fish there too.’

\textit{harf-hā=(y)e māhi kučulu word-PL=EZ fish little hame=rā asabāni kard-e bud all=OM annoy do-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg}

‘The words of the little fish had annoyed everybody.’

(6.24) MSK 831: explanation grounding in simple past

\textit{ānhā nāčār pišnehād=e māhi kučulu=rā PN.3pl compelled plan=EZ fish little=OM qabul kard-and accept do.PAST-3pl}

‘They were obliged to accept the little fish’s plan.’

(6.25) MSK 315-318: explanation grounding as subordination

\textit{ammā čun did-and māhi kučulu rāst but since see.PAST-3pl fish little right mi-gu-(y)ad az dar=e digar dar āmad-and IPFV-say.PRES-3sg from door=EZ other PREV come.PAST.3pl va goft-and and say.PAST-3pl}

‘But since they realised the little fish was right they took a different tack and said:’

Evaluation grounding provides evaluations (direct or indirect evidence), feelings, thoughts, motives, opinions, etc. As explained above, the present perfect has an evidential function and its use indicates that evidence for the validity of what is being said is not direct. Table 6.3 illustrates the
complements of perception verbs in the MSK. For those in the present perfect the evidence is inferred and for those in simple past, past continuous, past perfect or present tense the evidence is direct. A number of evaluative thoughts occur in the MSK text. One is illustrated in (6.26).

(6.26) MSK 337-341: a thought as an evaluation

māhi siāh= e kučulu ham xande=aš geref t
fish black= EZ little also laughing=PC.3sg take.PAST.3sg
fekr kard ke behtar=ast
thought do.PAST.3sg CLM better=COP.PRES.3sg
kafe ē māhi-hā=rā be hāl=e xod=ešān
skimmer fish-PL=OM to health=EZ self=PC.3pl
be-gožār-ad va be-rav-ad
SBJN-leave.PRES-3sg and SBJN-go.PRES-3sg
‘The little black fish burst out laughing too and thought it would be better to leave the skimmer fish to themselves and go.’

Discourse irrealis grounding includes what did not happen, what could happen, questions, desires/plans, secondary events, and habitual events. Examples of events not happening are given in (6.27) and (6.28). (6.6) also describes an event that has not happened and as well being marked as negative the verb is in the present perfect form.

(6.27) MSK 956-957: negation as discourse irrealis

māhixār čiz= i na-goft fekr kard
heron thing=IND NEG-say.PAST.3sg thought do.PAST.3sg
‘The heron didn’t say anything, but thought:’

(6.28) MSK 722-724: a non-event as discourse irrealis

ammā tā xāst-and
but as.soon.as want.AUX.PAST-3pl
rāh bi-oft-and did-and
way SBJN-fall.PRES-3pl see.PAST-3pl
‘But when they were about to set off, they saw …’

Performative grounding includes speaker-hearer orientation, moral attitudes, conclusions, and applications to the audience. (6.29) illustrates an invitation to involve the audience, (6.30) shows a rhetorical question, and (6.31) has a conclusion which draws the audience in through the use of the present perfect.

(6.29) MSK 377-378: an invitation as performative grounding

ammā agar mi-xāst-i az bālā=(y)e kuh-hā
but if IPFV-want.PAST-2sg from above= EZ mountain-PL
But if you wanted to look at the bottom of the valley from the top of the mountains,

After all, how long can a little fish remain alive out of water.

But there was not a sign of the little black fish and still until now there has been no sign.

In this section the means by which foreground and background information is marked in the SAJ text is discussed. Apart from how tense/aspect is used, MSK and SAJ have similar ways of distinguishing background from foreground information. In the MSK text the default tense for the narrative is the simple past, in SAJ the present tense. This has the consequence that the past and present tenses cannot be used the same way for grounding purposes in each text.

6.1.2 Tense usage in SAJ

Sāšā va asb=e jāduyi (SAJ) ‘Sasha and the Magic Horse’ is a traditional story presented in oral form. The tense usage is somewhat different to that in Māhi siāh=e kučulu (MSK) ‘The Little Black Fish.’ Whereas the default tense for the narrative of MSK is the simple past, in SAJ it is the present tense. Use of the present tense apparently indicates that the narrative describes fictional events. Table 6.5 illustrates the tense usage in SAJ.

Table 6.5: Tense usage in Sāšā va asb=e jāduyi

| 1-6 | PAST: opening introductions and scene setting |
| 7-11 | PAST CONTINUOUS: The main proposition of the story is stated. The |
past continuous is used to express a habitual state of affairs.

12  PRESENT: mainline event: the story begins
18-24  PRESENT: mainline events
25-28  PRESENT PERFECT [INFERRED]: The complement of mibinad ‘he sees’ is inferred information.
29-37  PRESENT: mainline events
38  PAST: The complement of mibinad ‘he sees’ is direct information.
39-42  PRESENT: mainline events
43-45  PRESENT PERFECT [INFERRED]: The complement of mibinad ‘he sees’ is inferred information.
46-56  PRESENT: mainline events
57-58  PAST HABITUAL [INFERRED]: The past habitual is used to present an explanation relevant to the current state of affairs.
59-60  PRESENT: mainline events
61  PRESENT + AUX: The complement of mibinad ‘he sees’ is direct information and the auxiliary dāštan ‘have’ is used to add vividness.
62-65  PRESENT: mainline events
66  PRESENT: The complement of mibinad ‘he sees’ is direct information.
67-132  PRESENT: mainline events
133-135  PAST: The complement of mibinand ‘they see’ is direct information.
136-167  PRESENT: mainline events
168  PRESENT + AUX: The complement of mibinad ‘he sees’ is direct information and the auxiliary dāštan ‘have’ is used to add vividness.
169-193  PRESENT: mainline events
194  PAST: The complement of mibinad ‘he sees’ is direct information.
195-210  PRESENT: Not all of these clauses are foreground information.
211  PAST PERFECT: A historical explanation is set in the past perfect.
212-269  PRESENT: mainline events
270  PAST PERFECT: A historical explanation is set in the past perfect.
272-307  PRESENT: Not all of these clauses are foreground information.
308-309  PRESENT PERFECT [INFERRED]: The complement of xeyli xoșhāl mišavad ‘she was very happy’ is inferred information.
310-311  PRESENT: mainline events

Clauses 1-6 are in the simple past and present the opening introductions and scene setting. Clauses 7-11 are in the past continuous and express habitual events. These events are also scene setting and it is here that the
main proposition of the story is presented, that a *heyvān* ‘animal’ is coming in the night and destroying the farmer’s crops. Then in SAJ 12 the author switches to narrating the mainline story events in the present tense, (6.32), rather than the usual past tense.

(6.32) SAJ 12: present tense indicates the beginning of the main events

\[
yek \text{ ruz } \text{ pir}=e \text{ mard } \text{ be pesar-hā}==(y)aš \text{ mi-gu-(y)ad}
\]

\[
one \text{ day } \text{ old}=\text{EZ man } \text{ to son-PL=PC.3sg IPFV-say.PRES-3sg}
\]

‘One day the old man says to his sons:’

From SAJ 12 onwards foreground events are presented in the present tense. This means the author has to make several adjustments to the model of tense usage presented in Figure 6.1. The adjustments are as follows:

**Past continuous**

In MSK the past continuous is used to express either past habitual events, as illustrated by (6.1a), or instances of temporal overlap, as illustrated by (6.1b). But in SAJ past continuous is used to describe habitual events, as in (6.33a), and the past habitual (not used in MSK) is used to describe temporal overlap, as in (6.33b).

(6.33) a. SAJ 7: past continuous describing past habitual events

\[
tu=(y)e \text{ mazra}ʔ=\text{e gandom berenj yā}
\]

\[
in=\text{EZ field wheat rice or}
\]

\[
čiz-hā=(y)e \text{ digar mi-kāšt}
\]

\[
\text{thing-PL=EZ other IPFV-sow.PAST.3sg}
\]

‘In the field he (the old man) used to sow wheat, rice or other things.’

b. SAJ 57-58: past habitual describing temporal overlap

\[
\text{montahā } \text{ čun dast=aš xeyli}
\]

\[
\text{however since hand=PC.3sg much}
\]

\[
\text{mi-suxt-e } \text{ Ø}
\]

\[
\text{IPFV-burn-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3sg}
\]

\[
xāb=aš \text{ ne-mi-bord-e } \text{ Ø}
\]

\[
\text{sleep=PC.3sg NEG-IPFV-carry-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3sg}
\]

‘However since his hand was really stinging, he didn’t fall asleep.’

**Past perfect**

In MSK the past perfect is used to indicate that the temporal reference point of the past perfect verb is prior to the reference point already established in the discourse context, and in MSK the established discourse context is always in the past, as illustrated by (6.3) and (6.4). But in SAJ the established discourse context is primarily in the historical present. Even so, 

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the past perfect is used to relate an event whose reference point is prior to this discourse context. Examples are given in (6.34).

(6.34)  
a. SAJ 211-212: from past perfect to present

dafʔe=(y)e avval az guš=e čap=e asb
time=EZ first from ear=EZ left=EZ horse
raft-e bud tu ammā in dafʔe
go-Pspt be.aux.past.3sg in but this time
az guš=e rāst mi-rav-ad tu
via ear=EZ right IPFV-go.pres-3sg in
‘The first time, he went in through the horses left ear, but this time he goes in through its right ear.’

b. SAJ 268-270: from present to past perfect

in dafʔe digar barādar-hā majbur mi-šav-and
this time other brother-pl obliged IPFV-become.pres-3pl
sāšā=ṛa ham bā xod=ešān be-bar-and
Sasha=om also with self=PC.3pl SBJN-take.pres-3pl
cōn doxtar=e pādešāh goft-e bud
since daughter=EZ king say-pspt be.aux.past.3sg
‘This time though the brothers have no choice but to take Sasha with them too, since the king’s daughter had said …’

Present perfect

In MSK the present perfect is used where the evidence for the event described is inferred rather than direct. This usage occurs primarily with perception verbs, as illustrated in Table 6.3. In this context, direct evidence is expressed by either the simple past, the past continuous, or the past perfect. The present tense is also used in MSK where the author wishes to add vividness to the event.

In SAJ the present perfect is also used where the evidence for the event described is inferred rather than direct even though the tense in the perception verb is present. In (6.35a), for example, the son has not witnessed directly the animal coming and ruining the field. This is inferred information. (6.35b) is slightly different. Here the present perfect expresses the realization by the king’s daughter that Sasha is the one who took her ring.

(6.35)  
a. SAJ 24-28: present perfect expressing inferred evidence

mi-bin-ad ān heyvān āmad-e Ø
IPFV-see.pres-3sg that animal come-pspt be.aux.pres.3sg
mazraʔe=rā xarāb kard-e Ø mahsul=rā
field=om ruin do-pspt be.aux.pres.3sg crop=om
xord-e Ø va raft-e Ø
eat-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3sg and go.PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3sg
‘He sees that animal has come, ruined the field, eaten the crop and
gone.’

b. SAJ 307-309: present perfect expressing inferred evidence
doxtar=e pādešāh xeyli xošhāl mi-šav-ad ke
daughter=EZ king very happy IPFV-become.PRES-3sg CLM
yek pesar=e xošgel va xoštip bā yek asb=e
one boy=EZ handsome and good looking with one horse=EZ
noqretalāyi hamān kas=i bud-e Ø
silvery,golden same.that person=REL be-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3sg
ke angoštar=rā az dast=aš
CLM ring=OM from hand=PC.3sg
dar āvard-e Ø
PREV bring-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3sg
‘The king’s daughter is very happy that a handsome and good-
looking boy with a silvery and golden horse is the very one who
took the ring from her hand.’

In SAJ, direct evidence is expressed with the past tense, as in SAJ 38,
133-135, and 194, or with the present tense, as in SAJ 61, 66 and 168. In
SAJ 61 and 168 the direct evidence is additionally highlighted by using the
auxiliary dāštan ‘have.’ (6.36a) illustrates the complement of a perception
verb in the simple past expressing direct evidence, (6.36b) illustrates the
complement of a perception verb in the present tense expressing direct
evidence, and in (6.36c) the complement is also in the present tense but
additionally has the auxiliary dāštan.

(6.36) a. SAJ 193-194: simple past expressing direct evidence
mi-bin-ad ke lebās-hā=(y)aš
IPFV-see.PRES-3sg CLM clothing-PL=PC.3sg
xeyli tamiz va xub va šik šod
very clean and good and chic become.PAST.3sg
‘He sees that his clothing had become very clean, good and chic.’

b. SAJ 65-66: present tense expressing direct evidence
mi-bin-ad asb=i=ast
IPFV-see.PRES-3sg horse=IND=COP.PRES.3sg
bā mu-hā=(y)e talāyi va noqrei
with hair-PL=EZ golden and silvery
‘He sees it is a horse with golden and silvery hair.’
c. SAJ 60-61: present tense with auxiliary dāštan ‘have’ expressing
direct evidence
mi-bin-ad az dur
IPFV-see.PRES-3sg from afar
zamin dār-ad mi-larz-ad
ground have.AUX.PRES-3sg IPFV-shake.PRES-3sg
‘He sees from afar that the ground is shaking.’

Present tense

In MSK, the present tense is used in a number of instances as the
historical present to add vividness to the account and draw the audience into
the story. Examples are illustrated in (6.7). However, in SAJ the whole story
is told in the historical present. Therefore in order to add vividness the
author uses the auxiliary dāštan ‘have’ with the present tense. (6.36c)
illustrates this.

6.1.2.2 Identifying foreground and background in SAJ

SAJ 1-2 begins with a formulaic stative expression which indicates this is
a make-believe story. It also indicates this is introductory background in-
formation. SAJ 3-4, 5 and 6 are all stative presentational constructions and
therefore background. SAJ 7-11 are in the past continuous and describe
habitual events - therefore background. But SAJ 12 is in the present tense
and begins with the temporal PoD yek ruz ‘one day’. This signals the
beginning of the main events and is foreground information. From here
onwards the default tense/aspect for expressing foreground events is the
present tense. Table 6.6 presents a summary of the various syntactic and
lexical devices used in the SAJ text to indicate foreground or background
information.

Table 6.6: Foregrounding and backgrounding devices in Sāşā va asb=e jāduyi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause</th>
<th>Comment</th>
<th>Grounding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>yek=i bud yek=i nabud ‘once upon a time’ formulaic introduction</td>
<td>backgr’d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>Stative presentational construction introduces pir=e mard=i ‘an old man.’</td>
<td>backgr’d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Stative presentational construction introduces the main protagonist sāšā ‘Sasha.’</td>
<td>backgr’d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Stative presentational construction introduces the initial locational setting mazraʔe ‘field.’</td>
<td>backgr’d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-11</td>
<td>Past continuous - describes a series of habitual events.</td>
<td>backgr’d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Present tense. The PoD *yek ruz* ‘one day’ in this clause also indicates the beginning of the main events.

Present tense. Temp PoD *šab=e avval* ‘first night’ introduces the beginning of an event sequence.

Present tense. *vali* ‘but’ presents a condition, therefore discourse irrealis background.

Present tense. But negated event, therefore discourse irrealis.

Present tense. Thematic event.

Present tense. Temp PoD *sobh* ‘in morning’ expresses temporal setting.

Present tense. Thematic event. Thematic event.

Present tense. Temp PoD *šab=e dovvom* ‘second night’ introduces next event sequence.

Present tense. *vali* ‘but’ presents a condition, therefore discourse irrealis background.

Present tense. Thematic event.

Present tense. But negated event, therefore discourse irrealis.

Present tense. Thematic event.

Present tense. Thematic events.

Present tense. Temp PoD *šab=e sevvom* ‘third night’ introduces next event sequence. But *tasnim migirad beravad* ‘he decided to go’ is a non-event and discourse irrealis. The relative clause *esm=aš sāšā bud* ‘whose name was Sasha’ is also background information.

*qabl az raftan* ‘before going’ is an infinitive nonevent.

Present tense. Thematic events.
52-53 Subjunctive - purpose and discourse irrealis. backgr’d
54-55 Present tense. Thematic events. foregr’d
56 Present tense. But has vali ‘but’ and negative - nonevent, therefore discourse irrealis. backgr’d
57 The countering connectives montahā čun ‘however since’ signal a diversion from the expected development in the discourse established by the first two brothers. Past habitual could be expressing the immediate relevance of this event to the purpose expressed in 52-53. But 57 offers an explanation for what follows, so it is backgr’d.
58 Present habitual. Although 58 is negative because the past habitual indicates relevance, it should be considered foreground. foregr’d
59 belaxare ‘finally’ indicates the end of a sequence of events and nesfehā=(y)e šab ‘midnight’ provides the temporal setting, therefore it is background. backgr’d
60 Present tense. Thematic event. foregr’d
61 Present tense with auxiliary dāštan ‘have’, therefore highlighted foreground. foregr’d
62 Present tense. Thematic event. foregr’d
63 Present tense. Descriptive. backgr’d
64 vaqti ‘when’ expresses temporal setting, therefore it is background. backgr’d
65-66 Present tense. Descriptive. backgr’d
67-69 Present tense. Thematic events. foregr’d
70 Present tense. Thematic event. foregr’d
71 Purpose backgr’d
72 Non-event backgr’d
73 ba:š ‘then’ indicates a major new development in the story. šoru mikonad ‘it begins’ is an achievement verb and the author uses this to indicate that this is foreground information. foregr’d
74 Present tense. Thematic event. foregr’d
80 Present tense. Thematic event. foregr’d
84  Present tense. Thematic event. foregr’d

99  Present tense. Thematic event. foregr’d

101-104 Present tense. Thematic events. foregr’d

107  Present tense. Thematic event. foregr’d

111  Present tense. Thematic event. foregr’d

115  Present tense. Thematic event. foregr’d

118  Present tense. Thematic event. foregr’d

123  Present tense. Thematic event. foregr’d

128-129 Present tense. Thematic events. foregr’d

131  Evaluation. backgr’d

132  az fardā ‘from next day’ temporal setting of thematic event. foregr’d

133-135 Negative event, therefore discourse irrealis. backgr’d

136  ‘a few days passed’ non-event. backgr’d

137  Present tense. Thematic event. foregr’d

146  Present tense. Thematic event. foregr’d

147-148 Discourse irrealis backgr’d

149  Present tense. Thematic event. foregr’d

151  Present tense. Thematic event. foregr’d

158  Present tense. Thematic event. foregr’d

161-165 Present tense. Thematic events. foregr’d

167-170 Present tense. Thematic events. foregr’d

173  Present tense. Thematic event. foregr’d

182  Present tense. Thematic event. foregr’d

189  Present tense. Thematic event. foregr’d

290
191-196 Present tense. Thematic events. foregr’d

197 vaqti ‘when’ temporal setting. backgr’d

198-202 Present tense. Thematic events. foregr’d

207-208 Discourse irrealis backgr’d

209-210 Present tense. Thematic events. foregr’d

211 Past perfect. dafʔe=(y)e avval ‘first time’ flashback. backgr’d

212-214 Present tense. ammā in dafʔe ‘but this time’ restores timeline. foregr’d

215-216 baːd ‘then’ continues close temporal sequence of thematic events. foregr’d

218-221 Present tense. Thematic events. foregr’d

223 Present tense. Thematic event. foregr’d

226 Present tense. Thematic event. foregr’d

228 Present tense. Thematic event. foregr’d

235 Present tense. Thematic event. foregr’d

241 Present tense. Thematic event. foregr’d

244 Present tense. Thematic event. foregr’d

253 Present tense. Thematic event. foregr’d

255-256 Present tense. Thematic events. foregr’d

257 čand ruz ‘several days’ temporal setting indicates a new development foregr’d

263-264 Negative events - discourse irrealis. backgr’d

265-266 belaxare ‘finally’ conclusive thematic events. foregr’d

268-269 in dafʔe ‘this time’ relates to previous time, expresses obligation, therefore discourse irrealis. backgr’d
Table 6.7 provides a comparison of the foreground and background devices used in the MSK and SAJ texts. This shows that apart from how tense/aspect is used, MSK and SAJ have similar ways of distinguishing background from foreground information.

In MSK the default tense for the narrative is the simple past and in SAJ this is the present tense. The main consequence of this is that the past and present tenses cannot be used the same way in each text. In MSK, past tense is the primary tense for expressing main line foreground events, but it can also be used to express background events, as in MSK 1-9. Present tense is used as a highlighting device in MSK 32, 947, as illustrated in (6.7a-b).
Table 6.7: Foreground and background devices compared for MSK and SAJ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Māhi siāh=e kučulu</th>
<th>Sāšā va asb=e jāduyi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Narrative event line in simple past tense - mainly expresses foreground information.</td>
<td>Narrative event line in present tense - mainly expresses foreground information.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expression of background information is main function but can also express foreground information, e.g. 1018-1021.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past perfect represents events completed in past time - always expresses background.</td>
<td>Past perfect represents events completed in past time - always expresses background.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present perfect represents inferred information – always used in a background context.</td>
<td>Present perfect represents inferred information – always used in a background context.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present tense used as a highlighter in 32, 947 (rhetorical question) – all background</td>
<td>Past tense only represents background in 1-6, 38, 133-135, 194.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auxiliary dāstą ‘have’: 946 used with past continuous to add vividness to the narrative</td>
<td>Auxiliary dāstå ‘have’: 61, 168 used with present tense to add vividness to the narrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repetition: 117, 434, 1072 Used as a plot-building device in speech encoding, i.e. follow plot-building speech with S1: N or Ø.</td>
<td>Repetition: 161 In SAJ the status of speeches is indicated in the speech orienter clause. Also 161 encodes S2: N.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stative verbs: occur primarily in background but can occur in foreground, e.g. didan ‘to see.’</td>
<td>Stative verbs: occur primarily in background but can occur in foreground, e.g. didan ‘to see.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activity verbs: occur primarily in foreground but can occur in background, e.g. habitual events.</td>
<td>Activity verbs: occur primarily in foreground but can occur in background, e.g. habitual events.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement verbs: can occur in foreground, e.g. 276, and background, e.g. 117.</td>
<td>Achievement verbs: occurred only in foreground, e.g. 73, 310.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accomplishment verbs: can occur in foreground, e.g. 314, and background, e.g. 376.</td>
<td>Accomplishment verbs: can occur in foreground, e.g. 23, 39, 64, 67, 136, and background, e.g. 197, 275, 268.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Temporal PoDs: can introduce foreground, e.g. 125, or background, e.g. 117.

Locative PoDs: only introduce background, e.g. 375, 563.

Explanation: past perfect, past, subordination.

Evaluation: subjunctive, present perfect (inferred evidence).

Discourse irrealis: negation, subjunctive.

Performative: rhetorical question, second person subject agreement, subjunctive, present tense

Temporal PoDs: can introduce foreground, e.g. 12, or background, e.g. 8.

Locative PoDs: only introduce background, e.g. 7.

Explanation: past perfect, past habitual.

Evaluation: present perfect (inferred evidence).

Discourse irrealis: negation, subjunctive.

Performative: none.

These are all actually comments from the author to the audience and come under the performative background category. In SAJ, on the other hand, present tense is used to represent main line foreground events from SAJ 12 onwards, (6.32), and past tense is only used to represent background. Therefore present tense cannot be used in SAJ as a highlighting device. Instead the auxiliary dāštān ‘to have’ is used for this purpose, as illustrated in (6.36c). The auxiliary dāštān is also used as a highlighting device in the MSK text, but with the past tense instead. This is illustrated in (6.7c).

Apart from these differences the functions of the other tense/aspects in both MSK and SAJ are pretty much as illustrated in Figure 6.1. The only other difference is that, whereas MSK uses the past continuous to express both habitual (background) and simultaneous (foreground) events, SAJ uses past continuous to express habitual (background) events and past habitual to express simultaneous (foreground) events.

MSK uses the device of repetition differently to SAJ. In MSK 117 (6.13b), MSK 434 (6.17) and MSK 1072 repetition of a previous event is used to indicate that the preceding speech is plot-building. This device makes the subject of the clause following the speech the same as the subject in the speech orienter clause, i.e. the goft ‘he said’ clause that precedes the speech. But SAJ has a different strategy for indicating the status of speeches, which is not discussed here. SAJ 161 repeats SAJ 146 which both have barādarhā ‘brothers’ as subject. However, the speech orienter clause which immediately precedes SAJ 161 has sāšā ‘Sasha’ as subject.

Stative and activity verbs have the same distribution and function in MSK and SAJ. Achievement verbs can occur in both foreground and background
in MSK, but are only observed in the foreground in SAJ. Accomplishment verbs can occur in the foreground and background in both MSK and SAJ.

In both MSK and SAJ temporal points of departure can introduce either foreground or background information and locative points of departure only introduce background. For the remaining categories of background of explanation, evaluation, discourse irrealis and performative, the linguistic expression of these categories is almost identical for MSK and SAJ. One difference is that in SAJ the past habitual can be used for explanation, as illustrated in (6.33b). There are no examples of performative grounding in the SAJ text.

6.2 Represented Speech

Direct speech is where the actual words of the speaker are reported and indirect speech is where this is not the case. However, in Persian all speech reported with goftan ‘to say’ in the past is quoted in the same tense in which it was originally stated. Thus for speech reporting in the past the only way to tell if it is direct or indirect is if it affects the personal reference. For example, in (6.37) the reported speech is direct if the pronominal reference in the speech clause is coreferential with the pronominal reference in the quote clause, as the reference in the quote clause is in the first person and the reference in the speech clause is in the third person.

(6.37) goft (ke) mi-ā-(y)am
say.PAST-3sg (CLM) IPFV-come.PRES-1sg
‘Hei said, “I am coming.”’

In (6.38), on the other hand, the pronominal reference in both the speech clause and the quote clause is in the third person. Here coreferentiality of the pronominal reference between the speech clause and the quote clause can only be interpreted as indirect reporting. Noncoreferentiality would be open to either a direct or indirect interpretation.

(6.38) goft (ke) mi-ā-(y)ad
say.PAST-3sg (CLM) IPFV-come.PRES-3sg
‘Hei said that he was coming.’ / ‘Hei said, “Hej is coming.”’

6.2.1 Direct/Indirect Speech Marked with ke

For the purpose of this study, we assumed that all reported speech in both the spoken and written Persian texts was direct unless indicated as indirect, i.e. that direct is the default interpretation. The speech occurs as a complement to the speech verb, which is most commonly goftan ‘to say’, and follows the speech verb. However, the occurrence of ke as a clause linkage marker to the quote is optional in both direct and indirect speech. We found its use was much greater in our spoken texts than in our written texts.
### Table 6.8: Highlighted speeches from Sāšā va asb=e jāduyi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pre-quote</th>
<th>ke</th>
<th>quote</th>
<th>comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(12) yek ruz pir=e mard be pesarhā=(y)as miguyad One day the old man says to his sons,</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>bāyad beravid, nowbati bexābid tu=(y)e mazrā=e tā in heyvān=rā begirid, čun in heyvān miāyad va mazrā=e=rā xarāb mikonad. “You must go and sleep in turn in the field so that you catch this animal, because this animal comes and ruins the field.”</td>
<td>CONSEQUENCE: The brothers set out to catch the animal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(84) miguyad It (the horse) says,</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>xob marā ʿāzād nakon, ammā agar ʿāzādam nakoni be dardat nemixoram. nemitavānī az man estefāde koni, ammā agar velam koni beravam, har vaqt marā lāzem dāšti yā kāram dāšti biā be jangal, se bār sut bezan. begu ey asb=e noqretalāyi, qeybgu=(y)e nahānī, beist dar moqābel=e man, hamčun gol=i dar ēmān. man sari miāyam. “Fine, don’t free me. But if you don’t free me I won’t be of any use to you. You won’t be able to use me. But if you let me go, any time you need me or have work for me, come to the forest and whistle three times. Say, “Oh silvery and golden horse, diviner of mysteries, stand in front of me just like a flower in a meadow.” I will come quickly.”</td>
<td>CONSEQUENCE: Sasha makes an agreement with the horse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(128) be u mixandand, va miguyand They (the brothers) laugh at him (Sasha), and say,</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>to doruq miguyi. “You’re telling lies!”</td>
<td>CONSEQUENCE: Sasha demonstrates he is not lying.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(257) doxtar=e pādešāh čand ruz tu=(y)e šahr e:lām mikonad … the king’s daughter announces in the city,</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>har ke angoštar=e marā bar dāšte, biyād angoštar=e marā bedahad. va beguyad kist. “Whoever has taken my ring should come, give my ring back and say who he is.”</td>
<td>CONSEQUENCE: Sasha takes the ring back and reveals who he is.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the spoken text Sāšā va ash=e jāduyi ‘Sasha and the Magic Horse’ there are 42 speeches. All are direct except for one. Out of these speeches only four of the direct speeches are marked with ke. These are charted in Table 6.8. However, each of the marked speeches are important to the development of the story and have a significant consequence. In the first speech marked with ke (13) the old man tells his sons to go and catch the animal that has been ruining the field. The consequence of this speech is that each of his three sons go out to try and catch the animal. Finally, the youngest son, Sasha, who is the hero of the story, captures the animal and discovers it is a magic talking horse. The second speech marked by ke (84) is where the horse offers Sasha a deal if he agrees to let him go. The consequence of this speech is that Sasha agrees to the horse’s offer and goes home. But when he tells his brothers he caught the animal and found it was a beautiful horse in (128) they laugh at him and call him a liar. This accusation is marked with ke, which indicates it is significant. At this point the princess enters the story and announces that anyone who can jump into her room in the palace on a horse and take her ring she will marry. This gives Sasha the opportunity to demonstrate he is not lying about the horse. He calls up the horse and does what the princess has asked for and rides off. After this the princess makes her second announcement (257) – which this time is marked with ke – and Sasha eventually comes to her and reveals who he is. We would therefore maintain that the use of ke with direct speeches in this story is not arbitrary but instead is used to indicate the significance of the marked speeches.

In the spoken text Dabir=e arabi=(y)e man (DAM) ‘My Arabic Teacher’ there were twelve reported speeches. This is charted in Table 6.9. ke was used before seven of the twelve speeches. The pattern observed suggested strongly that the author is using ke to indicate the speeches that she considers highly important to the course of events. For example, the first two speeches are not marked with ke. This is the initial accusation by the teacher and the denial by the author. But the third speech is the precursor to the author striking the teacher and is the climax of the initial exchange between the teacher and the author. This speech is marked by ke. The speeches DAM 68, 75 and 84 are all deemed important and are marked by ke. This starts with the author’s accusation to the headmaster where she uses the polite form išān ‘she’ to refer to the teacher. Then the teacher’s accusation to the headmaster, and she uses the derogatory in ‘this one’ to refer to the author. Finally, the climax of this exchange results in the author being expelled from school. The speeches DAM 88 and 102 are reflections by the author and are not marked by ke. They could be understood as either direct or indirect speech. Speech DAM 111 is marked by ke. The author is highly indignant that she should apologize to the teacher when she thinks she did not do anything wrong in the first place. Speech DAM 121 is the teacher’s instruction for the author to sit in her place after returning to school. This is not marked with ke and is
not deemed important by the author. However, speech DAM 146 is the author’s ‘final reckoning’ with her Arabic teacher and is marked with *ke*.

Table 6.9: Speeches from *Dabir-e arabi=(y)e man*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-quote</th>
<th><em>(ke)</em></th>
<th>Quote</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>(36) va bā xašm va asabāniat=e xeyli zīād be taraf=e man āmad va goft.</em></td>
<td>to dast az in kārhā=(y)at bar nemidārī, hālā az kelās miandāzam=at birun. “You won’t desist from this kind of thing! Now I am throwing you out of the class.”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With great indignation and anger she approached me and said,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>initial accusation of teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(39) man morattab be moallem=emān migoftam</em></td>
<td>xānom, man nakardam. man hic kār=i nakardam. man säket nešastam va montazeram ke šomā dars=e arabi=tān=rā bedahid. “Ma’am, I didn’t do it! I didn’t do anything. I was sitting quietly and waiting for you to give your Arabic lesson.”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I kept telling our teacher,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>counters accusation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(49) va be dabir=e arabi=mān migoftam</em></td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>agar yek bār=e digar be man towhin bokonid, man ham midānām bā to ē kār bokonam. “If you berate me one more time, I know what I’m going to do to you!”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I said to my Arabic teacher,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>climax of exchange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(68) šorū kardam be gerye kardan va goftam</em></td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>išān be man towhin kard tu=(y)e surat=e man zad va be man fohš midahad. “She [išān] reprimanded me, hit me on the face and is insulting me.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I started to cry, and said</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>accusation of the author addressed to headmaster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(75) va goft</em></td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>in hamiše tu=(y)e kēlās šeytuni mikonad, hamiše kēlās=rā beham mirizad, va emruz ham in kār=rā karde. va hattā be man towhin karde va tu=(y)e surat=e man zade. “This one [in] always makes trouble in class, and always stirs things up, and today she also did this, and she even insulted me and hit me in the face.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>She said,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>accusation of teacher addressed to headmaster</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(84) تا این که من گفتند تا هنگامی که گفتند به من،

(88) من هم کنیم از مامان=ام خدیل می‌ترسیدم و گفتند

(102) و من گفتند من گفتند،

(111) و گفتند گفتند

(121) و گفت گفت

(146) و باید گفت و گفت

(174) و وقتی که قبولی=م=راگرفتم، راکت پیش=ا ش و گفتام

When I got our results, I went to see her and in tears said,
to hurt me. On the contrary, I wanted to show you that I can be a good student.”

In the written text *Kāseb bad o birāh goft* ‘The Tradesman’s Curse’ *ke* is used to mark a direct speech near the end of the story where the Tradesman says his curse on the ruffians of Tabriz. This is the climax of the story and is marked as such by the use of *ke*. In the remainder of the written texts *ke* is not used with any of the direct speeches. On this evidence the conclusion to be drawn is that *ke* is used primarily in spoken texts to give prominence to speeches that the author considers are important to the story. But in written texts *ke* is not widely used in this way.

### 6.2.2 Patterns of Speech Encoding

In this section we analyze the patterns of speech encoding observed in the *Māhi siāh= e kučulu* and the *Sāšā va asb= e jāduyi* texts. MSK is a written text and SAJ is a spoken text. The analysis reveals that the authors of these texts both use the conversations in the texts for development of the discourse, but each has a different methodology.

First, we need to define some terms used in conversation analysis. The term SPEECH ORIENTER refers to the clause that identifies the reported speaker and/or addressee. It shows who is speaking to whom. In a language with verb-object order the speech orienter will usually occur before the reported speech and in a language with object-verb order the speech orienter will usually occur after the reported speech. Persian has default object-verb order but the speech orienter occurs before the reported speech.

A CLOSED CONVERSATION has only two speakers (or groups). Each new speaker was the previous addressee, and vice versa. When an episode in a discourse contains more than one conversation between participants, each conversation is called a ROUND. A TIGHT-KNIT CONVERSATION is a closed one in which each successive speaker takes up the same topic as that of the previous speech and develops the conversation from the point at which the last speaker left off. In this case the conversational switch between speaker and addressee is the least marked. However, if one speaker digresses from the topic of the previous speaker, the conversation is no longer tight-knit and such a digression may be marked in some way. For example, a counter to what has just been said will usually be marked.

With regard to keeping track of the speaker-addressee conversational exchanges we use the following coding. Subject tracking: S1: same subject as previous clause; S2: subject was addressee of previous clause; S3: subject was other non-subject of previous clause; S4: subject is none of the above; N = noun, Ø: zero or verb agreement suffix only. The analysis of speech
encoding in the MSK text is given in Table 6.10 and the analysis of speech encoding in the SAJ text is given in Table 6.11.

Table 6.10: Patterns of speech encoding in Māhi siāh=e kučulu

| Participants in MSK conversations: | aḥu ‘gazelle’ [A], baččehā va navehā=(y)aš ‘children and g’children of old fish’ [B&N], dustān=aš ‘her friends’ [D], kafče māhi ‘skimmer fish’ [KM], mādar ‘mother’ [M], māh ‘moon’ [MH], māhi siāh kučulu ‘little black fish’ [MSK], māhi=(y)e bozorg hamsāye ‘big fish neighbour’ [MBH], māhi=(y)e daryā ‘seafish’ [MD], māhi=(y)e pir ‘old fish’ [MP], māhi=(y)e riz ‘tiny fish’ [MR], māhixār ‘heron’ [MX], mārmulak ‘lizard’ [MK], morq=e saqqā ‘pelican’ [MS], qurbāqe ‘frog’ [Q], xarčang ‘crab’ [X]. |

Within the MSK text the following dialogue patterns are observed:

1. Conversations which end followed by an S1 N:

   [MSK + M] 35-118 > 117 S1: N (MSK) [+ recap: ‘When MSK had finished talking …’] [Episode conclusion]
   Content: MSK tells mother she wants to go and see where the end of the stream leads to.

   [X + MSK] 391-420 > 434 S1: N (X) [+ recap: ‘The crab having said this …’] [Episode conclusion] Also MSK makes a final comment to crab 439-441 and this is followed by an N (S1) in 442
   Content: The crab is dangerous to MSK and wants to catch her and eat her.

   [MSK + MK] 461-539 > 542 S1: N (MK). The lizard goes to get the dagger. [Episode conclusion] Also 504 S1: N (MK) and 537 S1: N (MK) signal interruptions in the conversational exchange between MSK and lizard
   Content: The lizard warns MSK about the pelican and gives her a dagger to cut herself out of the pelican’s pouch.

   [MSK + self] 545 > 554 S1: N (MSK) MSK continues her journey. [Episode conclusion]
   Content: MSK wonders about the stream flowing into the sea, the danger of the heron, the swordfish and the pelican.

   [MSK + MH] 656-691 > 694 S1: N (MH) The moon is covered by a cloud. [Episode conclusion]
   Content: MSK tells the moon she is off to see the world.

   [MSK + MR] 1028-1066 > 1072 S1: N (MSK) [+ recap: ‘MSK said this …’] [Episode conclusion]
   Content: This is the second time MSK is caught by the heron when she is swallowed down into its stomach. She tells a cowardly tiny fish to be brave and says she will kill the heron.

2. Conversations which end followed by an S1 Ø:

   [MSK + MR] 827-827 > 829 S1: Ø (MSK) MSK takes out her dagger. [Episode continuation]
   Content: MSK and the tiny fish are inside the pelican’s pouch. MSK scolds the tiny fish for their cowardliness and offers them a plan for escape.
[MSK + MX] 952-996 > 1000 S1: Ø (MX) MSK jumps out of the heron’s bill.
[Episode continuation]
Content: MSK plots to trick the heron into opening her bill
This ‘conversation’ between MSK and the heron is cast mainly in terms of each one thinking
986: N (H): signals an interruption to the heron’s thinking: ‘The heron was just thinking this when she saw …’ [Episode continuation]

(3) Conversations which end followed by an S1+ Ø:

[MR + MSK] 708-717 > 722 S1+: Ø (MSK+MR) [Episode continuation]
Content: MSK wakes up and is greeted by the tiny fish but they do not realise they are inside the pelican’s pouch until they try to move on.

(4) Conversations which end followed by an S2 N:

[M + all +MSK] 228-257 > 259 S2: N (MSK)
Content: Counter propositions from mother and neighbours to MSK’s plan to go to the end of the stream.

[MSK + D] 263-266 > 273 S2: N (MSK)
MSK’s friends treat her with respect. MSK asks them to remember her.

[Q + MSK] 351-367 > 370 S2: N (Q)
Content: Counter propositions from the frog to MSK’s plan to see the outside world.

[MSK + A] 565-567 > 571 S2: N (MSK)
Content: MSK learns the gazelle was shot by a hunter.

[MR + MS] 835-839 > 843 S2: N (MR)
Content: The tiny fish tell pelican they have killed MSK but then pelican swallows them anyway.

[MSK + MD] 883-910 > 919 S2: N (MSK)
Content: The sea fish welcome MSK to the sea.

[MP + B&N] 1095-1102 > 1105 S2: (B&N)
Content: The old fish ends the story to her gr’children.

(5) Conversations which end followed by an S4/INTRO N:

[M + MBH + MSK] 131-201 > 205 S4: N (noise of argument)
Content: Counter propositions from mother and neighbours to MSK’s plan to see the outside world.

[other fish + MBH + M] 207-219 > 224 S4/INTRO: N (D)
Content: Counter propositions from all to MSK’s plan to see the outside world.

[KM+ MSK] 283-345 > 347 INTRO N (Q)
Content: Counter propositions from the skimmer fish to MSK’s plan to see the outside world.

[MR+ MSK] 587-617 > 620 S4: N (rumour)
Content: The tiny fish warn MSK about the pelican and try to dissuade her from her adventure.

[MSK + MR] 731-740 > 743 INTRO N (sound of pelican)
Content: The tiny fish blame MSK for them being caught in the pelican’s pouch.
The tiny fish beg the pelican to let them go but he refuses.

The tiny fish blame MSK for their predicament and make a deal with pelican to kill MSK for their freedom.

The speech coding patterns observed in MSK are as follows:

a) If the conversation is plot-building follow it with S1 (N or Ø). These are conversations in groups (1), (2) and (3) in Table 6.10. More specifically, if a conversation is followed by S1 (N), as in (1), this indicates the conclusion of an episode and the beginning of a new episode in the plot. If a conversation is followed by S1 (Ø), as in (2) and (3), this indicates a (dramatic) continuation of events.

b) If the conversation is negative towards the protagonist and/or her venture follow it with S4/INTRO (N). These are conversations in group (5) in Table 6.10.

c) If the conversation is not led by the protagonist and is negative towards the protagonist and/or her venture then the conversation can be followed by S2 (N). These are conversations in group (4) in Table 6.10, e.g.

[M + all +MSK] 228-257 > 259 S2: N (MSK)

From this analysis we see that the function of the conversations in the discourse context is marked after the conversation in the clause that follows the conversation. Some examples of clauses that follow plot-building speeches are given in (6.39). In each case, the subject of this clause is the same as the subject of the immediately preceding speech orienter clause.

(6.39) Clauses which follow plot-building speeches:

a. MSK 117: S1: N (MSK) conclusion of events
   vaqtı harf-hā=(y)e māhi kučulu tamām šod
   when word-PL=EZ fish little finish become.PAST.3sg
   ‘When the little fish had finished talking, …’

b. MSK 542-543: S1: N (MK) conclusion of events
   mārmulak raft tu=(y)e šekāf=e sang
   lizard go.PAST.3sg into=EZ crack=EZ rock
va māhi siāh nācār rāh oftād
and fish black compelled way fall.PAST.3sg
‘The lizard went into the crack in the rock and the fish was obliged to go on her way.’

c. MSK 1000-1001: S1: Ø (MX) continuation of events
ammā na-tavānest
but NEG-able.PAST.3sg
harf=aš=rā tamām kon-ad
word=PC.3sg=OM finish SBJN.do.PRES-3sg
‘But she (heron) couldn’t finish what she was saying; …’

Some examples of clauses that follow countering speeches are given in (6.40). The conversation that precedes (6.40a) is MSK 207-219 and is between MSK’s neighbours and her mother. The neighbours accuse her of being a bad mother for allowing MSK to have these ideas of going to the end of the stream. So this conversation is counter to the plot in the MSK text. Notice that the subject of the first clause in (6.40a) is actually Ø and the reference is to ‘the neighbours.’ Should (6.40a) therefore be treated as an instance of S1 Ø and be in group (2) in Table 6.10? No, because māhihā tā āmadand māhi siāh=e kučulu=rā begirand ‘Just as they were about to come and grab the little black fish’ is subordinate to the main clause which follows. This main clause has dustān=aš ‘her friends’ as subject and is S4/INTRO.

(6.40b) is more straightforward. čow ‘rumour’ is clearly a new subject of the main clause and this follows the conversation in MSK 587-617 between māhihā=(y)e riz ‘tiny fish’ and MSK. The tiny fish warn MSK about the dangerous pelican and try to dissuade her from proceeding. This is counter to the story plot.

(6.40) Clauses which follow countering speeches:

a. MSK 222-225: 224 S4/INTRO: N (D)
māhi-hā tā āmad-and
fish-PL as.soon.as come.AUX.PAST-3pl
māhi siāh=e kučulu=rā be-gir-and
fish black=EZ little=OM SBJN-take.PRES-3pl
dust-ān=aš u=rā dowre kard-and
friend-PL=PC.3sg PN.3sg=OM away do.PAST-3pl
va az ma:reke birun=aš bord-and
and from battlefield outside=PC.3sg take.PAST-3pl
‘Just as the fish were going to grab the little black fish, her friends surrounded her and carried her out of the danger area.’
b. MSK 620-624: 620 S4: N (rumour)

be zudi miān=e māhi-hā čow oftād
 to quickness middle=EZ fish-PL rumour fall.PAST.3sg
ke māhi siāh=e kučulu=i az rāh-hā=(y)e dur
CLM fish black=EZ little=IND from way-PL=EZ far
āmad-e Ø va mi-xāh-ad
come-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3sg and IPFV-want.AUX.PRES-3sg
be-rav-ad āxar=e rudxāne=rā peydā
SBJN-go.PRES-3sg end=EZ river=OM find
kon-ad SBJN.do.PRES-3sg

‘The rumour rapidly spread amongst the fish that a little black fish had come from a long way away and wanted to go and find the end of the river …’

Thus we see that the author of MSK has an observable strategy for indicating which speeches are plot-building and which speeches are counter to the story line.

We will now examine the SAJ text to see how the author of this text indicates the status of conversations within the text. The speech orienter clauses are extracted from the SAJ text and presented in Table 6.11. The speech orienter clauses are grouped in conversational exchanges with).

Table 6.11: Speech orienter clauses in Sāšā va asb=e jāduyi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initiator</th>
<th>Respondent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td><em>pir=e mard ... miguyad ke</em> (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Ø miguyand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-74</td>
<td><em>asb ... miguyad</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>Ø miguyad ke (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>Ø miguyand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>Ø miguyand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>Ø miguyand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128-129</td>
<td>Ø ... miguyand ke (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137</td>
<td>doxtar=e pādešāh miguyad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149</td>
<td>sāšā miguyad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td>sāšā miguyad (1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the MSK text the status of the speeches is indicated by the participant coding in the clause immediately following the speech. However, in the SAJ text the status of the speeches is indicated in the speech orienter clause. The speech orienter clauses are displayed in Table 6.11. These can refer to either the initiator (the one who initiates the conversation) or the respondent (the one who responds to the initiator). The numbers (1)-(5) in Table 6.11 correspond to the conversational categories given in Table 6.12.
Participants in SAJ conversations: \textit{asb} ‘horse’ [A], \textit{barādarhā} ‘brothers’ [B], \textit{doxtar= e pādeśāh} ‘princess’ [DP], \textit{pir= e mard} ‘old man’ [PM], \textit{sāšā} ‘Sasha’ [S].

(1) Conversations in which only the final speech is marked with N subject:

70 – 99 [A + S] > 99: N (S)
Outcome: \textit{Sasha agrees to the horse’s proposal and lets him go}
Note: this conversation also has a counter in 80.

149 – 158 [S + B] > 158: N (S)
Outcome: \textit{Sasha lets his brothers go to the palace and he goes to the forest.}

221 – 253 [B + S] > 255: N (S)
Outcome: \textit{Sasha sits in his place and speaks no more.}

287 – 295 [DP + S] > 295: N (S)
Outcome: \textit{Sasha reveals to the princess that it was him on the magic horse and goes and calls his horse.}

In these conversations the final speaker abides by the propositional outcome of the conversation. This is typically the respondent, but in 149-158 it is the initiator, Sasha. These conversations are plot-building.

(2) Conversations in which all of the speeches are marked with N subject:

170 – 189 [A and S] > 191 S goes in A’s ear and comes out dressed in fine clothes
Content: \textit{Sasha asks the horse to help him go to the palace and see the princess.}

276 – 282 [DP and S] > 285 S unbinds his hand
Content: \textit{The princess asks Sasha what happened to his hand.}

In these conversations both initiator and respondent collaborate to achieve the propositions established in the conversation. These conversations are plot-building.

(3) Conversations in which one nonfinal speech is marked with N subject:

74 – 99 [A + S] > 80 has N (S) and this marks a countering proposition
Content: \textit{The horse asks Sasha to let it go and Sasha refuses.}

104 – 129 [B + S] > 115 has N (S) and this marks a countering proposition
Content: \textit{The brothers ask Sasha if he caught the animal. He tells them it was a very beautiful horse and he let it go. They do not believe him.}

In these conversations the nonfinal speech marked with N subject is a counter to what has preceded. These conversations are counter to the plot-building.

(4) Speeches where initiator and respondent are both Ø marked.

30-32 [first brother and family]: Scene setting conversation.
216 [S]: Sasha releases the horse after visiting the palace.
300 [S]: Sasha calls for the magic horse so that he can show the princess that he is the hero of the story.
These conversations do not develop the story line. 30-32 is in the opening of the story and 300 is in the closure. 216 closes the scene after Sasha has been to the palace. These conversations are not plot-building.

(5) Important speeches (pronouncements) are marked with \textit{ke}.

See Table 6.8 in §6.2.1

[PM] 12: This speech is the setting proposition for the whole story
Content: \textit{An animal comes in the night and eats the crops and it must be caught}
[Not part of a closed conversation.]

[A] 84: This speech is the proposition \textit{asb `horse`} makes to Sasha
Content: \textit{The horse offers to do anything for Sasha if he frees him}
[Part of a closed conversation.]

[B] 129: This is the proposition \textit{barādarhā `brothers`} make to Sasha which Sasha eventually disproves
Content: \textit{The brothers says Sasha is lying}
[At the end of a closed conversation.]

[DP] 257: This is the proposition \textit{doxtar=e pādešāh `princess`} makes to the one who took her ring (and kissed her)
Content: \textit{The princes says whoever has taken her ring must bring it back to her}
[Not part of a closed conversation.]

Thus we see that how the status of conversations is marked in the SAJ text is quite different to how this is accomplished in the MSK text. In MSK, if the conversation is plot-building then the clause that follows the conversation must have S1 (N or Ø). If the conversation is negative towards the plot and/or the protagonist then either S4 or S2 is marked in the clause following the conversation. However, in SAJ the status of conversations as either plot-building or counter-plot is indicated in the speech orienter clause instead. If only the final speech or all the speeches in a conversational round are marked with N subject then the conversation is plot-building. If one nonfinal speech is marked with N subject, then this marks a counter-plot speech. In SAJ speeches can also be marked as important by \textit{ke}. This device is not used in the MSK text.

In summary, the differences between the spoken and written Persian discourse register with respect to reported conversations are given in Table 6.13.
Table 6.13: Speech Encoding in Spoken and Written Persian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spoken discourse</th>
<th>Written discourse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Conclusion of a conversation:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Conclusion of a conversation:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In spoken text the end of a closed conversation is indicated by $S(\text{subject})N$ in the orienter clause of the final speech in the conversation. $S\ N$ indicates a break or a moving on in the plot.</td>
<td>In written text the end of a closed conversation is indicated by $S1\ N$ in the clause following the final speech. $S1\ N$ indicates a break or a moving on in the plot.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Continuation of events:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Continuation of events:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In spoken text, if $S1\ \emptyset$ occurs in the orienter clause of the final speech, then this indicates the situation continues. (There is only one of these in the SAJ text and it is an unexpected continuation.)</td>
<td>In written text, if $S1\ \emptyset$ occurs in the clause following the final speech of a conversation, then this indicates the situation continues. (This is usually a dramatic continuation in the MSK text.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Countering propositions:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Countering propositions:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In spoken text, speeches which are counter to the plot have $S(\text{subject})N$ in the speech orienter clause. This can be indicated in the middle of a closed conversation.</td>
<td>In written text, conversations which have $S2\ N$ or $S4\ N$ in the clause following the final speech are counter propositions to the plot.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Speech encoding in spoken discourse has these additional components:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Written discourse does not use $ke$ to mark important speeches.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If both conversation initiator and respondent are marked with $S(\text{subject})\emptyset$ then this indicates the conversation is not plot-building.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Important speeches have $ke$ preceding.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.3 Devices Marking Climax in Narrative text

A range of linguistic devices can be used to indicate climactic events in a narrative text. These include connectives, such as $va$ ‘and’, $ke$ ‘CLM’, $\text{vaqti}$ ‘when’, and $\text{ham}$ ‘also’, described in §6.3.1, syntactic constructions, such as a presentational construction, described in §6.3.2, lexical forms, described in §6.3.3, and the historical present tense, described in §6.3.4.

6.3.1 Discourse Connectives

As described in §5.3.1.1, in a number of texts the authors have used the connective $va$ ‘and’ to indicate climactic events. This is illustrated for $Kāseb\ bad\ o\ birāh\ goft$ (KBG) ‘The Tradesman’s Curse’ in (5.132). In this instance three clauses in sequence are conjoined with $va$ ‘and.’ It is the climax of the
story where the tradesman from Kashan pronounces his curse upon the ruffians in Tabriz. (5.133) illustrates a similar usage in Jadval (J) ‘The Crossword Puzzle.’ In this case five clauses in sequence are conjoined with va ‘and.’ This sequence of clauses describe the climactic events where the crossword puzzle solver realizes he cannot solve the puzzle. Similarly, in a formal version of Hamrāh (H-F) ‘Companions (Formal)’ the author uses va ‘and’ in sequences of same subject clauses to dramatize certain passages in the story. This is illustrated with the passages in (5.134)-(5.138). Connecting many clauses with va ‘and’ seems to be a method used by a number of authors for dramatising the narrative for climactic events or other important events in the story.

Another method used by some of the authors in the text corpus to indicate dramatic or climactic events is to mark the complement of speech verbs with ke. We illustrated in Table 6.8 how the four direct speeches in Sāšā va asb-e jāduyi (SAJ) ‘Sasha and the Magic Horse’ marked with ke are all important to the development of the story and have a significant consequence. The final speech marked with ke is where the princess requests that whoever took her ring should return and give it back to her, as shown in (6.41). This speech then initiates the climactic events where Sasha comes to the princess’s party and is revealed to be the one who took the ring.

(6.41) SAJ 257-262: final speech marked with ke

doxtar=e pādešāh čand ruz tu=(y)e šahr e:lām daughter=EZ king several day in=EZ city announce mi-kon-ad ke har ke angoštar=e marā IPFV-do.PRES-3sg CLM whoever that ring PN.1sg.OM bar dāšt=e Ø bi-ā-(y)ad PREV take-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3sg SBJN-come.PRES-3sg angoštar=e marā be-dah-ad ring=EZ PN.1sg.OM SBJN-give.PRES-3sg va be-gu-(y)ad ki=st and SBJN-say.PRES-3sg who=COP.PRES.3sg

‘For several days the king’s daughter announces in the city:
“Whoever has taken my ring should come, give my ring back to me and say who he is.”’

In Modir=e madrese (MM) ‘The School Headmaster’ there is a speech that precedes the climax as illustrated in (6.42). This is the angry response of the nāzem ‘superintendent’ when the headmaster tells him he might have injured one of the children the way he was treating them. Here the section with the speech verb is preceded by ke. The climax follows in MM 92-120, which is a nonconfrontational response where ego, the headmaster, calms the superintendent down and persuades him to break his canes.
(6.42) MM 86-90: pre-climax speech marked with ke

\[ \text{ke } \text{yek martabe barrāq šod} \]
\[ \text{CLM IND suddenly flaring up become.PAST.3sg} \]
\[ \text{age yek ruz jelow=šun=o na-gir-id} \]
\[ \text{if one day front=PC.3pl=OM NEG.take.PRES-2pl} \]
\[ \text{savār=etun mi-š-and āqā} \]
\[ \text{mounted=PC.2sg IPFV-become.PRES-3pl sir} \]
\[ \text{ne-mi-dun-id če qāter-hā=(y)e čamuš=i} \]
\[ \text{NEG-IPFV-know.PRES-2pl what mule-PL=EZ obstinate=IND} \]
\[ \text{šod-e and āqā} \]
\[ \text{become-PSPT be. AUX.PRES.3pl sir} \]

‘He flared up all at once (and said): “If you don't stop them they will walk all over you, sir! You don't know what kind of obstinate mules they've become, sir.”’

In the written text Kāseb bad o birāh goft (KBG) ‘The Tradesman’s Curse’ ke is used to mark a direct speech near the end of the story where the Tradesman says his curse on the ruffians of Tabriz. This is the climax of the story and is marked as such by the use of ke. In the remainder of the written texts ke is not used with any of the direct speeches. On this evidence the conclusion to be drawn is that ke is used primarily in spoken texts to give prominence to speeches that the author considers are important to the story. But in written texts ke is not widely used in this way.

From the beginning of the SAJ text, temporal setting expressions typically have lexical content, e.g. har šab ‘every night’ (SAJ 8), yek ruz ‘one day’ (SAJ 12), šab=e avval ‘first night’ (SAJ 18), nesfehā=(y)e šab ‘midnight’ (SAJ 59), az fardā ‘from next day’ (SAJ 132), and čand ruz migozarad ‘a few days passed’ (SAJ 136). However, when something dramatic or climactic is about to happen this is introduced by vaqti ‘when.’ (6.43a) introduces Sasha’s first encounter with the magic horse, (6.43b) precedes Sasha jumping up to the princess on his magic horse and taking her ring, (6.43c) precedes the beginning of the climactic events at the princess’s party, (6.43d) precedes the princess meeting Sasha, and (6.43e) Sasha revealing who he is.

(6.43) a. SAJ 64: introduces a dramatic event

\[ \text{vaqti ke heyvān mi-res-ad jelow-tar, …} \]
\[ \text{time CLM animal IPFV-arrive.PRES-3sg front-CMPR} \]

‘When the animal draws closer, …’

b. SAJ 197: introduces dramatic event

\[ \text{vaqti ke nazdik=e panjere=(y)e otāq=e} \]
\[ \text{when CLM near=EZ window=EZ room=EZ} \]
doxtar=e pādešāh mi-res-ad, …
daughter=EZ king IPFV-arrive.PRES-3sg
‘When he arrives near the window of the room of the king’s daughter, …’
c. SAJ 272: introduces a climactic event
vaqti ke mi-rav-and ānjā, …
when CLM IPFV-go.PRES-3pl that.place
‘When they go there, …’
d. SAJ 275: introduces climactic event
vaqti be sāšā mi-res-ad, …
when to Sasha IPFV-arrive.PRES-3sg
‘When she reaches Sasha, …’
e. SAJ 285: introduces a climactic event
vaqti ke sāšā dast=aš=rā
when CLM Sasha hand=PC.3sg=OM
bāz mi-kon-ad, …
open IPFV-do.PRES-3sg
‘When Sasha unbinds his hand, …’

The author of the oral text Dabir=e arabi=(y)e man (DAM) ‘My Arabic Teacher’ uses the additive ham ‘also’ to introduce the dialogues in DAM 46, 64, 72 and 85 which build towards the climax of the story where Ego gets expelled from school. This usage is illustrated in (6.44). The additive ham is also used in the concluding reconciliation between Ego and the teacher. This is given in (6.44h).

(6.44) a. DAM 46-47: dramatic use of ham
man ham čun xeyli ān ruz nārāhat bud-am
PN.1sg also because very that day unhappy be.PAST-1sg
digar howsele=am sar raft
other patience=PC.1sg head go.PAST.3sg
‘Since I was very unhappy that day, I reached the end of my patience.’
b. DAM 52-54: dramatic use of ham
va dabir=e arabi=(y)e mā šoru kard
and teacher=EZ Arabic=EZ PN.1pl start do.INF
bāz ham be man fohš dād-an
again also to PN.1sg insult give-INF
va zad tu=(y)e guš=e man
and hit.PAST.3sg at=EZ ear=EZ PN.1sg
‘Our Arabic teacher began to insult me again, and hit me on the ear.’

c. DAM 57: dramatic use of \textit{ham}

\begin{verbatim}
man \textit{ham} xeyli asabāni šod-am
PN.1sg also very angry become.PAST-1sg
‘I also became very angry’
\end{verbatim}

d. DAM 60: dramatic use of \textit{ham}

\begin{verbatim}
va man \textit{ham} zad-am tu=(y)e guš=e
and PN.1sg also hit.PAST-1sg on=EZ ear=EZ
dabir=e arabī=mān
teacher=EZ Arabic=PC.1pl
‘I hit our Arabic teacher on the ear too.’
\end{verbatim}

e. DAM 64-65: dramatic use of \textit{ham}

\begin{verbatim}
man \textit{ham} bā asabāniat=e ziād raft-am
PN.1sg also with anger=EZ much go.PAST-1sg
be taraf=e daftar=e dabirestān
to direction=EZ office=EZ secondary.school
‘In a great fury I went to the school office.’
\end{verbatim}

f. DAM 72-73: dramatic use of \textit{ham}

\begin{verbatim}
xānom=e moallem \textit{ham} be daftar āmad
madam=EZ teacher also to office come.PAST.3sg
va az man šekāyat kard
and from PN.1sg complaint do.PAST.3sg
‘The teacher also came to the office, and complained about me.’
\end{verbatim}

g. DAM 85-86: dramatic use of \textit{ham}

\begin{verbatim}
man \textit{ham} čun az māmān=am xeyli
PN.1sg also because from mum=PC.1sg very
mi-tarsid-am va mi-goft-am
IPFV-fear.PAST-1sg and IPFV-say.PAST-1sg
‘Since I was very scared of my mother I said …’
\end{verbatim}

h. DAM 184-186: closing use of \textit{ham}

\begin{verbatim}
va ān \textit{ham} az man ozrxāhi kard
and that(one) also from PN.1sg apology do.PAST.3sg
va man \textit{ham} u=rā busid-am
and PN.1sg also PN.3sg=OM kiss.PAST.1sg
va digar beyn=e mā tamām šod
and other between=EZ PN.1pl finish become.PAST.3sg
‘She apologised to me, I kissed her, and our quarrel was over.’
\end{verbatim}
In *Kāseb bad o birāh goft* (KBG) ‘The Tradesman’s Curse’ *ham* ‘also’ is used immediately preceding the climax of the story where the tradesman from Kashan pronounces his curse upon the ruffians in Tabriz. The portion of text where *ham* occurs is illustrated in (5.125) and the climactic cursing is illustrated in (5.132).

Finally, there was one instance of repetitive tail-head linkage in *Māhi siāh=e kučulu* (MSK) ‘The Little Black Fish’ whose function is to indicate a climactic event. The relevant example was given in (6.9) and is reproduced below. MSK 744-746 immediately follows: *nāghaḥān sedā=(y)e qaḥqahe *(y)e tarsnāk=i dar āb pičid ‘suddenly the sound of frightful cackling spread through the water.’ The cackling is revealed to come from *morq=e saqqā ‘pelican.’ The tail-head linkage between *mixandid* in the first clause and *mixandid* in the second clause indicates that this is a climactic event.

(6.9) MSK 744-746: repetitive tail-head linkage

```
in morq=e saqqā bud ke mi-xandid
this pelican be.PAST.3sg CLM IPFV-laugh.PAST.3sg
mi-xandid va mi-goft
IPFV-laugh.PAST.3sg and IPFV-say.PAST.3sg
‘It was the pelican that laughed. It laughed and said.’
```

6.3.2 Syntactic Construction

The author of the MSK text uses presentational constructions not only to set the temporal and locational settings and introduce the main participants at the beginning of the story but also to introduce dramatic or climactic events within the story. For example, one of the main adversaries of MSK is *morq=e saqqā ‘pelican.’* He is introduced with a presentational construction in MSK 744, as shown in (6.9). Further examples of presentational constructions used to introduce dramatic or climactic events in MSK are given in (6.45)-(6.48). (6.45) describes the climax of reaching *daryā ‘sea’*, (6.46) describes the dramatic event of meeting *arremāhi ‘swordfish’*, (6.47) introduces MSK’s speech to trick *parande=(y)e māhixār ‘heron’* (part of the climax), and (6.48) precedes MSK’s success in getting heron to open her bill and let her escape.

(6.45) MSK 866-867: MSK finally reaches the *daryā ‘sea’*

```
ān qadr āb bud ke māhi kučulu
that much water be.PAST.3sg CLM fish little
tu=(y)aš gom šod-e bud
in=PC.3sg lost become-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
‘There was so much water that the little fish became lost in it.’
```
6.46) MSK 873: MSK meets the *arremāhi* ‘swordfish’
yek arre=(y)e do dam jelow dahan=aš
one swordfish=EZ two edge front mouth=PC.3sg
bud
be.PAST.3sg
‘There was a two-edged sword at the front of its mouth!’

6.47) MSK 969-970: MSK tries to outwit *parande=(y)e māhīxār* ‘heron’
in bud ke goft
this be.PAST.3sg CLM say.PAST.3sg
‘That is why she said,’

6.48) MSK 994-996: MSK succeeds in getting *parande=(y)e māhīxār* ‘heron’ to speak and open her bill
in bud ke māhi siāh=rā sedā zad
this be.PAST.3sg CLM fish black=OM sound hit.PAST.3sg
ke be-gu-(y)ad
CLM SBjn-say.PRES-3sg
‘That is why she (heron) called to the black fish to say,’

In the other texts presentational constructions were not used in this way. In the SAJ text, presentational constructions are used at the beginning to set the scene and introduce the participants. However, preceding the final climax of the story the author has (6.49). SAJ 268-269 is a stative expression expressing the state of affairs the brothers find themselves in and their consequent action. It is not a presentational construction as such, but it has the same function.

6.49) SAJ 268-269: introduces the climax
in daf?e digar barādar-hā majbur mi-šaw-and
this time other brother-PL obliged IPFV-become.PRES-3pl
sāšā=rā ham bā xod=ešān be-bar-and
Sasha=OM also with self=PC.3pl SBjn-take.PRES-3pl
‘This time though the brothers have no choice but to take Sasha with them too.’

6.3.3 Lexical Form

In §5.2.1 we showed how in the MSK text the full referential form of *māhi siāh=e kučulu* ‘little black fish’ for the protagonist is used to introduce dramatic developments or a climactic event. Table 5.1 lists the examples. This usage of a full referential form as opposed to a partial or abbreviated referential form was not observed in the remaining texts.
6.3.4 Historical Present Tense

In the MSK text the historical present is used to draw the audience into the situation māhi kučulu finds herself in and (6.7) illustrates the different points in the story where the author does this. The historical present is also used in MSK 1084-1086 in the complements of the perception verb did ‘he saw’ which describe the demise of māhixār ‘heron.’ This is illustrated in (6.50) and is the climax of the story. The historical present therefore adds vividness to this climax.

(6.50) MSK 1084-1086: historical present adds vividness to the climax

nāgahān did
suddenly see.PAST.3sg
māhixār hamintowr pič o tāb mi-xor-ad
heron same.manner turn and twist IPFV-eat.PRES-3sg
va faryād mi-keš-ad
and screaming IPFV-draw.PRES-3sg
‘Suddenly he saw the heron thrashing around and screaming,’

In the SAJ text the historical present is used throughout most of the story, as shown in Table 6.5. Therefore it cannot be used to highlight particular events or the climax of the story. However, the author does use the auxiliary dāštan ‘have’ to highlight the entrance of the magic horse into the scene in SAJ 61 and 168. But she does not use this device in the climax of the story in SAJ 285-286, and neither does she use it in the post-climactic appearance of the magic horse in SAJ 302-303.

6.4 Thematic Continuities/Discontinuities

In §3.4 we saw that narrative texts can be made up of thematic groupings or units. Table 3.1 displays the four thematic dimensions of time, place, action and participants and their properties of continuity and discontinuity. In this section we will examine the thematic groupings found in the Māhi siāh=e kučulu ‘little black fish’ text and how they are marked. This is a written text and the author has indicated the boundaries of thematic groupings with paragraph indentations. These paragraphs are numbered in the interlinearized text in Appendix 1 and there are 187 paragraphs altogether. Table 6.14 displays each paragraph and the dimensional continuities and discontinuities for each paragraph. The symbol ¶ means ‘paragraph.’
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<th>Participants</th>
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<td>tah=e daryā</td>
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<td>yek=i bud yek=i nabud</td>
<td>juybār `stream'</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>general + šabhā <code>at night' xāne </code>house'/home'</td>
<td>habitual [past.cont]</td>
<td>xāne&lt;sub&gt;U&lt;/sub&gt; `house'</td>
<td>MSK &amp; M</td>
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<tr>
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<td>same (general) same</td>
<td>habitual [past.cont]</td>
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<td>čand ruz=i bud `for several days' same</td>
<td>stative specific activity</td>
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<td>nāgahān ‘then’</td>
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* darre ‘valley’  
* juybār ‘stream’  
* baːd ‘then’  
* nāgahān ‘suddenly’  
* [past.cont] activity  
* [past.cont] + activity
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>speech</td>
<td>MSK&lt;sub&gt;A&lt;/sub&gt; to MBR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>181</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>speech</td>
<td>MBR&lt;sub&gt;A&lt;/sub&gt; to MSK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>182</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>speech</td>
<td>MSK&lt;sub&gt;A&lt;/sub&gt; to MBR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>activity</td>
<td>MSK&lt;sub&gt;A&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
</tr>
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<td>[pres.perf]</td>
<td>MSK&lt;sub&gt;A&lt;/sub&gt; to MBR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 6.4.1 Participant Boundaries

With nearly all the paragraphs the discontinuity involves a change in the cast of participants. This would indicate that for the author of *Māhi siāh=e kučulu* a change in the participant dimension is the primary motivator for a thematic boundary. However, it is not the case that every paragraph break involves a change to the participant set and neither is it the case that a change in participant set and/or change in participant role(s) between sentences invokes a paragraph boundary.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>¶</th>
<th>Time Setting</th>
<th>Place Setting</th>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>184</td>
<td>šab=e čelle</td>
<td>tah=e daryā</td>
<td>activity + speech</td>
<td>MP&lt;sub&gt;A&lt;/sub&gt; - B&amp;N&lt;sub&gt;A&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘night of winter solstice’</td>
<td>‘bottom of sea’</td>
<td></td>
<td>MP&lt;sub&gt;A&lt;/sub&gt; to B&amp;N&lt;sub&gt;A&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>speech</td>
<td>B&amp;N&lt;sub&gt;A&lt;/sub&gt; to MP&lt;sub&gt;A&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>186</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>speech</td>
<td>MP&lt;sub&gt;A&lt;/sub&gt; to B&amp;N&lt;sub&gt;A&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>activity + activity + stative</td>
<td>B&amp;N&lt;sub&gt;A&lt;/sub&gt; to MP&lt;sub&gt;A&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participants (in order of appearance): *māhi=(y)e pir ‘old fish’ [MP], baččehā va navehā=yaš ‘children and g’children of old fish’ [B&amp;N], *māhi siāh=e kučulu ‘little black fish’ [MSK], *mādar ‘mother’ [M], *māhi=(y)e bozorg hamsāye ‘big fish neighbour’ [MBH], *māhi pir hamsāye ‘old fish neighbour’ [MPH], hamsāye=(y)e digar ‘another neighbour’ [HD], dustān=aš ‘her friends’ [D], kafeše māhi ‘skimmer fish’ [KM], qurbāqe ‘frog’ [Q], mārmulak ‘lizard’ [MK], xarçang ‘crab’ [X], pesarbačče=(y)e čupān ‘shepherd boy’ [PC], galle boz o gusfand ‘herd of goats and sheep’ [G], āhu ‘gazelle’ [A], lākpošīhā ‘tortoises’ [LP], kabkhā ‘partridge’ [KK], *māhi=(y)e riz ‘tiny fish’ [MR], zanān o doxtarān ‘women and girls’ [Z&amp;D], *māh ‘moon’ [MH], morq=e saqqā ‘pelican’ [MS], arremāhi ‘swordfish’ [AM], *māhi=(y)e daryā ‘seafish’ [MD], māhīxār ‘heron’ [MX], *māhi=(y)e besīr rize ‘very tiny fish’ [MBR], *māhi=(y)e sorx=e kučulu ‘little red fish’ [MXK].

Participant roles: A(ctor), U(undergoer)
MSK is actor at the end of ¶117 and the beginning of ¶118. The reason for the thematic boundary here is that ¶118 is a flashback reminiscence to when MSK lived with her mother. In ¶118-119, MSK is the same actor in both paragraphs, but ¶119 brings the narrative back to the real time of the story. This is indicated by a change in tense/aspect marked on the verb. The tense/aspect marked on the verbs in MSK 652-654 is past continuous and describe a habitual event. In MSK 655 at the beginning of ¶119 the verb is in the simple past and MSK goes to māh ‘moon’ and begins a dialogue with him.

MSK is actor at the end of ¶129 and also at the beginning of ¶130, but there is a time change indicated by sobh=e zud ‘early morning’ in MSK 703 at the beginning of ¶130. Thus a thematic boundary is indicated.

MSK is the actor at the end of ¶135 and the beginning of ¶136. ¶136 is a short paragraph where MSK tells māhi rizehā ‘tiny fish’ her realization, that they have been caught in the pelican’s pouch. ¶135 is actually an interruption to the plans stated in ¶130-134 for MSK to set off with māhi rizehā ‘tiny fish’ to go to the end of the stream. Expression of the realization is the reason for the thematic boundary at ¶136.

MSK is actor in ¶157 and ¶158, and also speaker in ¶157. ¶158 begins with bad ‘then’ and the important prop xanjar ‘dagger’ is referred to. This is a significant development in the story, hence the thematic boundary.

At the end of ¶162 and beginning of ¶163 MSK is actor. But the beginning of ¶163 has the temporal adverbial nāgahān ‘suddenly’ and this introduces MSK’s encounter with arremāhi ‘swordfish.’

māhixār ‘heron’ is actor in ¶174 and ¶175. However, ¶175 begins with ammā ‘but’ and expresses the countering information that māhixār could not finish what he was saying. This paragraph also recounts MSK’s escape from māhixār and recapture.

Paragraphs with multiple participants and no thematic boundary

¶74 begins with darre ‘valley’ as PSA and also has mārmulak ‘lizard’, MSK and xarčang ‘crab’ functioning as PSA in different sentences. However, this paragraph constitutes one thematic unit. ¶74 has the theme of a look around the valley scene. mārmulak ‘lizard’ is introduced as a participant in MSK 383 and xarčang ‘crab’ is introduced in MSK 385. Since these are cast members of this scene there is no thematic discontinuity and therefore no paragraph marking.

¶81 has xarčang ‘crab’ and MSK as PSA. In this paragraph xarčang ‘crab’ tries to capture MSK. It is therefore an interaction between xarčang and MSK. At the beginning of ¶81 xarčang moves towards MSK and at the beginning of ¶82 MSK moves away from xarčang and in this paragraph xarčang is killed by pesarbačče=(y)e čupān=i ‘a shepherd boy.’
In ¶101 MSK, lākpoštā ‘tortoises’ and kabkhā ‘partridges’ all function as PSA in different sentences. However, this paragraph is another observation of the scene in the valley and lākpoštā and kabkhā are all part of this scene.

In ¶130 there is a change from MSK to māhī rizhā ‘the tiny fish’ with a temporal expression tā ‘as soon as’ in MSK 706. However, the time frame for this paragraph overall is sobh=e zud ‘early in the morning’ and the theme is MSK re-engaging with the tiny fish. Thus there is no need for a thematic boundary inside this paragraph.

In ¶161 there is a change from MSK to morq=e saqqā ‘pelican.’ But the theme of this paragraph is MSK’s escape from the pouch of the pelican. Thus the interaction between MSK and morq=e saqqā is part of the theme of this paragraph.

¶163 has both MSK and arremāhi ‘swordfish’ as PSA. But this paragraph relates MSK’s encounter with arremāhi.

In ¶175 PSAs alternate between māhixār ‘heron’ and MSK and describes MSK’s escape from the beak of the heron and then her recapture after she lands in the sea. It is therefore one continuous thematic unit.

The participants in ¶183 are MSK, māhixār ‘heron’ and māhi=(y)e besiār rize ‘a very tiny fish’ and describes how MSK kills māhixār and māhi=(y)e besiār rize escapes. It is therefore one continuous thematic unit.

6.4.2 Time Boundaries

As we noted in §4.1.1 on temporal PoDs, the author of MSK uses a range of temporal marking devices. These include full clauses, e.g. (MSK: 1)
šab=e čelle bud ‘It was the night of the Winter Solstice’, temporal PoDs, e.g. MSK 11 šabhā ‘at night’, RPs with a relative clause which function as a temporal PoD, e.g. MSK 117 vaqtī harfhā=(y)e māhi kučulu tamām śod ‘When the little fish had finished talking’, deictic connectives, e.g. MSK 276 ba:d ‘then’, MSK: 558 hālā ‘now’, MSK 722 tā ‘as soon as’, MSK: 846 hamān vaqt ‘at that moment’, MSK 1002 haminke ‘at that moment’, and a manner adverb, e.g. nāgahān ‘suddenly’ MSK: 347, 390, 444, 743, 860, 871, 1084. However, it is not the case that all of these temporal marking devices occur at the beginning of a paragraph.

Table 6.15: Temporal expressions and paragraph boundaries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>At ¶ break</th>
<th>Not at ¶ break</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lexical Expressions:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaqtī ‘when’</td>
<td>117, 1043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke ‘when’</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tā ‘as soon as’</td>
<td>222, 722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba:d ‘then’</td>
<td>829, 891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hālā ‘now’</td>
<td>558, 855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāgahān ‘suddenly’</td>
<td>347, 743, 871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Named point in time:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šab=e čelle ‘night of winter solstice’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yek ruz ‘one day’</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba:d az zohr ‘afternoon’</td>
<td>578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nesf=e šab ‘midnight’</td>
<td>643</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sobh=e zud ‘early morning’</td>
<td>703</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unnamed point in time:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dar in vaqt ‘at this moment’</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avval=aš ‘at first’</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ān vaqt ‘just then’</td>
<td>504, 460</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.15 correlates temporal expressions with paragraph boundaries. The details of these correlations are as follows:

For vaqti ‘when’ at a ¶-boundary, ¶17: 117 and ¶178: 1043 are both at participant boundaries of different speakers. For vaqti ‘when’ not at a ¶-boundary, there is no change of participant set.

For tā ‘as soon as’ at a ¶-boundary, ¶41: 222 is at a participant boundary where the neighbours are about to grab MSK, and ¶135: 722 is at a discourse irrealis boundary recounting an event that did not happen. For tā ‘as soon as’ not at a ¶-boundary, 1011 has the same PSA as the preceding clause and is not at a participant boundary, but 1077 has māhīxār ‘heron’ as a different PSA to the preceding clause. However, māhīxār ‘heron’ is acting in response to MSK tickling her stomach, so this can be considered part of the same sequence of events.

For ba:d ‘then’ at a ¶-boundary, ¶158: 829 has MSK as PSA, the same as the preceding clause. However, here MSK pulls out her xanjar ‘dagger.’ (¶165: 891) precedes the MSK’s climactic welcome to the sea. For ba:d ‘then’ not at a ¶-boundary, 276, 342, 583, 701, 880 are all subsequent actions of MSK and 1089 is a subsequent action of māhīxār ‘heron.’ Thus ba:d ‘then’ not at a ¶-boundary simply indicates a subsequent event, but ba:d ‘then’ at a ¶-boundary indicates an important or climactic event.

The temporal adverbial nāgahān ‘suddenly’ is used both at a ¶-boundary, as in 347, 743, 871, and not at a ¶-boundary, as in 390, 444, 860, 1084. Firstly, it should be noted that there no correlation between nāgahān ‘suddenly’ occurring in the PrCS and the sentence occurring at the beginning of a paragraph. For example, in MSK 347 nāgahān ‘suddenly’ is placed before the PSA (subject RP), which is sedā=(y)e zir=e qurbāqae=i ‘sound of a frog’, and in MSK 743 nāgahān ‘suddenly’ precedes the PSA sedā=(y)e
qahqahe=(y)e tarsnāk=i ‘a sound of frightful cackling.’ And in both cases these sentences occur at the beginning of a new paragraph. However, in MSK 444 nāgahān ‘suddenly’ precedes the PSA zarbe=(y)e mohkam=i ‘a strong strike’ but this sentence is not at the beginning of a paragraph. Conversely, in MSK 871 it cannot be said that nāgahān ‘suddenly’ occurs before the PSA, since there is no PSA RP in the sentence. Instead other discourse factors determine whether a sentence containing nāgahān ‘suddenly’ occurs at a ¶-boundary or not.

For example, MSK 347 (with nāgahān, at ¶-boundary) coincides with a new development – the introduction of qurbāqe ‘frog’, MSK 743 (with nāgahān, at ¶-boundary) is where mōrq=e saqqā ‘pelican’, one of the main adversaries to MSK, is introduced into the story, and MSK 871 (with nāgahān, at ¶-boundary) is the point at which arremāhi ‘swordfish’ is introduced, another danger to MSK.

In contrast, in MSK 390 (with nāgahān, not at ¶-boundary) is in the middle of ¶74. In this case the event of māhi kučulu ‘little fish’ seeing xarčang ‘crab’ does not constitute a new development, since the crab has already been introduced into the discourse in MSK 385. ¶74 is a relatively long paragraph which thematically describes the scene observed by the narrator in darre ‘the valley.’ MSK 444 (with nāgahān, not at ¶-boundary) is also not at the beginning of ¶82. This is a scenario that involves māhi siāh ‘black fish’, xarčang ‘crab’, pesar-bačče=(y)e čupān=i ‘a shepherd boy’ and mārmulak ‘lizard.’ So it would be inappropriate to make a paragraph break in the middle of these events at MSK 444. MSK 860 (with nāgahān, not at ¶-boundary) is part of an ongoing account of the activities of māhi siāh ‘black fish.’ It is therefore not a new development in the story and so a new paragraph is not appropriate. MSK 1084 (with nāgahān, not at ¶-boundary) describes the final demise of māhixār ‘heron’and is not a new development with new participants. So no paragraph break is needed.

For yek ruz ‘one day’ ¶6: 33, the same actor, MSK is maintained across the ¶-boundary. Thus the temporal change is motivating the ¶-boundary. Similarly, for baːd az zohr ‘afternoon’ ¶102: 578 and sobh=e zud ‘early morning’ ¶130: 703, MSK is the same actor across the ¶-boundaries and the temporal change motivates the ¶-boundary. However, nesf=e šab ‘midnight’ in MSK 643 does not motivate a ¶-boundary. MSK waking up in the middle of the night and seeing the moonshine is not considered a new development in the story. But ¶118 immediately follows and this describes MSK’s reminiscence of when she used to see the moonshine at home.

With the other expressions for a point in time, their occurrence with a ¶-boundary would seem to coincide a change of participant and their non-occurrence with a ¶-boundary is where there is no change of participant. For example, dar in vaqt ‘at this moment’ ¶18: 125 has a new participant, māhi=(y)e bozorg=i ‘a big fish’ as a speaker. ān vaqt ‘just then’ ¶91: 504 has the same participant mārmulak ‘lizard’ going to get the xanjar ‘dagger’
for MSK. The dagger is an important prop in the story and may count as a new participant. hamān vaqt ‘just then’ ¶161: 846 has a new participant, MSK, drawing her dagger. In contrast, avval=aš ‘at first’ (275) has the same actor, MSK, as the previous sentence, ān vaqt ‘just then’ (460) has the same actor, MSK, as the previous sentence, and kami ba:d ‘a little later’ (1081) has the same actor, māhi riz ‘tiny fish’, as the previous sentence.

The expressions for a period of time follow the same pattern. čand ruz=i ‘several days’ (22) is at a ¶-boundary because there is a change in participants at this point. Whereas šabhā ‘at night’ (11), (648), čand daqiqe ‘for several minutes’ (700) and šab tā sobh ‘from evening to morning’ (1111) do not coincide with a ¶-boundary because the sentences they occur in do not have a change in participants.

Thus the analysis reveals how the time grouping works within the text. For the story of MSK’s quest to travel to the end of the stream there are three temporal groupings. The first temporal grouping is marked with yek ruz ‘one day’ at ¶6: 33. There is no change in participant cast at this point and it is the temporal change that motivates the thematic boundary. This temporal grouping includes MSK leaving her mother and home and the first stage of her journey where she meets mārmulak ‘lizard’, who gives her the dagger. The second temporal grouping is marked with ba:d az zohr ‘afternoon’ at ¶102: 578. Here the stream broadens into a river. MSK meets māhi=(y)e riz ‘the tiny fish’ and converses with māh ‘moon’ in the middle of the night. At the end of this grouping MSK goes to sleep under a stone. The third and final temporal grouping is marked with sobh=e zud ‘early morning’ at ¶130: 703. This grouping has all the climactic adventures with morq=e saqqā ‘pelican’, arremāhi ‘swordfish’ and māhixār ‘heron.’

6.4.3 Place Boundaries

There are three main devices in the MSK text for indicating the place discontinuity. One is locative XPs, and those functioning as clause initial PoDs are illustrated in §4.1.2.1: tah=e daryā ‘bottom of the sea’ in MSK 2 (see 4.18), yek jā ‘one place’ in MSK 380 (see (4.22)), dar har vajab=e rāh ‘at every measure along the way’ in MSK 556 (see (4.23a)), yek jā ‘one place’ in MSK 563 (see (4.23b)), and yek jā ‘one place’ in MSK 574 and (575) (see (4.23c)). However, none of these occur at the beginning of a paragraph and are therefore not associated with a global discontinuity of place setting. The locative RP in MSK 2 provides the location for the telling of the story, i.e. tah=e daryā ‘bottom of the sea’, but the remaining locative XPs all specify a local detail of location within a larger locative domain already established in the discourse context.

Another means for expressing place discontinuity is by a stative locative clause and each of these does occur at the beginning of a paragraph. So this is the primary mechanism that the author uses to indicate a global discontinuity of place in the text. The first is at ¶3: 9 and gives the location of the
house of the little fish and her mother. This is illustrated in (5.119b). This is the place setting for the first half of the story. The second is at ¶74: 375 and is illustrated in (6.51). The darre ‘valley’ has been mentioned in MSK 8 as part of the introduction of māhi=(y)e siāh=e kučulu ‘little black fish’, but in ¶74: 375 it is fully established as a change of location for the narrative. This is the place setting for the second part of the story where MSK meets mārmulak ‘lizard’ and obtains the dagger. The next change of location is given in ¶117: 633. Here the location of a village on the bank of the river is given and this is illustrated in (4.23d). This is actually a digression from the main story line and prepares the reader for MSK’s encounter with morq=e saqqā ‘pelican.’

(6.51) MSK ¶74: 375: locative stative clause

darre por az pič o xam bud
valley full from twist and turn be.PAST.3sg
‘The valley was full of twists and turns.’

There are two more locative stative clauses that begin paragraphs in MSK. These are illustrated in (6.52) and (6.53). Both are used for more dramatic purposes. (6.52) establishes the fact that MSK and her companions are caught in the pelican’s pouch and (6.53) describes a climactic scene where māhixār ‘heron’ is taking MSK back to his nest to feed her to her family.

(6.52) MSK ¶142: 763: locative stative clause

čand=tā māhi=(y)e gonde va rize
several=CL fish big and small
tah=e kise rixt-e bud
bottom=EZ pouch pour-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
‘A number of fish, big and small, were heaped up at the bottom of the pouch.’

(6.53) MSK ¶172: 964: locative stative clause

xoški az dur namāyān šod-e bud
dry.land from far visible become-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
‘Dry land had become visible in the distance.’

A third means for expressing place discontinuity is by use of a motion verb. MSK ¶53: 273 in (6.54) describes MSK leaving berke ‘pond’ and her home to begin her journey to the end of the stream. MSK ¶102: 578 in (4.50a) describes MSK arriving in a place where the valley broadens. This is where she meets māhi rīzehā ‘the tiny fish’ and is captured with them by morq=e saqqā ‘pelican.’ MSK ¶162: 853 in (6.55) follows MSK’s escape from morq=e saqqā ‘pelican’ and the continuation of her journey down the river.
Motion verbs used at a paragraph boundary can also express a dramatic turn of events, as illustrated in (6.56). These sentences describe MSK shaping up to fight the māhi rizehā ‘tiny fish’ in the pelican’s pouch.

6.54 MSK ¶53: 273: motion verb place discontinuity
māhi kučulu az ābšār pāyin āmad
fish little from waterfall down come.PAST.3sg
‘The little fish descended the waterfall.’

6.55 MSK ¶162: 853: motion verb place discontinuity
māhi siāh raft o raft
fish black go.PAST.3sg and go.PAST.3sg
o bāz ham raft
and play also go.PAST.3sg
‘The black fish swam and swam and also played.’

6.4.4 Action Boundaries

D&L (2001:39) say that one common action that is marked cross-linguistically is when a story moves from reported conversation to nonspeech events. Such changes in action are often marked by the use of a sentence-initial conjunction such as ‘so’ or ‘then.’

In the MSK text, when the narrative moves from reported conversation to consequent events the juncture is unmarked. The consequent event is simply stated without a qualifying conjunction. Some examples of this are given in (6.57).

6.57 Events consequent to a reported conversation:

a. MSK ¶53: 273
māhi kučulu az ābšār pāyin āmad
fish little from waterfall down come.PAST.3sg
‘(So) the little fish descended the waterfall.’
b. MSK ¶73: 370-371

qurbāqe asabānī šod va jast
frog angry become.PAST.3sg and jump
zad taraf=e māhi siāh=e kučulu
hit.PAST.3sg direction=EZ fish black=EZ little

‘(Then) the frog grew angry and jumped in the direction of the little black fish.’

c. MSK ¶97: 537

mārmulak guš=aš=rā gozāšt
lizard ear=PC.3sg=OM put.PAST.3sg
ru=(y)e šekāf=e sang
on=EZ split=EZ rock

‘(Then) the lizard put her ear to a split in the rock.’

In some instances the events following a reported conversation are unexpected or significant and in these cases there is a syntactic marking. In the conversation prior to (6.58a) MSK states her intention to speak to the mother of the kafe māhihā ‘skimmer fish.’ But the noise of a qurbāqe ‘frog’ interrupts this intention. The clause in (6.58a) has nāgahān ‘suddenly’ in the PrCS position. In the conversation prior to (6.58b) mārmulak ‘lizard’ explains to MSK that there is no way out of pelican’s pouch except to tear the pouch. He then says he will give MSK a xanjar ‘dagger’ so that if she gets caught by the pelican she can do just that. So for lizard to go and get the dagger after saying this would not be unexpected. However, in MSK ¶91: 504 the author has ān vaqt ‘just then’ in the PrCS position. The conclusion to be drawn is that this indicates that getting the dagger is a significant event in the story.

(6.58) a. Unexpected event consequent to a reported conversation:

MSK ¶68: 347

nāgahān sedā=(y)e zir=e qurbāqe=i u=rā
suddenly sound=EZ under=EZ frog=IND PN.3sg=OM
az jā par-ān-d
from place scatter.PRES-CAUS-PAST.3sg

‘Suddenly the shrill sound of a frog made her jump.’

b. Significant event consequent to a reported conversation:

MSK ¶91: 504

ān vaqt mārmulak tu=(y)e šekāf=e sang xazid
that time lizard in=EZ crack=EZ rock scurry.PAST.3sg

‘Just then the lizard scurried into a crack in the rock.’
Thus the evidence from the MSK text is that where the narrative moves from a reported speech to a nonspeech event, there is no overt marking of the juncture if the nonspeech event is a straightforward consequence of the reported speech. However, if the following nonspeech event is not an expected consequence of the reported speech or if it is deemed an event significant to the story line, then the juncture is marked, as in (6.58a) and (6.58b) respectively.

D&L (2001:39) also say another common change of action is between events and nonevents. In the MSK text, apart from the opening scene setting paragraphs 1-4, a sentence describing a nonevent is usually coincident with a thematic boundary. For example, MSK ¶5: 22-23, illustrated in (6.59a), have stative verbs and these sentences head the paragraph that introduces MSK’s desire to find the end of the stream. MSK ¶74: 375, illustrated in (6.51), is where the author breaks from the event line to view the valley. MSK ¶103: 581, illustrated in (6.59b), describes the nature of the new stretch of water MSK has just arrived in. MSK ¶117: 633, illustrated in (4.23d), introduces the village on the bank of the river. MSK ¶118: 647, illustrated in (6.59c), describes the nature of the new stretch of water MSK has just arrived in. MSK ¶117: 633, illustrated in (4.23d), introduces the village on the bank of the river. MSK ¶118: 647, illustrated in (6.59c), begins the digression on MSK’s love of māh ‘moon.’ With MSK ¶118: 647 note that the paragraph break is here with the stative verb rather than in the next clause with the temporal expression. This is because māh ‘moon’ is the topic of this thematic grouping. MSK ¶142: 763, illustrated in (6.52), is in response to pelican’s suggestion to look at the bottom of his pouch. MSK ¶149: 791, illustrated in (6.59d), is a counter to MSK’s plan. MSK ¶168: 900-901, illustrated in (6.59e), is MSK celebrating because she has reached the sea. MSK ¶172: 964, illustrated in (6.59f), highlights the imminent danger of MSK being taken to feed heron’s children. MSK ¶174: 986, illustrated in (6.59g), signals a new thematic development where māhixār ‘heron’ notices MSK has become slack and motionless.

(6.59) Nonevents that express a thematic boundary:

a. MSK ¶5: 22-23 (stative verb)
   čand ruz=i bud
   several day=IND be.PAST.3sg
   ke māhi=(y)e kučulu tu fekr bud
   CLM fish=EZ little in thought be.PAST.3sg
   ‘For several days the little fish had been thinking …’

b. MSK ¶103: 581 (accomplishment verb)
   āb ānqadr ziād šod-e bud
   water that.much much become-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
   ‘The volume of water had become so great …’
c. MSK ¶118: 647 (stative verb)
māhi siāh=e kučulu māh=rā
fish black=EZ little moon=OM
xeyli dust dāšt
really friend have.PAST.3sg
‘The little black fish really loved the moon.’

d. MSK ¶149: 791 (stative verb)
ammā māhi rize-hā ānqadr dar fekr=e
but fish tiny-PL that.much in thought=EZ
rahāyi=(y)e xod=ešān bud-and
liberation=EZ self=PC.3pl be.PAST-3pl
‘But the tiny fish were so much thinking of their own liberation.’

e. MSK ¶168: 900-901 (stative verb)
māhi siah=e kučulu šād bud
fish black=EZ little joyful be.PAST.3sg
ke be daryā resid-e ast
CLM to sea arrive-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3sg
‘The little black fish was overjoyed that she had arrived at the sea.’

f. MSK ¶172: 964 (accomplishment verb)
xoški az dur namāyān šod-e bud
dry.land from far visible become-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
‘Dry land had become visible in the distance.’

g. MSK ¶174: 986 (stative verb)
māhixār dar hamin fekr-hā bud
heron in same.this thought-PL be.PAST.3sg
‘The heron was just thinking this’

However, it is also the case that a nonevent is not necessarily coincident
with a thematic paragraph boundary. For example, MSK 544, illustrated in
(6.60a), counters MSK 543 where it says MSK was obliged to go on her
way. MSK 744, illustrated in (5.260), follows MSK 743 and reveals who is
doing the cackling. MSK 866-867, illustrated in (6.45), expands on the
theme of MSK not meeting any land as described in MSK 865 and 870.
MSK 873, illustrated in (6.46), amplifies on MSK 872 where MSK sees an
enormous creature attacking her. MSK 969, illustrated in (6.47), links the
preceding thought to the following speech. MSK 994, illustrated in (6.48),
links the preceding thought to the following speech. MSK 1009, illustrated
in (6.60a), gives the reason for MSK 1010, which is part of a sequence of
events, see (6.4). MSK 1111, illustrated in (6.60c), is the final conclusion to the story – but as a stative it is not a conclusion.

(6.60) Nonevents that do not express a thematic boundary:

a. MSK 544 (stative verb)

\[
\text{ammā } \text{hamintowr } \text{soāl } \text{pošt=e } \text{sar=e}
\]

\text{but same.manner question behind=} \text{EZ head=} \text{EZ}

\[
\text{soāl } \text{bud question be=} \text{PAST.3sg}
\]

‘But question after question (was in her mind).’

b. MSK 1009 (accomplishment verb)

\[
\text{az } \text{eštiāq=e } \text{āb=e } \text{daryā}
\]

\text{from eager=} \text{EZ water=} \text{EZ sea}

\[
\text{bixod } \text{šod-e } \text{bud no.purpose become=} \text{PSPT be=} \text{AUX.PAST.3sg}
\]

‘She was desperately eager for the water of the sea …’

c. MSK 1111 (stative verb)

\[
\text{šab } \text{tā sobh } \text{hame=aš}
\]

\text{evening to morning whole=} \text{PC.3sg}

\[
\text{fekr=e } \text{daryā bud } \text{thought=} \text{EZ sea be=} \text{PAST.3sg}
\]

‘From evening to morning he thought endlessly of the sea …’

Thus the pattern with nonevents and paragraph boundaries is this. If the nonevent constitutes a thematic break from the event line then use a paragraph break, but if not, then do not use a paragraph break. The reporting of a nonevent does not in itself motivate a paragraph boundary.

The past continuous tense/aspect can be used to form a thematic grouping. In §6.1.1.2 we noted that the past continuous tense/aspect can be used to indicate secondary or background events and that these sections of text are so marked: ¶99: 554-563, ¶101: 574-577, ¶102: 579-580, ¶116: 620-625, ¶118: 648-654, ¶169: 922-926. This is therefore another type of grouping within the text based on what tense/aspect the verbs are in.
7. Participant Reference

In this chapter we follow the methodology for analyzing participant reference outlined in §3.10.3 and apply it to the texts *Māhi siāh=e kučulu* ‘The Little Black Fish’ and *Sāšā va asb=e jāduyi* ‘Sasha and the Magic Horse.’ This method has eight steps as detailed in (7.1).

(7.1) Steps for analyzing participant reference:
1. Draw up an inventory of ways of encoding references to participants.
2. Prepare a chart of participant encoding in a text.
3. Allocate a number to each participant that is referred to more than once in the text.
4. Identify the context in which each reference to a participant occurs.
5. Propose default encodings for each context.
6. Inspect the text for other than default encoding.
7. Incorporate any modifications to the proposals in 5.
8. Generalize the motivations for deviances from the default encoding.

Step 1 applies to Persian in general. The scale for referring expressions in Persian is given in (7.2).

(7.2) Scale of coding weight for referring expressions for Persian:

full NP > stressed/independent pronouns > unstressed/cliticized pronouns > pro-drop + verb agreement (zero anaphora)

Persian has stressed/independent pronouns and unstressed/cliticized pronouns. The latter can cliticize to verbs (object function), nouns (possessor function), prepositions (object function), quantifiers (partitive function), and interrogative pronouns (complement function). In (7.3) *u ‘PN.3sg’ is the independent pronoun and refers to māhi=(y)e siāh=e kučulu (MSK) ‘little black fish.’ The pronominal clitic =aš on dustān expresses ‘PC.3sg’ also refers to MSK, as does the second =aš on birun. In this case, the pronominal clitic functions as a prepositional object.
(7.3) MSK 222-225: Pronominal coding in Persian
māhi-hā tā āmad-and
fish-PL as.soon.as come.AUX.PAST-3pl
māhi siāh=e kučulu=rā be-gir-and
fish black=EZ little=OM SBJN-take.PRES-3pl
dust-ān=aš u=rā dowre kard-and
friend-PL=PC.3sg PN.3sg=OM away do.PAST-3pl
va Ø az ma:reke birun=aš bord-and
and  from battlefield outside=PC.3sg take. PAST-3pl
‘Just as the fish were going to grab the little black fish, her friends
surrounded her and carried her out of the danger area.’

In Persian, pronouns indicate person and number only but so does the
verb agreement. So verb agreement has the same referential function as
pronouns. In (7.3) the -and subject agreement marked on kardand and
bordand both refer to dustān ‘friends’ in the first clause. However, in the
second clause no overt subject NP is expressed as indicated by Ø. We will
categorize this as zero anaphora in Persian, i.e. where the referential identity
is only indicated by the subject agreement. Such zero anaphora is not limited
only to coordinate clauses, as in (7.3), but can extend for many sentences in
a text, as illustrated by (7.4).

(7.4) MSK 273-279: extended zero anaphora reference
māhi kučulu az ābšār pāyin āmad
fish little from waterfall down come.PAST.3sg
va Ø oftād tu=(y)e yek berke=(y)e por āb
and  fall.PAST.3sg in=EZ one pool=EZ full water
‘The little fish descended the waterfall and fell into a pool full of
water.’
avval=aš Ø dast o pā=(y)aš=rā
first=PC.3sg hand and feet=PC.3sg=OM
gom kard
loss  do.PAST.3sg
‘At first she was all disorientated (lost her hands and feet).’
ammā ba:d Ø šoru kard  be šenā kard-an
but  then  begin do.PAST.3sg to swim do-INF
va Ø dowr=e berke gašt zad-an
and  around=EZ pond exploration hit-INF
‘But then she started swimming about and exploring around the
pond.’
tā ānvaqt Ø na-did-e bud
until that.time NEG-see-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
Up until then, she had never seen all that water collected in one place.

(7.4) and (7.3) also illustrate the default referential coding progression for subject and object function, respectively. In (7.4) we see that the nominal reference to máhī kučulu ‘little fish’ as subject in the first clause immediately reduces to Ø in the second coordinate clause and remains as Ø through to the end of this passage. In (7.3), on the other hand, there is a nominal reference to máhī siāh=e kučulu=rā ‘little black fish’ functioning as direct object in the first subordinate clause. Then there is a second reference as object with the pronoun u=rā, and then a final reference as object in the last clause with the pronominal clitic =aš.

(7.5) Referential progression for subject and object function

SU: noun/NP → Ø
DO: noun/NP → pronoun → pronominal clitic

Therefore, with respect to the scale of coding weight for referring expressions given in (3.65), Persian has two systems: one for subject function reference and one for object function reference. As shown in (7.5), for subject function, the referential form goes straight from noun or NP form to the minimal zero anaphora form, but for object function there is a progression through the available referential forms from noun or NP to pronoun, to pronominal clitic. Note too that the zero anaphora form is not available to the object function and the pronominal clitic form is not available to the subject function.

Because the referential strategy for object function progresses through the available referential forms stage by stage we consider this to be the default referential strategy. The referential strategy for subject function is therefore the marked strategy – marked in the sense that the subject function requires less referential coding than the object function. From an RRG perspective this makes perfect sense, since in RRG ‘subject’ is the privileged syntactic argument.

In the following sections we analyze how participant reference works in the texts Máhi siāh=e kučulu (MSK) and Sāša va asb=e jāduyi (SAJ).

7.1 Participant Reference Tracking in Máhi siāh=e kučulu

The participant reference chart for the MSK text is given in Appendix 2. It has seven columns. The first column gives the number of the clause in the text, the second column shows whatever occurs in front of the subject position, the third column gives the form of the coding of the subject
reference, i.e. N (noun/NP), pn (pronoun), pc (pronominal clitic), Ø (zero anaphora), and the identity of the referent (the referential codes are listed at the beginning of the chart, e.g. māhi siāh=e kučulu ‘little black fish’ [MSK]), the fourth column gives the referential context, i.e. S1: the subject is the same as in the previous clause or sentence, S2: the subject was the addressee of a speech reported in the previous sentence (in a closed conversation), S3: the subject was involved in the previous sentence in a non-subject role other than in a closed conversation, S4: other changes of subject than those covered by S2 and S3, the fifth and sixth columns give the coding and referential context, respectively, for non-subjects and the seventh column gives a summary translation of the meaning of the clause. The content of the speeches are not included in this analysis as they do not have a bearing on the referential tracking in the narrative text.

Table 7.1: Analysis of MSK participant reference chart

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S1: Ø: default (216 instances)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N: 434, 442, 537, 542, 554, 581, 694, 873, 986, 1027, 1072, 1093 (generally N is used in this context when there is an interruption to the flow of events or the initiation of a new event).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>434: N [X]: The crab switches from being an interlocuter to trying to catch the little black fish.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>442: N [MSK]: The narrator expresses a comment on MSK at the end of the conversational exchange between MSK and crab.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>537: N [MK]: signals an interruption to the conversational exchange between MSK and lizard. The lizard’s children have woken up and she has to attend to them.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>542: N [MK]: signals an end to the conversational exchange between MSK and lizard. They part company.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>554: N [MSK]: After questioning herself MSK continues on her journey.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>581: N (water=river): Introduces an interaction of MSK with the water.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>694: N [MH]: ‘The moon wasn’t able to finish what he was saying …’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>873: N [AM]: The enormous creature introduced as the previous S is identified as a swordfish.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>986: N [MX]: signals an interruption to the heron’s thinking: ‘The heron was just thinking this when she saw …’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1027: N [MSK]: MSK initiates a conversation with the tiny fish cowering in the corner.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1072: N [MSK]: MSK initiates the plan of action she has already spoken about.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1093: N (sign): The temporal setting changes from then until now.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pn: 210, 212, 219, 237-255, 293-299, 629, 715, 735, 740, 893, 896, (generally a pronoun is used in this context for a partitive subject, but see 845)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>210: pn [MPH]: ‘Another said …’ A partitive of the subject group.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>212: pn [MPH]: ‘One of the others said …’ A partitive of the subject group.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>219: pn [MBH]: ‘Another said …’ A partitive of the subject group.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
237: pn (other fish): ‘A second (one) …’ A partitive of the subject group.
241: pn (other fish): ‘A third (one) …’ A partitive of the subject group.
244: pn (other fish): ‘A fourth (one) …’ A partitive of the subject group.
246: pn (other fish): ‘A fifth (one) …’ A partitive of the subject group.
250: pn (other fish): ‘A sixth (one) …’ A partitive of the subject group.
255: pn (other fish): ‘A seventh (one) …’ A partitive of the subject group.
293-299: pn [KM] partitive of addressee group
629: pn [MR]: ‘Some of them (also) said:’ A partitive of the subject group with
an additive speech.
715: pn [MR]: ‘Another said …’ A partitive of the subject group.
735: pn [MR]: ‘One of them said …’ A partitive of the subject group.
740: pn [MR]: ‘Another said …’ A partitive of the subject group.
893: pn [MD]: ‘Another said …’ A partitive of the subject group.
896: pn [MD]: ‘Another said …’ A partitive of the subject group.

All of the pronominal partitive NPs given above are really equivalent to Ø. If
one from the group were not selected then Ø reference would be used.
845 is equivalent to N. In 845 the ‘tiny fish’ are referred to by the possessive
kār=esān ‘their fate’ and they disappear from the story line.
845: pc [MR]: The tiny fish are eaten by the heron.

S1+: Ø: default (2 instances)
   There were two instances where a singular subject participant became part of a
   plural subject, S1+, in a following clause. In each case this plural subject is
coded as Ø, the same as S1 proper.
722: [MSK] → Ø (MSK+tiny fish)
730: [MSK] → Ø (MSK+tiny fish)

S2: N: default (125 instances)
   pn: 235, 604, 609, 713, 822, 910
   235: pn (other fish) partitive of addressee group
   604: pn [MR] partitive of addressee group
   609: pn [MR] partitive of addressee group
   713: pn [MR] partitive of addressee group
   822: pn [MR] partitive of addressee group
   910: pn [MD] partitive of addressee group
   All of these pronouns are part of a partitive NP, so they are equivalent to N.
Ø does not occur for S2.

S3: N: default (12 instances)
   pn: 831,
   831: pn [MR]. The tiny fish accept MSK’s plan.
   pc: 946
946: pc [MSK] is in a result clause.

Ø: 262, 386, 573, 705, 1024

All the instances of S3: Ø are in some kind of a subordinate construction and off the main event line.


386: Ø [X] is in a relative clause.

573: Ø [A] is in a nominalized clause.

705: Ø [MR] is in a relative clause.

1024: Ø [MR] is in a relative clause.

S4: N: default (104 instances)

Ø: 31, 377, 545, 578,

31: Ø (idiomatic)

377: Ø (rhetorical question)

545: Ø [MSK] relative clause

578: Ø [MSK] coincident with a change in locational setting. Note: no other active participants have been introduced into the story line since the last N [MSK] reference. This is therefore equivalent to an S1.

pn: 834,

834: pn [MR]. There is a reference to the tiny fish in the second clause preceding.

pc: 1022

1022: pc [MSK] This begins a new phase of the story inside the stomach of the heron.

An analysis of the MSK participant reference chart is given in Table 7.1. This analysis reveals that the default encodings for each S# context is as given in (7.6). Where the subject reference is the same as in the previous clause or sentence, S1, the default encoding is Ø (zero anaphora). In all other S# contexts the default encoding is N (noun/NP).

(7.6) Reference tracking strategy for the MSK text:

S1: Ø: default

S2: N: default

S3: N: default

S4: N: default

How did we reach this conclusion? Step 5 of the analysis in (7.1) says propose default encodings for each S# context. This can be based on either a statistical count or an inspection of the language data. A statistical count for S1 and S1+ show that 217 instances are Ø, 12 instances are N and approximately 15 are pronominal. Therefore on statistical grounds we can take Ø as
the default for S1 (and S1+). In addition, we have the evidence presented in (7.4) that the default encoding where the subject is the same as in the previous clause or sentence is Ø.

We can apply the same principle to S2. 125 instances of S2 where encoded with N and 6 instances encoded with a pronoun. There were no instances of S2 encoded with Ø. So we can take N as the default encoding for S2. If the default for S2 is N, we would also expect this to be true for S3 and S4 as well, since the participatory roles for these contexts are in principle more removed from the subject participatory role. The statistics overwhelmingly support this projection for S4 with 104 instances of N and 4 instances of Ø. The statistics for S3, however, are not so strongly supportive. Here we have 12 instances of N for S3 and 2 instances of pronominal, with 5 instances of Ø occurring in subordinate clauses. But, nevertheless, this is sufficient evidence that the default for S3 is N too.

Steps 6-8 in (7.1) are concerned with accounting for the nondefault encodings found in the S1-S4 contexts. Under S1, for example, there were 12 nondefault instances of N. Investigation shows that generally, N is used in the S1 context when there is an interruption to the flow of events or the initiation of a new event. Some examples of the usage of nondefault S1-N are given in (7.7) and (7.8). In MSK 420 in (7.7a) *xarčang* ‘crab’ is the subject of the speech verb. This nominal subject is repeated in MSK 434 in (7.7b), which is the next clause after the speech. At this point the crab switches from being an interlocuter to trying to catch the little black fish. Thus the use of S1-N indicates the end of the conversation between the crab and MSK.

(7.7) a. MSK 420: previous subject

\[
\text{xarčang goft: [speech] crab say.PAST.3sg}
\]
‘The crab said: “…”’

b. MSK 434-435: S1-N: signals end of conversation

\[
\text{xarčang in harf-hā=rā goft va paspasaki crab this word-PL=OM say.PAST.3sg and back.back}
\]
\[
\text{rāh oftād taraf=e māhi kučulu way fall.PAST.3sg direction=EZ fish little}
\]
‘Having said this the crab made its way sideways towards the little fish.’

(7.8) illustrates two instances of S1-N. The subject of the speech verb in MSK 531 in (7.8a) is *mārmulak* ‘lizard.’ This is also the subject of MSK 537 in (7.8b) which follows the speech. Here there is an interruption to the conversational exchange between MSK and lizard. The lizard’s children have woken up and she has to attend to them. There is a second S1-N for
mārmulak ‘lizard’ in MSK 542 in (7.8c). This signals an end to the conversational exchange between MSK and lizard and they part company.

(7.8)  a. MSK 531: previous subject

mārmulak goft: [speech]
lizard say.PAST.3sg
‘The lizard said: “…’"

b. MSK 537-539: S1-N: signals interruption to conversation

mārmulak guš=aš=rā gozāšt ru=(y)e lizard ear=PC.3sg=OM put.PAST.3sg on=EZ
šekāf=e sang va guš dād va goft: [speech]
split=EZ rock and ear give.PAST.3sg and say.PAST.3sg
‘(Then) the lizard put her ear to a split in the rock and listened and said: “…’"

c. MSK 542-543: S1-N: signals end of conversation

mārmulak raft tu=(y)e šekāf=e sang lizard go. PAST.3sg into=EZ crack=EZ rock
va māhi siāh nāčār rāh oftād and fish black compelled way fall.PAST.3sg
‘The lizard went into the crack in the rock and the fish was obliged to go on her way.’

There are also 12 instances of nondefault pronominal reference for the S1 context. Most of these occur because they express a partitive subject, such as yek=i digar ‘one of the others.’

For S2, the default is N and there are some nondefault uses of pronouns. However, each of these refers to a partitive subject and there are no other nondefault forms.

For S3, the default is N and there are some nondefault uses of a pronoun and Ø. The instances of S3-Ø can all be accounted for by the fact they all occur in a subordinate construction of some kind and are therefore off the main event line. However, the use of the pronoun ānḥā ‘PN.3pl’ in MSK 831 is again interesting. This is illustrated in (7.9). The pronoun refers to māhihā ‘the tiny fish’ in MSK 830. In most places where S3-N occurs, a full nominal is required to specify the identity of the referent. Where both the subject and nonsubject of the preceding clause are 3sg, a 3sg pronoun or zero anaphora reference would be ambiguous. However, in MSK 830 the subject is 3sg and the nonsubject is 3pl, therefore a 3pl pronoun or zero anaphora (with 3pl subject agreement) can be used. The fact that a 3pl pronoun is used means that it is a substitute for the default S3-N.
(7.9) a. MSK 829-830: previous nonsubject

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{baːd xanjar=ɾā dar āvard} \\
&\text{then dagger=OM PREV bring.PAST.3sg} \\
&\text{va jelo=(y)e češm=e māhi-hā=(y)e riz gereft} \\
&\text{and front=EZ eye=EZ fish-PL=EZ tiny take.PAST.3sg}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Then she got out the dagger and held it before the eyes of the tiny fish.’

b. MSK 831: S3-pronoun

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{ānhā nācār pišnehād=e māhi kučulu=ɾā} \\
&\text{PN.3pl compelled plan= EZ fish little=OM} \\
&\text{qabul kard-and} \\
&\text{accept do.PAST-3pl}
\end{align*}
\]

‘They were obliged to accept the little fish’s plan.’

The S4 representation is overwhelmingly N but there are four instances of Ø. MSK 31 is an idiomatic imperative construction with no subject NP, MSK 377 is a rhetorical question to the audience with no subject NP, and MSK 545 is a relative clause. Only the S4-Ø in MSK 578 is a genuine nondefault S4, as illustrated in (7.10). In MSK 578, the zero anaphora refers to māhi kučulu ‘little fish’ who was last mentioned seven clauses previously in MSK 571. The subject of the immediately preceding two clauses, MSK 576-577, is atr=e alaf hā=(y)e kuhi ‘the perfume of mountain herbs.’ However, MSK 574-577 are a description of MSK’s surroundings and in MSK 578-580 the journey down the stream is resumed. Therefore the S4-Ø in MSK 578 really refers back to māhi kučulu ‘little fish’ in MSK 571 and should properly be considered to be a S1-Ø.

(7.10) MSK 578-580: S4-Ø (properly S1-Ø)

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{baːd az zohr Ø be jā=(y)i resid} \\
&\text{after noon to place=IND arrive.PAST.3sg} \\
&\text{ke darre pahn mi-ʃód} \\
&\text{CLM valley broad IPFV-become.PAST.3sg} \\
&\text{va āb az vasat=e biše=(y)i mi-gozaʃt} \\
&\text{and water from middle=EZ copse=IND IPFV-leave.PAST.3sg}
\end{align*}
\]

‘In the afternoon she reached a place where the valley broadened and the water ran through the middle of a copse.’

There is also an S4-pronoun reference at MSK 834. This is illustrated in (7.11). The pronoun ānhā ‘PN.3pl’ refers to the tiny fish expressed nominally in MSK 830 and by a pronoun in MSK 831. This is a continuation of the pronominal representation in (7.9b) discussed above and here too a pronoun can be used instead of a noun because the number is plural and there is no ambiguity of reference.
(7.11) MSK 833-834: S4-pronoun
māhi siāh xod=rā be mord-an zad
fish black self=OM to death-INF hit.PAST.3sg
va ānhā bālā āmad-and
and PN.3pl above come.PAST-3pl
‘The black fish pretended to be dead and they swam upwards.’

Thus we have shown that the reference tracking strategy for the MSK text given in (7.6) is justified and we have accounted for all the nondefault encodings in the S1-S4 contexts.

7.2 Participant Reference Tracking in Sāšā va asb=e jāduyi

The participant reference chart for the SAJ text is also given in Appendix 2 and the analysis of that chart is presented in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2: Analysis of SAJ participant reference chart

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S1: Ø: default (88 instances)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N: 64, 287</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64: N [H] highlights an upcoming important event, viz. the animal is a horse with golden and silver hair.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>286: N [DP] marks the climactic event where DP discovers who S is.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1+: 272 [B+S], 311 [DP+S]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S2: Ø: default (16 instances)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>85: Ø [A] this should be N, but it is Ø because the speech is marked with ke as important</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80: N [S] S makes a countering proposition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99: N [S] S leads the following events</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115: N [S] S makes a countering proposition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158: N [S] conversational exchange with only the final speech marked</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161: N [B] the participant group divides - the brothers go one way and S another</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173, 182, 189: a developmental conversation between S and A which has consequences</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>253: N [S] conversational exchange with only the final speech marked</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>278, 282: a developmental conversation between S and DP which culminates in the climax</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>285: N [S] marks the climactic event</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>295: N [S] S leads the following events</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>302: N [A] A is only implied as the addressee in the previous clause</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
S3:  N: default (4 instances)
   Ø: 52, 65
   52: Ø (wound) is implied
   65: Ø [S] in the previous clause ‘comes near to him’ is implied

S4:  N: default (38 instances)
   Ø: 30 [B], 104 [B]
   in N: this-6, ān N that-25, (ān N that-218),
   pn-ham: 103 - parallel additive: ‘the horse went, he ham returned home’

The analysis in Table 7.2 shows that the default encodings for each S# context is as given in (7.12). Notice that there is a significant difference in the SAJ text to the reference tracking strategy in the MSK text given in (7.6). The MSK strategy has N as default where the subject was the addressee of a speech reported in the previous sentence (S2), whereas SAJ has Ø for this context.

(7.12) Reference tracking strategy for the SAJ text:

S1:  Ø: default
S2:  Ø: default
S3:  N: default
S4:  N: default

The conclusion in (7.12) is justified as follows. The S1: Ø default is readily established. There were 88 instances of this encoding with two N exceptions. Both of the S1:N encodings mark important or climactic events. The first S1:N is in SAJ 64, as illustrated in (7.13). The subject of SAJ 64 is heyvān ‘animal’ and this is also the subject of the preceding main clause in SAJ 62. It is at this point in the story that Sasha discovers the animal is a magic horse.

(7.13) SAJ 64-66: S1-N

vaqtī ke ḥeyvān mi-res-ad jelow-tar
when CLM animal IPFV-arrive.PRES-3sg front-CMPR
mi-bin-ad asb=i=st
IPFV-see.PRES-3sg horse=IND=COP.PRES.3sg
bā mu-hā=(y)e talāyi va noqrei
with hair-PL=EZ golden and silvery
‘When the animal draws closer he (Sasha) sees that it is a horse with golden and silvery hair.’

The second example of S1:N is in SAJ 286, as shown in (7.14). doxtar=e pādešāh ‘princess’ is the subject of the main clause in SAJ 286 and is also
the subject of the preceding main clause in the narrative in SAJ 282. At this point in the story the princess discovers who Sasha is.

(7.14) SAJ 285-286: S1-N (286)

vaqti ke sāšā dast=aš=rā bāz mi-kon-ad
when CLM Sasha hand=PC.3sg=OM open IPFV-do.PRES-3sg
doxtar=e pādešāh angoštar=e xod=aš=rā
daughter=EZ king ring=EZ self=PC.3sg=OM
tu=(y)e dast=e sāšā mi-bin-ad
in=EZ hand=EZ Sasha IPFV-see.PRES-3sg
‘When Sasha unbinds his hand, the king’s daughter sees her own ring on Sasha’s hand.’

We now need to justify the S2: Ø default encoding in (7.12). There were 16 instances of this encoding and they are listed in Table 7.1. The pre-clause column shows the reference for the speaker in the preceding speech orienter clause and the S2: Ø column shows these references. As can be seen, the author can use zero anaphora for S2 in most cases because the person and number agreement of the verb disambiguates the reference. But even so, in S2 84, 290, 292 the reference is 3sg for both S2 and for the pre-clause. This shows that where the identity of the S2 subject is available from the context then zero anaphora can be used. Therefore zero anaphora is the default for S2 and N is only used to disambiguate the reference or for other discourse purposes, which we will look at next.

Table 7.1: Analysis of S2: Ø default in SAJ text

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ref</th>
<th>Pre-Clause</th>
<th>Ref</th>
<th>S2: Ø</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Ø…3pl (B)</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Ø…3sg (S)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>S…3sg</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>Ø…3sg (A)†</td>
<td>should be N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>Ø…3pl (B)</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>Ø…3sg (A)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>Ø…3sg (S)</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>Ø…3pl (S)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115</td>
<td>S…3sg</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>Ø…3pl (B)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>Ø…3pl (B)</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>Ø…3sg (S)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>Ø…3sg (S)</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>Ø…3pl (B)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149</td>
<td>S…3sg</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>Ø…3pl (B)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>221</td>
<td>B…3pl</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>Ø…3sg (S)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>223</td>
<td>Ø…3sg (S)</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>Ø…3pl (B)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>226</td>
<td>Ø…3pl (B)</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>Ø…3sg (S)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>228</td>
<td>Ø…3sg (S)</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>Ø…3pl (B)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>235</td>
<td>Ø…3pl (B)</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>Ø…3sg (S)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>241</td>
<td>Ø…3sg (S)</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>Ø…3pl (B)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>287</td>
<td>Ø…3sg (DP)</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>Ø…3sg (S)†</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As shown in Table 7.2, where S2: N is used it is for discourse purposes, as indicated. These purposes are variously to signal a countering proposition, or a significant development or climactic event following the speech.

The default for S3 is N and the two instances where S3: Ø occurs the nominal referent is implied. Similarly with S4, there are 38 instances of N and this has to be the default. The two cases of zero anaphora at SAJ 30 and 104 are shown to be references to *barādarhā* ‘the brothers’ later in the story. But these uses of zero anaphora for S3 and S4 substantiate the hypothesis that the default for S2 is Ø and that N is used only where necessary.

Therefore the conclusion to be drawn is that in the SAJ spoken text the referential strategy relies more on context for maintaining referential identity and is less specific than in the written text, MSK. In the written text, on the other hand, the referential strategy is more specific. For example, as shown in the (7.9) example, the author uses the pronoun *ānhā* ‘PN.3pl’ where Ø…3pl (zero anaphora) would have been sufficient to differentiate the referential switch from 3sg.
## Appendix 1: Text Corpus Details

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title / Author</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Main Person</th>
<th>Main Tense</th>
<th>No. cores</th>
<th>No. rā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Dabīr=ye arabi=(y)e man (My Arabic Teacher)</em> Anon. [DAM]</td>
<td>personal experience told orally</td>
<td>first</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Giše do (Counter Two)</em> Anon. [GD]</td>
<td>written personal experience</td>
<td>first</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Nāme=(y)e Zahrā (Zahra’s letter)</em> from Rafiee (2001) [NZ]</td>
<td>written personal experience</td>
<td>first / second</td>
<td>present / past</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sāsā va asb=ye jāduyi (Sasha and the Magic Horse)</em> Anon. [SAJ]</td>
<td>folk-tale told orally</td>
<td>third</td>
<td>present</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Modir=ye madrese (The School Headmaster)</em> Jalāl Āl-e Ahmad [MM]</td>
<td>modern literary</td>
<td>first</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Māhi siāh=ye kučulu (The Little Black Fish)</em> Samad Behrangi [MSK]</td>
<td>modern literary</td>
<td>third</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>1111</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Pesarak=ye labuforuš (The Little Beetroot Vendor)</em> Samad Behrangi [PL]</td>
<td>modern literary</td>
<td>third / first</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Hamrāh (Companions)</em> Sādeq Čubak [H-I]</td>
<td>informal literary</td>
<td>third</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Hamrāh (Companions)</em> Sādeq Čubak [H-F]</td>
<td>formal literary</td>
<td>third</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Kāseb bad o birāh goft (The Tradesman’s Curse)</em> Anon. [KBG]</td>
<td>folk-tale literary</td>
<td>third</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Talab=ye āmorzeš (Seeking Forgiveness)</em> Sadeq Hedayat [TA]</td>
<td>modern literary</td>
<td>third</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title / Author</td>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Main Person</td>
<td>Main Tense</td>
<td>No. cores</td>
<td>No. =rā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
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<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Marzbān (The Border Guard)</em> Rezā Bābā Moqaddam [M]</td>
<td>modern literary</td>
<td>first</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Dāi jān Nāpelon (Uncle Neopolitan)</em> Iraj Pezeškzād [DJN]</td>
<td>modern literary</td>
<td>first</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Azān=e qorub (Call to Evening Prayer)</em> Bahrām Sādeqi [AQ]</td>
<td>modern literary</td>
<td>third</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>634</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Eynak=e tebbi (Medical Spectacles)</em> Khosrow Shāhāni [ET]</td>
<td>modern literary</td>
<td>first</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Jadval (Crossword Puzzle)</em> Fereydun Tonekāboni [J]</td>
<td>modern literary</td>
<td>third</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>3841</strong></td>
<td><strong>491</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCES:**

*Māhi siāh=e kučulu (The Little Black Fish)* is transcribed from Behrangi (1997).

*Pesarak=e labuforuš (The Little Beetroot Vendor)* is transcribed from Behrangi (1967).

*Modir=e madrese (The School Headmaster)* by Jalāl Āl-e Ahmad is transcribed from Haidari (1975).

The two versions of *Hamrāh (Companions)* by Sādeq Čubak are transcribed from Sādeq Čubak (2005).


*Nāme=(y)e Zahrā (Zahra’s letter)* is transcribed from Rafiee (2001).

*Sāšā va asb=e jāduyi (Sasha and the Magic Horse)* and *Dabir=e arabi=(y)e man (My Arabic Teacher)* are texts given orally and the authors wish to remain anonymous. Likewise, the author of the written personal experience *Giše do (Counter Two)* wishes to remain anonymous.
Appendix 2: Persian Interlinearized Texts

Text 01: Māhi siāh=e kučulu ........................................................... 354-439
Text 02: Pesarak=e labuforuš............................................................ 440-467
Text 03: Sāšā va asb=e jāduyi .......................................................... 468-489

Shading Key:
DIRECT SPEECH
Paragraph 1
1 šab=e čelle bud  
   night=EZ forty be.PAST.3sg  
   *It was the night of the Winter Solstice.*
2 tah=e daryā māhi=(y)e pir davāzdah hezār=tā  
   bottom=EZ sea fish=EZ old twelve thousand=CL  
   az bačče-hā va nave-hā=(y)aš=rā  
   from child-PL and g’child-PL=PC.3sg=OM  
   dowr=e xod=aš ja:m kard-e bud  
   around=EZ self=PC.3sg collect do-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg  
   *At the bottom of the sea an old fish had gathered around her 12,000 of her children and grandchildren.*
3 va barā=(y)e ānhā qesse mi-goft  
   and for=EZ PN.3pl story IPFV-say.PAST.3sg  
   *and was telling a story for them.*

Paragraph 2
4 yek=i bud yek=i na-bud  
   one=IND be.PAST.3sg one=IND NEG-be.PAST.3sg  
   *Once upon a time,*
5 yek māhi=(y)e siāh=e kučulu bud  
   one fish=EZ black=EZ little be.PAST.3sg  
   *There was a little black fish*  
6 ke bā mādar=aš dar juybār=i  
   CLM with mother=PC.3sg in stream=IND  
   living IPFV-do.PAST.3sg  
   *that used to live with her mother in a brook.*
7 in juybār az divāre-hā=(y)e sangi=(y)e kuh  
   this stream from wall-PL=EZ rock=EZ mountain  
   birun mi-zad  
   outside IPFV-hit.PAST.3sg  
   *This brook sprang from the rocky side of a mountain.*
8 va tah=e darre rav-ān mi-šod  
   and bottom=EZ valley go-PRPT IPFV-become.PAST.3sg  
   *and ran along the bottom of a valley.*

Paragraph 3
9 xāne=(y)e māhi kučulu va mādar=aš  
   house=EZ fish little and mother=PC.3sg  
   poşt=e sang=e siāh=i bud  
   behind=EZ rock=EZ black=IND be.PAST.3sg  
   *The house of the little fish and her mother was behind a black rock.*
10 zir=e saqf=i az xaze  
   under=EZ ceiling=IND from seaweed
Under a ceiling of seaweed.

At night, the two slept under the seaweed.

As for the little fish, there remained a longing in her heart

Mother and child would swim after each other from morning until dinnertime,

and sometimes they would get caught up amongst other fish

and dashing around in one place, they would go

This was an only child

since from ten thousand eggs that mother had laid

only this very child had come out properly.

Paragraph 4

11 šab-hā dotāyi zir=e xaze-hā mi-xābid-and
night-PL two.CL.ADVBL under= EZ seaweed-PL IPFV-sleep.PAST-3pl
At night, the two slept under the seaweed.

12 māhi kučulu hasrat be del=aš mānd-e
fish little longing to heart=PC.3sg remain-PSPT
bud
be.AUX.PAST.3sg
As for the little fish, there remained a longing in her heart

13 ke yek dafše bar ke Šod-e Ø
CLM one time.PL also CLM become-PSPT be.AUX.PRES-3sg
that if only for once

14 mahtāb=rā tu=(y)e xāne=šān be-bin-ad
moonlight=OM in=EZ house=PC.3pl SBJN-see.PRES-3sg
she might see the moonlight in their house!

Paragraph 5

15 mādar va bačče sobh tā šām
mother and child morning to midday
donbāl=e hamdigar mi-oftād-and
after= EZ each other IPFV-fall.PAST-3pl
Mother and child would swim after each other from morning until dinnertime,

16 va gāhi ham qāti=(y)e māhi-hā=(y)e
and sometimes also mixed=EZ fish-PL=EZ
digar mi-šod-and
other IPFV-become.PAST-3pl
and sometimes they would get caught up amongst other fish

17 va tond tond tu=(y)e yek tekke jā mi-raft-and
and fast fast in=EZ one piece place IPFV-go.PAST-3pl
and dashing around in one place, they would go

18 va bar mi-gašt-and
and PREV IPFV-return.PAST-3pl
and come back.

19 in bačče yek=i yek dāne bud
this child one=IND one seed be.PAST.3sg
This was an only child

20 čun az dah hezār toxm=i ke mādar gozāšt-e bud
since from ten thousand egg=REL CLM mother lay-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
since from ten thousand eggs that mother had laid

21 tanhā hamin bačče sälem dar āmad-e bud
alone same.this child proper PREV come-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
only this very child had come out properly.
For several days

23 ke māhi kučulu tu fekr bud
CLM fish little in thought be.PAST.3sg
the little fish had been thinking

24 va xeyli kam harf mi-zad
and very little word IPFV-hit.PAST.3sg
and talking very little.

25 bā tanbali va bimeyli az in taraf
with laziness and listlessness from this direction
be ān taraf mi-raft
to that direction IPFV-go.PAST.3sg
lazily and listlessly she was wandering this way and that,

26 va bar mi-gašt
and PREV IPFV-return.PAST-3pl
and wandering back again

27 va bīstār=e vaqt-hā ham az mādar=aš
and more=EZ time-PL also from mother=PC.3sg
aqab mi-oftād
behind IPFV-fall.PAST.3sg
and most times too fell behind her mother.

28 mādar xiāl mi-kard
mother suppose IPFV-do.PAST.3sg
Mother supposed

29 bačče=aš kesālat=i dār-ad
child=PC.3sg illness=IND have.PRES-3sg
her child to be a bit ill

30 ke be zudi bar taraf xāh-ad
CLM to quickness on direction want.AUX.PRES-3sg
šod
become.PAST.3sg
which would soon be cured.

31 ammā na-gu
but NEG-say.PRES
But the truth is

32 ke dard=e māhi siāh az čiz=e digar=i=st
CLM pain=EZ fish black from thing=EZ other=IND=COP.PRES.3sg
that the black fish’s pain springs from something else!

Paragraph 6

33 yek ruz sobh=e zud āftāb nazade
one day morning=EZ early sun unrisen
One day, early in the morning before sunrise,

34 māhi kučulu mādar=aš=rā bidār kard
fish little mother=PC.3sg=OM awake do.PAST.3sg
the little fish woke up her mother

35 va goft
and say.PAST.3sg
and said:

36 mādar! mi-xāh-am
mother IPFV-want.PRES-1sg
Mother, I want

37 bā to čand kalame=i harf be-zan-am
with PN.2sg several word=IND word SBJN-hit.PRES-1sg
a few words with you.

Paragraph 7

38 mādar xābālud goft
mother sleep.mired say.PAST.3sg
Mother, sleepy, said

39 bačče jān! hālā ham vaqt gir āvard-i
child dear now also time hook bring.PAST-2sg
Dearest! Have you got hold of time now!

40 harf=at=rā be-gozār barā=(y)e bāː
d word=PC.2sg=OM IMP-leave.PRES for=EZ later
leave what you have to say for later,

41 behmar nist be-rav-im gardeš
better NEG.be.PRES.3sg SBJN-go.PRES-1pl stroll
isn’t it better we go for a stroll?

Paragraph 8

42 māhi kučulu goft
fish little say.PAST.3sg
The little fish said:

43 na mādar man digar ne-mi-tavān-am
no mother PN.1sg other NEG-IPFV-be.able.PRES-1sg

44 gardeš kon-am
stroll do.PRES-1sg
No mother, I can’t go on strolls any more

45 bāyad az īnjā be-rav-am
must from here SBJN-go.PRES-1sg
I have to leave here.

Paragraph 9

46 mādar=aš goft
mother=PC.3sg say.PAST.3sg
Her mother said:

47 hatman bāyad be-rav-i
really must SBJN-go.PRES-2sg
You really have to go?

Paragraph 10

48 māhi kučulu goft
fish little say.PAST.3sg
The little fish said:

49 āre mādar bāyad be-rav-am
yes mother must SBJN-go.PRES-1sg
Yes mother, I have to go.

Paragraph 11
50 mādar=aš goft
mother=PC.3sg say.PAST.3sg
Her mother said,
51 āxar sobh=e be in zudi kojā mi-xāh-i
CLM morning=EZ to this earliness where IPFV-want.PRES-2sg
52 be-rav-i
SBJN-go.PRES-2sg
Now, where do you want to go at this hour of the morning?

Paragraph 12
53 māhi siāh=e kučulu goft
fish black=EZ little say.PAST.3sg
The little black fish said:
54 mi-xāh-am
IPFV-want.PRES-1sg
I want
55 be-rav-am
SBJN-go.PRES-1sg
to go
56 be-bin-am
SBJN-see.PRES-1sg
to see
57 āxar=e juybār kojā=st
end=EZ stream where=COP.PRES.3sg
where the end of the stream is.
58 mi-dān-i mādar
IPFV-know.PRES-2sg mother
Do you know, mother!
59 man māh-hā=st tu=(y)e in fekr=am
PN.1sg month-PL=be.PRES.3sg in=EZ this thought=COP.PRES.1sg
I’ve been thinking about this for months
60 ke āxar=e juybār kojā=st
CLM end=EZ stream where=COP.PRES.3sg
where the end of the stream is
61 va hanuz ke hanuz=ast
and until CLM until=COP.PRES.3sg
and up until now,
62 na-tavānest-e am
NEG-able-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.1sg
I haven’t been able
63 čiz=i sar dar bi-āvar-am
thing=IND head PREV SBJN-bring.PRES-1sg
to come to a conclusion.
From last night until now I haven’t closed my eyes, and the whole time I was thinking; in the end I decided to go myself and find the end of the stream. I want to know in other places, what is going on.

Mother laughed and said: I too, when I was a child, had a great deal of such thoughts. Well, sweetest! The stream isn’t something with a beginning and end.
Paragraph 14
81 māhī siāh=e kučulu goft
fish black=EZ little say.PAST.3sg
The little black fish said:

82 āxar mādar jān! magar na in=ast
CLM mother dear QU no this=COP.PRES.3sg
Well, dear mother! Isn’t it not the case

83 ke har čiz=i be āxar mi-res-ad
CLM every thing=IND to end IPFV-arrive.PRES-3sg
that everything comes to an end?

84 šab be āxar mi-res-ad
night to end IPFV-arrive.PRES-3sg
The night comes to an end.

85 ruz be āxar mi-res-ad
day to end IPFV-arrive.PRES-3sg
the day comes to an end;

86 hafte māh sāl…
week month year…
the week, the month, the year…

Paragraph 15
87 mādar=aš miān=e harf=aš david
mother=PC.3sg middle=EZ word=PC.3sg run.PAST.3sg
Her mother interrupted her

88 va goft
and say.PAST.3sg
and said:

89 in harf-hā=(y)e gonde gonde=rā be-gožār kenār
this word-PL=EZ big big=OM IMP-put.PRES side
Set aside all these great words

90 pā šo
foot IMP.become.PRES
get up

91 be-rav-im gardeš
SBJN-go.PRES-1pl stroll
and let’s go for a stroll.
Now is the time for a stroll, not such words.

The little black fish said:

No mother, I’ve grown tired of these strolls now.

I want to set off and see in other places what is going on.

It’s possible you think that somebody taught these ideas to the little fish.

but you should know that I’ve been thinking like this for a long time.

of course many thing-PL also
از این یاد گرفتم که از این و تا این زمانی که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این و که از این и
another way of living, too, in this world?

Paragraph 17

117 vahti harf-hā=(y)e māhi kučulu tanām šod
when word-PL=EZ fish little finish become.PAST.3sg

When the little fish had finished talking,

118 mādar=aš goft
mother=PC.3sg say.PAST.3sg

her mother said:

119 bačče jān magar be sar=at zad-e Ø
child dear QU to head=PC.2sg hit-PSPT be.AUX.PRES-3sg

Dear child, have you had a knock on the head?

120 donyā!... donyā! donyā digar ya:ni če
world world world other it.means what

World! World! What on earth does that mean?

121 donyā hamin jā=st
world same.this place=COP.PRES.3sg

The world is just that place

122 ke mā hast-im
CLM PN.1pl be.PRES-1pl

where we are,

123 zendegi ham hamin=ast
living also same.this=COP.PRES.3sg

dear child, have the other... we

life too is just that

Paragraph 18

125 dar in vaqt māhi=(y)e bozorg=i
in this time fish=EZ big=IND

At this moment, a big fish drew near their home

126 va goft
and say.PAST.3sg

and said:

127 hamsāye! sar=e či bā bačče=at begu-magu ¹
neighbour head=EZ what with child=PC.3sg quarrel

¹ 127-128 should be one clause.

128 mi-kon-i
IPFV-do.PRES-2sg

Neighbour! What are you arguing about with your child,

129 engār emruz xiāl=e gardeš kard-an na-dār-id
as.if today intention=EZ stroll do-INF NEG-have.PRES-2pl

as if today you have no intention of going for a stroll?
Paragraph 19
130 mādar=e māhi be sedā=(y)e hamsāye mother=EZ fish to sound=EZ neighbour az xāne birun āmad from house outside come.PAST.3sg
The fish’s mother, at the sound of their neighbour, came out of the house
131 va goft and say.PAST.3sg
and said:
132 če sāl o zamāne=(y)i šod-e Ø what year and time=IND become-PSPT be.AUX.PRES-3sg
How times have changed!
133 hālā digar bačče-hā mi-xāh-and now other child-PL IPFV-want.PRES-3pl
Nowadays children want
134 be mādar=ešān čiz yād be-dah-and to mother=PC.3pl thing memory SBJN-give.PRES-3pl
to teach their mothers things!

Paragraph 20
135 hamsāye goft neighbour say.PAST.3sg
The neighbour said:
136 četowr magar how by.chance
How do you mean?

Paragraph 21
137 mādar=e māhi goft mother=EZ fish say.PAST.3sg
The fish’s mother said:
138 be-bin IMP-see.PRES
See
139 in nimvajabi kojā-hā mi-xāh-ad this pipsqueak where-PL IPFV-want.PRES-3sg
the places where this pipsqueak wants
140 be-rav-ad SBJN-go.PRES-3sg
to go!
141 dāyem mi-gu-(y)ad continuous IPFV-say.PRES-3sg
She won’t stop saying
142 be-rav-am SBJN-go.PRES-1sg
“Let me go
Paragraph 22
146 hamsāye goft
neighbour say.PAST.3sg
The neighbour said:

147 kučulu! be-bin-am
little SBJN-see.PRES-1sg
Little one! Let me see

148 to az key tā hālā ālem va filṣuf
PN.2sg from when until now scholar and philosopher
šod-e i
become-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.2sg
since when did you become a scholar and philosopher
va mā=rā xabar na-kard-e i
and PN.1pl=OM news NEG-do-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.2sg
and you didn’t let us know?!

Paragraph 23
150 māhi kučulu goft
fish little say.PAST.3sg
The little fish said:

151 xānom! man ne-mi-dān-am
madam PN.1sg NEG-IPFV-know.PRES-1sg
Madam! I don’t know

152 šomā “ālem va filṣuf” be če mi-gu-(y)id
PN.2pl scholar and philosopher to what IPFV-say.PRES-2sg
what you mean by ‘scholar and philosopher.’

153 man faqat az in gardeš-hā
PN.1sg only from this stroll-PL
xaste šod-e am
tired become-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.1sg
I’ve just grown tired of these strollings

154 va ne-mi-xāh-am
and NEG-IPFV-want.PRES-1sg
and I don’t want

155 be gardeš-hā=(y)e xaste konand-e
PN.2sg=OM only from this stroll-PL=EZ tiresome doing-PSPT
edâme be-dah-am
perpetuating SBJN-give.PRES-1sg
to continue making tiresome strolls

156 va alaki xoš bāš-am and meaningless happy SBJN.be.PRES-1sg and being meaninglessly happy
va yek daf?e češm bāz kon-am and one time eye open SBJN.do.PRES-1sg and one day open my eyes
be-bin-am SBJN-see.PRES-1sg to see
mesl=e šomā pir šod-e am like=EZ PN.2pl old become-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.1sg that I have become old like you
hanuz ham hamān māhi=(y)e still also same.that fish=EZ češm o guš bast-e am eye and ear close-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.1sg and am still the same narrow-minded fish
ke bud-am CLM be.PAST-1sg that I was.

Paragraph 24

162 hamsāye goft neighbour say.PAST.3sg The neighbour said:

163 vā! če harf-hā Oh what word-PL Oh! What talk!

Paragraph 25

164 mādar=aš goft mother=PC.3sg say.PAST.3sg Her mother said:

165 man hič fekr ne-mi-kard-am PN.1sg none thought NEG-IPFV-do.PAST-1sg I never thought

166 bačce=(y)e yek=i yek dāne=am child=EZ one=IND one seed=PC.1sg that my only child

167 intowri az āb dar bi-ā-(y)ad in.this.way from water PREV SBJN-come.PRES-3sg would turn out like this;

168 ne-mi-dān-am NEG-IPFV-know.PRES-1sg I don’t know
Paragraph 26
170 māhi kučulu goft
fish little say.PAST.3sg
The little fish said:

171 hīčkas zir=e pā=(y)e man na-nešast-e Ø
no.person under=EZ feet=EZ PN.1sg NEG-sit-PSPT be.AUX.PRES-3sg
No one has slipped under my feet.

172 man xod=am aql o huš dār-am
PN.1sg self=PC.1sg brains and intelligence have.PRES-1sg
I have my own brains and consciousness

173 va mi-fahm-am
and IPFV-understand.PRES-1sg
and understand

174 češm dār-am
eye have.PRES-1sg
I have eyes

175 va mi-bin-am
and IPFV-see.PRES-1sg
and see.

Paragraph 27
176 hamsāye be mādar=e māhi kučulu goft
neighbour to mother= EZ fish little say.PAST.3sg
The neighbour said to the little fish’s mother:

177 xāhar ān halazun=e pičpiči=(y)e
sister that snail= EZ twisting= DEF
yād=at mi-ā-(y)ad
memory=PC.2sg IPFV-come.PRES-3sg
Sister! Do you remember that twisting snail?

Paragraph 28
178 mādar goft
mother say.PAST.3sg
The mother said:

179 āre xub goft-i
yes good say.PAST-2sg
Yes, you’re right,

180 ziād pāpe= e bačče=am mi-šod
much foot.after= EZ child=PC.1sg IPFV-become.PAST.3sg
He followed my child around a lot.

181 be-gu-(y)am xodā
SBJN-say.PRES-1sg God
Če kār=aš kon-ad
what work=PC.3sg SBJN.do.PRES-3sg
How I shall ask God to punish him!

Paragraph 29
māhi kučulu goft
fish little say.PAST.3sg
The little fish said:
bas kon mādar
enough IMP.do.PRES mother
That’s enough, mother!
u rafīq=e man bud
PN.3sg comrade=ez PN.1sg be.PAST.3sg
He was my pal.

Paragraph 30
mādar=aš goft
mother=PC.3sg say.PAST.3sg
Her mother said:
refāqat=e māhi o halazun
friendship=ez fish and snail
digar na-šenid-e bud-im
other NEG-hear-PSPT be.AUX.PAST-1pl
“A friendship between a fish and a snail,” we’ve never heard of such a thing!

Paragraph 31
māhi kučulu goft
fish little say.PAST.3sg
The little fish said:
man ham došmani=(y)e māhi o halazun
PN.1sg also enmity=ez fish and snail
na-šenid-e bud-am
NEG-hear-PSPT be.AUX.PAST-1sg
I hadn’t heard of enmity between a fish and a snail either,
ammā šomā-hā sar=e ān bičāre=rā
but PN.2pl-PL head=ez that poor.one=OM
zir=e āb kard-id
under=ez water do.PAST-2pl
But you killed that poor one secretly.

Paragraph 32
hamsāye goft
neighbour say.PAST.3sg
The neighbour said:
in harf-hā māl=e gozaš-t-e ast
this word-PL own=ez leave-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3sg
That’s all in the past.
Paragraph 33
193 māhi kučulu goft
fish little say.PAST.3sg
The little fish said:
194 šomā xod=etān harf=e gozašt-e=rā
PN.2pl self=PC.2pl word=EZ leave-PSPT=OM
piš kešid-id
before draw.PAST-2pl
You’re the ones who brought up stuff from the past.

Paragraph 34
195 mādar=aš goft
mother=PC.3sg say.PAST.3sg
Her mother said:
196 haqq=aš bud
due=PC.3sg be.PAST.3sg
He deserved
197 be-koš-im=aš
SBJN-kill.PRES-1pl=PC.3sg
to be killed;
198 yād=at raft-e Ø
memory=PC.2sg go-PSPT be.AUX.PRES-3sg
Have you forgotten
199 injā va ānjā ke mi-nešast
here and there EMPH IPFV-sit.PAST.3sg
how he used to sit here and there
200 če harf-hā=(y)i mi-zad
what word-PL=IND IPFV-hit.PAST.3sg
the things he used to say?

Paragraph 35
201 māhi kučulu goft
fish little say.PAST.3sg
The little fish said:
202 pas marā ham be-koš-id
then PN.1sg.OM also SBJN-kill.PRES-2pl
Then kill me too,
203 čun man ham hamān harf-hā=rā mi-zan-am
since PN.1sg also same.that word-PL=OM IPFV-hit.PAST.1sg
since I am saying the same things too.

Paragraph 36
204 če dard=e sar=etān be-dah-am
what ache=EZ head=PC.2pl SBJN-give.PRES-1sg
To cut a long story short!
205 sedā=(y)e begu-magu
sound=EZ quarrel
māhi-hā=(y)e digar=rā ham be ānjā keš-ān-d
fish-PL=EZ other=OM also to there draw.PRES-CAUS-PAST.3sg
The noise of the argument drew the other fish there too.

206 harf-hā=(y)e māhi kučulu hame=rā
word-PL=EZ fish little all=OM
asabāni kard-e bud
annoy do-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
The words of the little fish had annoyed everybody.

207 yek=i az māhi pir=e-hā goft
one=IND from fish old=DEF-PL say.PAST.3sg
One of the old fish said:

208 xiāl kard-e i
suppose do-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.2sg
Do you suppose

209 be to rahm ham mi-kon-im
to PN.2sg mercy also IPFV-do.PRES-1pl
we will have mercy on you?

Paragraph 37
210 digar=i goft
other=IND say.PAST.3sg
Another said,

211 faqat yek gušmāli=(y)e kučulu mi-xāh-ad
only one reproof=EZ small IPFV=want.PRES-3sg
He needs just a small reproof.

Paragraph 38
212 yek=i digar az ānhā goft
one=IND other from PN.3pl say.PAST.3sg
One of the others said:

213 xānom! vaqti bačče=at=rā
madam when child=PC.2sg=OM
āntowr ke læzem=ast
that.way EMPH need=COP.PRES.3sg
My lady! When you don’t discipline your child, in the way that is needed,

214 tarbiat ne-mi-kon-i
education NEG-IPFV-do.PRES-2sg
My lady! When you don’t discipline your child, in the way that is needed,

215 bāyad sezā=(y)aš=rā ham be-bin-i
must retribution=PC.3sg=OM also SBJN-see.PRES-2sg
You must taste the negative results (of not disciplining your child)!

Paragraph 39
216 hamsāye
neighbour
The neighbour said

217 man ke xejālat mi-keš-am
PN.1sg CLM shame IPFV-draw.PRES-1sg
As for me, I am ashamed
Paragraph 40
219 Another said:

digār=i goft
other=IND say.PAST.3sg

218 dar hamsāyegi=(y)e šomā zendegi kon-am
in neighbourhood=EZ PN.2pl living do.PRES-1sg
of you being my neighbour.

220 tá kār=aš be jā-hā=(y)e
until work=PC.3sg to place-PL=EZ
bārik na-kešid-e Ø
narrow NEG-draw-PSPT be.AUX.PRES-3sg
Before she takes things too far,

221 be-ferest-im=aš piš=e halazun pir=e
SBJN-send.PRES-1pl=PC.3sg before=EZ snail old=DEF
let's send her the same way as that old snail.

Paragraph 41
222 māhi-hā tá āmad-and
fish-PL as.soon.as come.AUX.PAST-3pl
Just as the fish were going to

223 māhi siāh=e kučulu=rā be-gir-and
fish black=EZ little=OM SBJN-take.PRES-3pl
grab the little black fish,

224 dust-ān=aš u=rā dowre kard-and
friend-PL=PC.3sg PN.3sg=OM away do.PAST-3pl
her friends surrounded her

225 va az maːreke birun=aš bord-and
and from battlefield outside=PC.3sg take.PAST-3pl
and carried her out of the danger area.

226 mādar=e māhi siāh tu=(y)e sar o sine=aš
mother=EZ fish black on=EZ head and breast=PC.3sg
mi-zad
IPFV-hit.PAST.3sg
The black fish’s mother was beating herself

227 va gerye mi-kard
and crying IPFV-do.PAST.3sg
and crying

228 va mi-goft
and IPFV-say.PAST.3sg
and saying:

229 vāy! bačče=am dār-ad
alas child=PC.1sg have.AUX.PRES-3sg
az dast=am mi-rav-ad
from hand=PC.1sg IPFV-go.PRES-3sg
Alas! I am losing my child,

230 če kār kon-am
what work SBJN.do.PRES-1sg
What shall I do?

Paragraph 42

The little fish said:

Mādar! barā=(y)e man gerye na-kon
Mother for=EZ PN.1sg crying NEG-do.PRES
Mother! Don’t cry for me,

Be hāl=e in māhi-hā=(y)e darmānde gerye kon
to health=EZ this fish-PL=EZ destitute crying IMP.do.PRES
Cry for the situation of these stuck up fish.

Paragraph 43

One of the fish shouted out from a distance:

Towhin na-kon nimvajabi
Don’t insult us, pipsqueak!

Paragraph 44

The second said:

If you go

And then repent,

We won’t let you back!

Paragraph 45

The third said:

These are childish whims.

Don’t go!
 Paragraph 46
244 čahāromi goft
fourth.NMZR say.PAST.3sg
The fourth said:
245 magar injā če eyb=i dār-ad
QU here what problem=IND have.PRES-3sg
What’s wrong with this place?

Paragraph 47
246 panjomi goft
fifth.NMZR say.PAST.3sg
The fifth said:
247 donyā=(y)e digar=i dar kār nist
world=EZ other=IND in work NEG.be.PRES.3sg
There is no other world.
248 donyā hamin jā=st
world same.this place=COP.PRES.3sg
The world is just here.
249 bar gard
PREV IMP.return.PRES
Come back!

Paragraph 48
250 šešomi goft
sixth.NMZR say.PAST.3sg
The sixth said:
251 agar sar=e aql bi-ā-(y)i
if head=EZ brains SBJN-come.PRES-2sg
If you come to your senses
252 va bar gard-i
and PREV return.PRES-2sg
and come back
253 ānvaqt bāvar=emān mi-šav-ad
that.time belief=PC.1pl IPFV-become.PRES-3sg
then we will believe.
254 ke rāsti rāsti māhi=(y)e fāhmide=(y)i hast-i
CLM truly truly fish=EZ understanding=IND be.PRES-2sg
that you are really and truly a clever fish.

Paragraph 49
255 haftomi goft
seventh.NMZR say.PAST.3sg
The seventh said:
256 āxar mā be did-an=e to ādat kard-e im…
CLM PN.1pl to see-INF=EZ PN.2sg custom do-PSP be.AUX.PRES.1pl
After all, we’ve grown used to seeing you…
Paragraph 50

257 mādar=aš goft  
mother=PC.3sg say.PAST.3sg  
*Her mother said:* 

258 be man rahm kon na-ro! na-ro  
to PN.1sg mercy IMP.do.PRES NEG-go.PRES NEG-go.PRES  
*Have mercy on me, don’t go! Don’t go!* 

Paragraph 51

259 māhi kučulu digar bā ānhā harf=i na-dāšt  
fish little other with PN.3pl word=IND NEG-have.PAST.3sg  
The little fish didn’t have anything else to say to them. 

260 čand=tā az dust-ān=e ham senn o sāl=aš  
several=CL from friend-PL=EZ same age and year=PC.3sg  
u=rā tā ābšār hamrāhi kard-and  
PN.3sg=OM to waterfall companion.NMZR do.PAST-3pl  
*Some of her friends of the same age accompanied her to the waterfall* 

261 va az ānjā bar gašt-and  
and from there PREV return.PAST-3pl  
*and came back from there.* 

262 māhi kučulu vaqti az ānhā jodā mi-šod  
fish little when from PN.3pl separated IPFV-become.PAST.3sg  
The little fish, when she parted from them, 

263 goft  
say.PAST.3sg  
*said:* 

264 dust-ān be omid=e didār!  
friend-PL to hope=EZ seeing  
*Friends, au revoir!* 

265 farāmuš=am na-kon-id  
forget=PC.1sg NEG-do.PRES-2pl  
*Don’t forget me!* 

Paragraph 52

266 dust-ān=aš goft-and  
friend-PL=PC.3sg say.PAST-3pl  
*Her friends said:* 

267 četowr mi-šav-ad  
how IPFV-become.PRES-3sg  

268 farāmuš=at kon-im  
forget=PC.2sg SBJN.do.PRES-1pl  
*How could we forget you?* 

269 to mā=rā az xāb=e xarguši bidār kard-i  
PN.2sg PN.1pl=OM from sleep=EZ rabbit.ADJ awake do.PAST-2sg  
*You’ve woken us up from a deep sleep (lit. sleep of a rabbit)*
Paragraph 53

270 be mā čiz-hā=(y)i yād dād-i
to PN.1pl thing-PL=IND memory give.PAST-2sg
and taught us things

271 ke piš az in hattā fekr=aš=rā
CLM before from this even thought=PC.3sg=OM
ham na-kard-e bud-im
also NEG-do-PSPT be.AUX.PAST-1pl
that before this we had never even thought of.

272 be omid-e didār=e dust=e dānā va bibāk
to hope=EZ seeing=EZ friend=EZ learned and fearless
Au revoir, learned and fearless friend!

273 māhi kučulu az ābšār pāyin āmad
fish little from waterfall down come.PAST.3sg
The little fish descended the waterfall

274 va oftād tu=(y)e yek berke=(y)e por āb
and fall.PAST.3sg in=EZ one pool=EZ full water
and fell into a pool full of water.

275 avval=aš dast o pā=(y)aš=rā gom kard
first=PC.3sg hand and feet=PC.3sg=OM loss do.PAST.3sg
At first she was all disorientated (lost her hands and feet).

276 ammā ba:d šoru kard be šenā kard-an
but then begin do.PAST.3sg to swim do-INF
But then she started swimming about

277 va dowr=e berke gašt zad-an
and around=EZ pond exploration hit-INF
and exploring around the pond.

278 tā ānvaqt na-did-e bud
until that.time NEG-see-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
She had never seen before

279 ke ānhame āb yekjā ja:m be-šav-ad
CLM that.all water one.place collect SBJN-become.PRES-3sg
all that water collected in one place.

280 hezār-hā kafče māhi tu=(y)e āb vul mi-xord-and
thousand-PL skimmer fish in=EZ water flitting IPFV-eat.PAST-3pl
Thousands of skimmer fish were flitting about the water.

281 māhi siāh=e kučulu=rā ke did-and
fish black=EZ little=OM CLM see.PAST-3pl
(When) they saw the little black fish,

282 masxare=aš kard-and
mocking=PC.3sg do.PAST-3pl
they mocked her

283 va goft-and
and say.PAST-3pl
and said:
Paragraph 54
284 rixt=aš=rā  bāš
shape=PC.3sg=OM IMP.be.PRES
Look at her!
285 to digar če mowjud=i hast-i
PN.2sg other what thing=IND be.PRES-2sg
What kind of thing are you, anyway?

Paragraph 55
286 māhi xub varandāz=ešān kard
fish good up.and.down=PC.3pl do.PAST.3sg
The fish looked them up and down well
287 va goft
and say.PAST.3sg
and said:
288 xāheš mi-kon-am
request IPFV-do.PRES-1sg
Please,
289 towhin na-kon-id
insult NEG-do.PRES-2pl
Don’t be rude.
290 esm=e man māhi siāh=e kučulu=st
name=EZ PN.1sg fish black=EZ little=COP.PRES.3sg
My name is Little Black Fish.
291 šomā ham esm=etān=rā be-gu-(y)id
PN.2pl also name=PC.2pl=OM IMP-say.PRES-2pl
Say your names too
292 tā bā ham āšnā be-šav-im
so.that together acquainted SBJN-become.PRES-1pl
so that we can get to know each other.

Paragraph 56
293 yek=i az kafče māhi-hā goft
one=IND from skimmer fish-PL say.PAST.3sg
One of the skimmer fish said:
294 mā hamdigar=rā kafče māhi sedā mi-kon-im
PN.1pl each.other=OM skimmer fish voice IPFV-do.PRES-1pl
We call each other skimmer fish.

Paragraph 57
295 digari goft
other.NMZR say.PAST.3sg
Another said:
296 dārā=(y)e asl o nasab
having=EZ origin and genealogy
Are you of noble birth?
Another said:

298 az mā xošgel-tar tu donyā
from PN.1pl beautiful-CMPR in world
peydā ne-mi-šav-ad
find NEG-IPFV-become.PRES-3sg
You can’t find anyone in the world more beautiful than us.

Paragraph 58
299 digari goft
other.NMZR say.PAST.3sg
Another said:

300 mesl=e to birixt o badqiāfe nist-im
like=EZ PN.2sg without.shape and ugly NEG.be.PRES-1pl
We’re not misshapen and ugly like you.

Paragraph 59
301 māhi goft
fish say.PAST.3sg
The (little black) fish said:

302 man hič xiāl ne-mi-kard-am
PN.1sg none expect NEG-IPFV-do.PAST-1sg
I wasn’t expecting

303 šomā inqadr xodpasand bāš-id
PN.2pl this.much self.conceited SBJN.be.PRES-2pl
you to be so egocentric.

304 man šomā=rā mi-baxš-am
PN.1sg PN.2pl=OM IPFV-forgive.PRES-1sg
I forgive you,

305 čun in harf-hā=rā az ru=(y)e nādān mi-zan-id
since this word-PL=OM from on= EZ ignorance IPFV-hit.PRES-2pl
since you are saying these things from ignorance.

Paragraph 60
306 kafče māhi-hā yeksedā goft-and
skimmer fish-PL one.voice say.PAST-3pl
The skimmer fish said with one voice:

307 ya:ni mā nādān=im
it.means PN.1pl ignorant= COP.PRES.1pl
Do you mean to say we’re ignorant?

Paragraph 61
308 māhi goft
fish say.PAST.3sg
The (little black) fish said:

309 agar nādān na-bud-id
if ignorant NEG-be.PAST-2pl
If you weren’t ignorant,

310 mi-dānest-id
IPFV-know.PAST-2pl
you would know

dar donyā xeyli-hā=(y)e digar ham hast-and in world much-PL=EZ other also be.PRES-3pl
that there are lots of different things in the world too

ke rīxt=ešān barā=(y)e xod=ešān
CLM shape=PC.3pl for=EZ self=PC.3pl
xeyli ham xošāyand=ast
much also pleasing=COP.PRES.3sg
whose shapes are very pleasing to them themselves!

šomā hattā esm=etān ham
PN.2pl even name=PC.2pl also
māl=e xod=etān nist
own=EZ self=PC.2pl NEG.be.PRES.3sg
You don’t even have your own names.

Paragraph 62

kafče māhi-hā xeyli asabāni šod-and
skimmer fish-PL very angry become.PAST-3pl
The skimmer fish got very angry;

ammā čun did-and
but since see.PAST-3pl
but since they realised

māhi kučulu rāst mi-gu-(y)ad
fish little right IPFV-say.PRES-3sg
the little fish was right

az dar=e digar dar āmad-and
from door=EZ other PREV come.PAST-3pl
they took a different tack

va goft-and
and say.PAST-3pl
and said:

aslan to bixod be dar o divār mi-zan-i
origin PN.2sg no.purpose to door and wall IPFV-hit.PRES-2sg
You are getting nowhere with your efforts!

mā har ruz az sobh tā šām
PN.1pl every day from morning until dinner
donyā=rā mi-gard-im
world=OM IPFV-look.for.PRES-1pl
Every day we go around the world from morning until dinner

ammā qeyr az xod=emān va pedar o mādar=emān
but apart from self=PC.1pl and father and mother=PC.1pl
hīcka=rā ne-mi-bin-im
no.person=OM NEG-IPFV-see.PRES-1pl
but apart from ourselves and our mother and father, we don’t see anybody

magar kerm-hā=(y)e riz
except worm-PL=EZ small
ke ânhâ ham be hesâb ne-mi-ā-(y)and
cLM PN.3pl also to account NEG-IPFV-come.PRES-3pl
except for little worms that don’t count at all!

Paragraph 63
323 māhī goft
fish say.PAST.3sg
The (little black) fish said:

324 šomā ke ne-mi-tavān-id
PN.2pl CLM NEG-IPFV-be.able.PRES-2pl
You who can’t
325 az berke birun be-rav-id
from pond outside SBJN-go.PRES-2pl
leave the pond.
326 četowr az donyāgardi dam mi-zan-id
how from world.travel breath IPFV-hit.PRES-2pl
how can you blow hot air about world travel?

Paragraph 64
327 kafče māhi-hā goft-and
skimmer fish-PL say.PAST-3pl
The skimmer fish said:

328 magar qeyr az berke
QU apart from pond
donyā=(y)e digar=i ham dār-im
world=EZ other=IND also have.PRES-1pl
But is there any other world than the pond?

Paragraph 65
329 māhī goft
fish say.PAST.3sg
The (little black) fish said:

330 dast=e kam bāyad fekr kon-id
hand=EZ little must thought do.PRES-2pl
You could at least consider
331 ke in āb az kojā be kojā mi-riz-ad
CLM this water from where to where IPFV-flow.PRES-3sg
where this water comes from and goes to
332 va xārej az āb ē ē ěz-hā=(y)i hast
and outside from water what thing-PL=IND be.PRES.3sg
and what things there are outside the water.

Paragraph 66
333 kafče māhi-hā goft-and
skimmer fish-PL say.PAST-3pl
The skimmer fish said:

334 xārej az āb digar kojā=st
outside from water other where=COP.PRES.3sg
Where would ‘outside the water’ be?
As for us, we haven’t even seen anywhere outside the water!

Oh boy, have you gone crazy!

The little black fish burst out laughing too

It would be better

to leave the skimmer fish to themselves

Then she thought

it would be a better idea

to have a word or two with their mother too,

so she asked:

Now where is your mother?

Suddenly the shrill sound of a frog made her jump.
Paragraph 69
348 qurbāqē lab-e berke ru=(y)e sang=i nešast-e bud
frog edge=EZ pond on=EZ rock=IND sit-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
The frog was sitting at the edge of the pond on a rock;
349 jast zad tu=(y)e āb
jump hit.PAST.3sg in=EZ water
It jumped into the water
350 va āmad piš=e māhi
and come.PAST.3sg before=EZ fish
and came to the fish
351 va goft
and say.PAST.3sg
352 man injā=m
PN.1sg here=COP.PRES.1sg
I’m here –
353 fārmāyeš
command
what can I do for you?

Paragraph 70
354 māhi goft
fish say.PAST.3sg
The (little black) fish said:
355 salām xānom bozorg
hello lady big
Greetings, noble lady!

Paragraph 71
356 qurbāqe goft
frog say.PAST.3sg
The frog said:
357 hālā ěe vaqt=e xodnamāyi=ast
now what time=EZ ostentation=COP.PRES.3sg
Well, what ostentation
358 mowjud=e biasl va nasab
creature=EZ without.origin and genealogy
you mindless upstart!
359 bačče gir āvard-e i
child hook bring.PSPT be.AUX.PRES.2sg
You’ve got hold of some children
360 va dār-i
and have.AUX.PRES-2sg
harf-hā=(y)e gonde gonde mi-zan-i
word-PL=EZ big big IPFV-hit.PRES-2sg
and you’re talking pompously.
Anyway, I’ve lived for long enough to know the world is just this pond. It’s better that you mind your own business and not lead my children astray.

The little fish said:

Even if you live one hundred such lives you won’t be anything but an ignorant and snobbish frog.

The frog grew angry and jumped in the direction of the little black fish.

The fish made a quick move and sped off like lightning and not like shafts of lightning.
be ham zad
to mix hit.PAST.3sg
swirling up the slimey mud and the worms at the bottom of the pond.

Paragraph 74 double break
375 darre por az pič o xam bud
valley full from twist and turn be.PAST.3sg
The valley was full of twists and turns.
376 juybār ham āb=aš čand
stream also water=PC.3sg some
barābar šod-e bud
equal become-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
The stream also increased in flow (lit. it's water became so much again)
377 ammā agar mi-xāst-i
but if IPFV-want.PAST-2sg
but if you wanted
378 az bālā=(y)e kuh-hā tah=e darre=rā
from above=EZ mountain-PL bottom=EZ valley=OM
negāh kon-i
look SBJN.do.PRES-2sg
to look at the bottom of the valley from the top of the mountains,
379 juybār=rā mesl=e nax=e sefid=i mi-did-i
stream=OM like=EZ thread=EZ white=IND IPFV-see.PAST-2sg
you would see the stream as a white thread.
380 yek jā taxte sang=e bozorg=i az kuh
one place slab rock=EZ big=IND from mountain
jodā šod-e bud
apart become-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
At one point a big slab of rock had become separated from the mountain
381 va oftād-e bud tah=e darre
and fall-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg bottom=EZ valley
and fallen into the valley
382 va āb=rā do qesmat kard-e bud
and water=OM two divide do-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
and had divided the water into two parts.
383 mārmulak=e dorošt=i be andāze=(y)e kaf=e dast
lizard=EZ large=IND to size=EZ palm=EZ hand
šekam=aš=rā be sang časb-ān-d-e
belly=PC.3sg=OM to rock stick.PRES-CAUS-PAST-PSPT
bud be.AUX.PAST.3sg
A large lizard, as big as the palm of your hand, had stuck its belly to the rock,
384 az garmi=(y)e āftāb lezzat mi-bord
from warmth=EZ sun pleasure IPFV-take.PAST.3sg
enjoying the warmth of the sun
va negāh mi-kard be xarčang=e gerd o dorošt=i
and look IPFV-do.PAST.3sg to crab=EZ round and large=IND
and watching a large, round crab
ke nešast-e bud ru=(y)e šenn-hā=(y)e tah=e aāb
CLM sit-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg on=EZ gravel-PL=EZ bottom=EZ water
which was sitting on the gravel at the base of the water
ānjā ke omq=e aāb kam bud
there CLM depth=EZ water little be.PAST.3sg
where the water was shallow
va dašt qurbāqe(y)i=rā ke
and have.AUX.PAST.3sg frog=REL=OM CLM
šekār kard-e bud
hunt do-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
mi-xord
IPFV-eat.PAST.3sg
and was eating a frog which it had caught.
māhi kučulu nāgahān ēšm=aš oftād be xarčang
fish little suddenly eye=PC.3sg fall.PAST.3sg to crab
The little fish suddenly saw the crab
va tarsid
and fear.PAST.3sg
and got scared.
az dur salām=i kard
from far hello=IND do.PAST.3sg
She said “Hello” from a long way off.
larāŋ čap čap be u negāh kard
crab left left to PN.3sg look do.PAST.3sg
The crab gave her a sideways glance
va goft
and say.PAST.3sg
and said:
če māhi=e bāadab=i
what fish=EZ polite=IND
What a polite fish!
bi-ā jelow kučulu
IMP-come.PRES front small
Come down, little one!
bi-ā!
IMP-come.PRES
Come!

Paragraph 75
māhi kučulu goft
fish little say.PAST.3sg
The little fish said:
I am going
to see the world
I have no intention at all
of becoming your good sir’s prey!

The crab said:
Why are you so cynical and fearful, little fish?

The (little black) fish said:
I’m neither cynical nor fearful.
Whatever my eye sees
and my mind says,
I say it.

Ok, please, let me
Paragraph 79

418 māhi goft
fish say.PAST.3sg
The fish said:

419 digar xod=at=rā be ān rāh na-zan
other self=PC.2sg=OM to that way NEG-hit.PRES
Don’t pretend that you don’t know!

Paragraph 80

420 xarčang goft
crab say.PAST.3sg
The crab said:

421 manzur=at qurbāqe=ast
meaning=PC.2sg frog=COP.PRES.3sg
Do you mean the frog?

422 to ham ke pāk bačče šod-i bābā
PN.2sg also CLM innocent child become.PAST-2sg father
You are thinking like a child, my friend!

423 man bā qurbāqe-hā laj=am
PN.1sg with frog-PL grudge=COP.PRES.1sg
I have a grudge against frogs

424 va barā=(y)e hamin šekār=ešān mi-kon-am
and for=EZ same.this hunt=PC.3pl IPFV-do.PRES-1sg
and that’s why I hunt them.

425 mi-dān-i
IPFV-know.PRES-2sg
You know,
in-hā xiāl mi-kon-and
this-PL suppose IPFV-do.PRES-3pl
they believe that

tanhā mowjud=e donyā hast-and
alone creature=EZ world be.PRES-3pl
they think they’re the only creatures in the world

va xošbaxt ham hast-and
and fortunate also be.PRES-3pl
and that they’re fortunate.

man mi-xāh-am
PN.1sg IPFV-want.PRES-1sg
I want

be=(h)ešān be-fahm-ān-am
to=PC.3pl SBJN-understand.PRES-CAUS-1sg
to make them properly understand

ke donyā vāqe?an dast=e ki=st
CLM world in.reality hand=EZ who=COP.PRES.3sg
who the world really belongs to,

pas to digar na-tars jān=am
so PN.2sg other NEG-fear.PRES dear=PC.1sg
so you don’t need to worry my dear,

bi-ā jelow
IMP-come.PRES front
come closer.

Paragraph 81

xarčang in harf-hā=rā goft
crab this word-PL=OM say.PAST.3sg
Having said this the crab

va paspasaki rāh oftād taraf=e māhi kučulu
and DUP.backwards way fall.PAST.3sg direction=EZ fish little
made its way sideways towards the little fish.

ānqadr xandedār rāh mi-raft
that.much funny way IPFV-go.PAST.3sg
The way it moved was so funny

ke māhi biextiār xande=aš gereft
CLM fish involuntarily laughing=PC.3sg take.PAST.3sg
that the fish started laughing involuntarily

va goft
and say.PAST.3sg
and said:

bīčāre to ke hanuz rāh raft-an=rā balad nist-i
helpless PN.2sg CLM still way go-INF=OM able NEG.be.PRES-2sg
Poor helpless thing, you who don’t know how to move around yet,
Paragraph 82

440 from where IPFV-know-2sg whence do you know

441 world hand=EZ who=COP-2sg whose the world is?

442 The black fish distanced herself from the crab.

443 A shadow fell on the water

444 and suddenly, a strong hit on the crab pushed him into the gravel.

445 The lizard started to laugh so much at the crab’s appearance

446 that he slipped

447 and was close

448 to falling into the water himself.

449 That crab wasn’t able

450 a shepherd boy standing at the edge of the water

451 The little fish saw

452 a shepherd boy standing at the edge of the water

453 and to PN.2sg and crab look IPFV-do.2sg
and looking at her and the crab.

454 yek galle boz o gusfand be āb nazdik šod-and one herd goat and sheep to water near become.PAST-3pl
A flock of goats and sheep came up to the water

455 va puze-hā=(y)ešān=rā dar āb foru kard-and and snout-PL=PC.3pl=OM in water under do.PAST-3pl
and dipped their snouts in the water.

456 sedā=(y)e ma: ma: va ba: ba: darre=rā sound=EZ maa maa and baa baa valley=OM
por kard-e bud
fill do-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
The valley was full of the sound of baa-ing and bleating.

Paragraph 83

457 māhi siāh=e kučulu ānqadr sabr kard fish black=EZ little that.much wait do.PAST.3sg
The little black fish waited long enough

458 tā boz-hā va gusfand-hā āb=ešān=rā xord-and until goat-PL and sheep-PL water=PC.3pl=OM eat.PAST-3pl
for the goats and sheep to drink their water

459 va raft-and
and go.PAST-3pl
and gone.

460 ān vaqt mārmulak=rā sedā zad that time lizard=OM voice hit.PAST.3sg
Then she called to the lizard

461 va goft
and say.PAST.3sg
and said:

462 mārmulak jān! man māhi siāh=e kučulu=i hast-am lizard dear PN.1sg fish black=EZ little=IND be.PRES-1sg
Dear Lizard! I am a little black fish

463 ke mi-rav-am
CLM IPFV-go.PRES-1sg
and I’m going

464 āxar=e juybār=rā peydā kon-am end=EZ stream=OM find SBJN.do.PRES-1sg
to find the end of the stream.

465 fekr mi-kon-am
thought IPFV-do.PRES-1sg
I think

466 to jānevar=e āqel va dānā=(y)i bāš-i PN.2sg creature=EZ wise and knowledgeable=IND SBJN.be.PRES-2sg
you are a wise and knowledgeable creature.

467 in=ast
this=COP.PRES.3sg
That is why
ke mi-xāh-am
CLM IPFV-want.PRES-1sg
I want
čiz=i az to be-pors-am
thing=IND from PN.2sg SBJN-ask.PRES-1sg
to ask you something.

Paragraph 84
mārmulak goft
lizard say.PAST.3sg
The lizard said:
harče mi-xāh-i
every.what IPFV-want.PRES-2sg
be-pors
IMP-ask.PRES
Ask whatever you like.

Paragraph 85
māhi goft
fish say.PAST.3sg
The fish said:
dar rāh marā xeyli az morq=e saqqā va arremāhi
in way PN.1sg.OM very from pelican and swordfish
va parande=(y)e māhixār mi-tars-ān-d-and
and heron IPFV-fear.PRES-CAUS-PAST-3pl
When I set off they warned me severely about the pelican and the swordfish
and the heron.
agar to čiz=i darbāre=(y)e in-hā mi-dān-i
if PN.2sg thing=IND about=EZ this-PL IPFV-know.PRES-2sg
If you know something about them
be man be-gu
to PN.1sg IMP-say.PRES
tell me.

Paragraph 86
mārmulak goft
lizard say.PAST.3sg
The lizard said:
arremāhi va parande=(y)e māhixār in taraf-hā
swordfish and heron this direction-PL
peydā=sān ne-mi-šav-ad –
find=PC.3pl NEG-IPFV-become.PRES-3sg
You won’t find swordfish and herons around here –
maxsusān arremāhī ke tu=(y)e daryā zendegi mi-kon-ad –
especially swordfish CLM in=EZ sea living IPFV-do.PRES-3sg
especially the swordfish, which lives in the sea –
ammā saqqāak hamin pāyin-hā momken=ast but pelican.DIM same.this below-PL possible=COP.PRES.3sg bāš-ad SBJN.be.PRES-3sg
but you might come across the pelican (pejorative) just downstream;

mabādā farib=aš=rā be-xor-i lest trick=PC.3sg=OM SBJN.eat.PRES-2sg
Look out lest you fall for his tricks

va tu=(y)e kise=aš be-rav-i and in=EZ pouch=PC.3sg SBJN-go.PRES-2sg
and end up in his pouch.

Paragraph 87
māhi goft
fish say.PAST.3sg
The (little black) fish said:

če kise=(y)i what pouch=IND
What pouch?

Paragraph 88
mārmulak goft
lizard say.PAST.3sg
The lizard said:
morq=e saqqā zir=e gardan=aš kise=(y)i dār-ad pelican under=EZ neck=PC.3sg pouch=IND have.PRES-3sg
The pelican has a pouch under his neck

ke xeyli āb mi-gir-ad CLM very water IPFV-take.PRES-3sg
which holds a lot of water.
u dar āb šenā mi-kon-ad PN.3sg in water swim IPFV-do.PRES-3sg
He swims in the water
va gāhi māhi-hā na-dānest-e and sometimes fish-PL NEG-know-PSPT
and sometimes fish unwittingly
vāred=e kise=(y)e u mi-šav-and enter=EZ pouch=EZ PN.3sg IPFV-become.PRES-3pl
go into his pouch
va yekrāst mi-rav-and tu=(y)e šekam=aš and one.right IPFV-go.PRES-3pl in=EZ stomach=PC.3sg
and directly into his stomach.
albatte agar morq=e saqqā gorosne=aš na-bāš-ad of.course if pelican hungry=PC.3sg NEG-SBJN.be.PRES-3sg
Of course if the pelican isn’t hungry,
Paragraph 89

493 māhi-hā=rā dar hamān kise zaxire mi-kon-ad
fish-PL=OM in same.that pouch store IPFV-do.PRES-3sg
he stores the fish in this pouch

494 ke ba:d be-xor-ad
CLM then SBJN-eat.PRES-3sg
to eat later.

Paragraph 89

495 māhi goft
fish say.PAST.3sg
The fish said:

496 hālā agar māhi vāred=e kise šod
now if fish enter=EZ pouch become.PAST.3sg
So if a fish ends up in the pouch,

497 digar rāh=e birun āmad-an na-dār-ad
other way=EZ outside come-INF NEG-have.PRES-3sg
he has no way out, has he?

Paragraph 90

498 mārmulak goft
lizard say.PAST.3sg
The lizard said:

499 hīc rāh=i nist
none way=IND NEG.be.PRES.3sg
There is no way out

500 magar inke kise=rā pāre kon-ad
except pouch=OM tear do.PRES-3sg
except to tear the pouch.

501 man xanjar=i be to mi-dah-am
PN.1sg dagger=IND to PN.2sg IPFV-give.PRES-1sg
I’ll give you a dagger

502 ke agar gereftār=e morq=e saqqā šod-i
CLM if ensnared=EZ pelican become.PAST-2sg
so that if you get caught by the pelican

503 in kār=rā be-kon-i
this work=OM SBJN-do.PRES-2sg
you can do just that.

Paragraph 91

504 ān vaqt mārmulak tu=(y)e ũekāf=e sang xazid
that time lizard in=EZ crack=EZ rock scurry.PAST.3sg
Just then, the lizard scurried into a crack in the rock

505 va bā xanjar=e besyār riz=i bar gašt
and with dagger=EZ small tiny=IND PREV return.PAST.3sg
and returned with a tiny little dagger.

506 māhi kučulu xanjar=rā gereft
fish little dagger=OM take.PAST.3sg
The little fish took the dagger
Dear lizard! You are very kind,

I don’t know

how to thank you.

There’s no need to thank me, my dear!

I have loads of these daggers;

When I have nothing else to do,

and make daggers from the thorns of plants

and give them to wise fish like you.

Do you mean that any fish has come past here before me?

What fish said:
Paragraph 95

524  māhi  siāh  goft
fish  black  say. PAST.3sg
The black fish said:

525  mi-baxš-i
IPFV-forgive.PRES-2sg
You’ll forgive

526  ke  harf  harf  mi-āvar-ad
CLM  word  word  IPFV-bring.PRES-3sg
all this exchange of words.

527  agar  be  hesāb=e  fozuli=(y)am  ne-mi-gozār-i
if  to  account=EZ  nosiness=PC.1sg  NEG-IPFV-put.PRES-2sg
Please pardon my prying,

528  be-gu
IMP-say.PRES
please tell (me)

529  be-bin-am
SBJN-see.PRES-1sg
so that I can understand

530  māhigir=rā  četowr  be  tang  āvord-e  and
fish.take=OM  how  to  mad  bring-PSPT  be.AUX.PRES.3pl
how they have driven the fisherman mad?

Paragraph 96

531  mārmulak  goft
lizard  say.PAST.3sg
The lizard said:

532  āxar  na  ke  bāham=and
CLM  no  CLM  together=COP.PRES.3pl
well, now that they are together,

533  haminke  māhigir  tur  andāxt
just.as  fish.take  net  throw.PAST.3sg
just as the fisherman has thrown his net,
vāred=e tur mi-šav-and
enter=EZ net IPFV-become.PRES-3pl
they go into the net

va tur=rā bā xod=ešān mi-keš-and
and net=OM with self=PC.3pl IPFV-pull.PRES-3pl
and drag the net with them

va mi-bar-and tah=e daryā
and IPFV-carry.PRES-3pl bottom=EZ sea
and carry it to the bottom of the sea.

Paragraph 97
mārmulak guš=aš=rā gozāšt
lizard ear=PC.3sg=OM put.PAST.3sg
ru=(y)e šekāf=e sang
on=EZ crack=EZ rock
The lizard put her ear to a crack in the rock

va guš dád
and ear give.PAST.3sg
and listened

va goft
and say.PAST.3sg
and said:

man digar moraxxas mi-šav-am
PN.1sg other excuse IPFV-become.PRES-1sg
Anyway, I have to go now;

bačče-hā=(y)am bidār šod-e and
child-PL=PC.1sg awake become-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3pl
my children have woken up.

Paragraph 98
mārmulak raft tu=(y)e šekāf=e sang
lizard go.PAST.3sg into=EZ crack=EZ rock
The lizard went into the crack in the rock

va māhi siāh nāčār rāh oftād
and fish black compelled way fall.PAST.3sg
and the fish was obliged to go on her way.

ammā hamintowr soāl pošt=e sar=e soāl bud
but same.way question behind=EZ head=EZ question be.PAST.3sg
But question after question was in her mind

ke dáyem az xod=aš mi-kard
CLM continuous from self=PC.3sg IPFV-do.PAST.3sg
which she kept asking himself:

be-bin-am
SBJN-see.PRES-1sg
let me see,
rāsti juybār be daryā mi-riz-ad
true stream to sea IPFV-flow.PRES-3sg
does the stream really flow into the sea?

na-kon-ad
NEG-do.PRES-3sg
What would happen

ke saqqāak zur=aš be man
CLM pelican.DIM strength=PC.3sg to PN.1sg
be-res-ad
IPFV-arrive.PRES-3sg
if the pelican (pejorative) is stronger than me?

rāsti arremāhi del=aš mi-ā-(y)ad
truly swordfish heart=PC.3sg IPFV-come.PRES-3sg
Is it really true that the swordfish likes

hamjens-hā=(y)e xod=aš=rā be-koš-ad
congeneric-PL=EZ self=PC.3sg=OM SBJN-kill.PRES-3sg
to kill animals of his own kind

va be-xor-ad
and SBJN-eat.PRES-3sg
and eat them?

parande=(y)e māhixār če došmani-(y)i
heron what enmity=IND
bā mā dār-ad
with PN.1pl have.PRES-3sg
What does the heron have against us(=me)?

māhi kučulu šenā kon-ān mi-raft
fish little swim do-PRPT IPFV-go.PAST.3sg
So the little fish swam along

va fekr mi-kard
and thought IPFV-do.PAST.3sg
and thought (to herself).

dar har vajab=e rāh čiz=e tāze=(y)i mi-did
at every measure=EZ way thing=EZ new=IND IPFV-see.PAST.3sg
At every point along the way she saw something new

va yād mi-gereft
and memory IPFV-take.PAST.3sg
and learnt (something).

hālā digar xoš=aš mi-āmad
now other enjoy=PC.3sg IPFV-come.PAST-3sg
Now she really enjoyed

ke moallaq zan-ān az ābšār-hā pāyin bi-oft-ad
CLM somersault hit-PRPT from waterfall-PL below SBJN-fall.PRES-3sg
doing somersaults down the waterfalls

va bāz šenā kon-ad
and again swim SBJN.do.PRES-3sg
and then to swim on again.

561 garmi=(y)e āftāb=rā bar pošt=e xod hess mi-kard warmth=OM sun=OM on back=OM self feel IPFV-do.PAST.3sg She felt the warmth of the sun on her back

562 va qovvat mi-gereft and strength IPFV-take.PAST.3sg and drew strength (from it).

563 yek jā āhu=(y)i bā ajale āb mi-xord one place gazelle=IND with haste water IPFV-drink.PAST.3sg In one place, a gazelle was hurriedly drinking water.

564 māhi kučulu salām kard fish little greeting do.PAST.3sg The little fish said hello

565 o goft and say.PAST.3sg and said:

566 āhu xošgel=e če ajale=(y)i dār-i gazelle beautiful=DEF what haste=IND have. PRES-2sg Beautiful gazelle, why are you in a hurry?

Paragraph 100

567 āhu goft gazelle say.PAST.3sg The gazelle said:

568 šekārči donbāl=am kard-e Ø hunter behind=PC.1sg do-PSPT be.AUX.PRES-3sg A hunter has come after me,

569 yek golule ham be=(h)em zad-e Ø one bullet also to=PC.1sg hit-PSPT be.AUX.PRES-3sg He fired a bullet at me!

570 ināhāš this.is.it This is it.

Paragraph 101

571 māhi kučulu jā=(y)e golule=rā na-did fish little place=OM bullet=OM NEG-see.PAST.3sg The little fish didn’t see the bullet mark,

572 ammā az lang – lang-ān david-an=e āhu but from limp – limp-PRPT run-INF gazelle fahmid understand.PAST.3sg but from the limping of the gazelle when it ran she understood

573 ke rāst mi-gu-(y)ad CLM right IPFV-say.PRES-3sg that he was telling the truth.
In one place some tortoises were snoozing in the warmth of the sun.

In another the boisterous laughing of partridges echoed through the valley.

The perfume of mountain herbs filled the air.

and got mixed with the water.

In the afternoon she reached a place.

where the valley broadened.

and the water ran through the middle of a copse.

The volume of water had become so great.

that the black fish really enjoyed herself.

Later too she came across lots of fish.

Since the time she’d become separated from her mother,
māhi na-did-e bud
fish NEG-see-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
she hadn’t seen any fish.

čand=tā māhi=(y)e riz dowr=aš=rā gereft-and
several=CL fish=EZ tiny around=PC.3sg=OM take.PAST-3pl
Several tiny fishes surrounded her.

va goft-and
and say.PAST-3pl
and said:

māhi siāh goft
fish black say.PAST.3sg
The black fish said:

āre qaribe=(y)am
yes stranger=COPI.PRES.1sg
Yes, I’m a stranger.

az rāh-e dur=i mi-ā-(y)am
from way=EZ distance=IND IPFV-come.PRES-1sg
I come from a long way away.

māhi riz-hā goft-and
fish tiny-PL say.PAST-3pl
The tiny fish said:

kojā mi-xāh-i be-rav-i
where IPFV-want.PRES-2sg SBJN-go.PRES-2sg
Where do you want to go?

māhi siāh goft
fish black say.PAST.3sg
The black fish said:

mi-rav-am
IPFV-go.PRES-1sg
I’m going

āxar=e juybār=rā peydā kon-am
end=EZ stream=OM finding SBJN.do.PRES-1sg
to find the end of the stream.

māhi riz-hā goft-and
fish tiny-PL say.PAST-3pl
The tiny fish said:
Paragraph 108
599 māhi siāh goft
fish black say.PAST.3sg
The black fish said:

600 hamin juybār=i ke tu=(y)e ān šenā mi-kon-im
same.this stream=REL CLM in=EZ that swim IPFV-do.PRES-1pl
The very same stream that we’re swimming in.

Paragraph 109
601 māhi rize-hā goft-and
fish tiny-PL say.PAST-3pl
The tiny fish said:

602 mā be in mi-gu-(y)im rudxāne
PN.1pl to this IPFV-say.PRES-1pl river
We call this a river.

Paragraph 110
603 māhi kučulu čiz=i na-goft
fish little thing=IND NEG-say.PAST.3sg
The little fish didn’t say anything.

604 yek=i az māhi-hā=(y)e riz goft
one=IND from fish-PL=EZ tiny say.PAST.3sg
One of the tiny fish said:

605 hič mi-dān-i
none IPFV-know.PRES-2sg
Don’t you know

606 morq=e saqqā nešast-e Ø sar=e rāh
pelican sit-PSPT be.AUX.PRES-3sg head=EZ way
that the pelican is waiting ahead on the road (to eat you)?

Paragraph 111
607 māhi siāh goft
fish black say.PAST.3sg
The black fish said:

608 āre mi-dān-am
yes IPFV-know.PRES-1sg
Yes, I do.

Paragraph 112
609 yek=i digar goft
one=IND other say.PAST.3sg
Another said:

610 in=rā ham mi-dān-i
this=OM also IPFV-know.PRES-2sg
Do you also know this,
What a gaping wide pouch the pelican has?

The black fish said:
The tiny fish said:
And you want
I must go (on).
The rumour rapidly spread amongst the fish
that a little black fish had come from a long way away
and wanted
to go

and find the end of the river

and had no fear of the pelican!

and had no fear of the pelican!

Some of the tiny fish were tempted

and had no fear of the pelican!

Some of the tiny fish were tempted

Some also said:

If it wasn’t for the pelican,

we’re afraid of the pelican’s pouch.

On the bank of the river was a village.

The women and girls of the village washed their dishes and clothes in the river.
The little fish listened for a while to their hue and cry.

and for a while watched the bathing of the children

and continued on her way.

going further and further

until night fell

and lit up everywhere.

The little black fish really loved the moon.
fish heart=PC.3sg IPFV-want.PAST.3sg
the fish wanted

from under=EZ seaweed-PL outside SBJN-creep.PRES-3sg
to creep out from under the seaweed

and have a few words with her

but every time her mother woke up

she dragged her under the seaweed

and put her back to sleep.

The little fish went to the moon

and said:

Hello, my beautiful moon!

The moon said:

Hello, little fish!

What are you doing here?

The fish said:

I'm on a world tour.
Paragraph 122
663 māh goft
moon say.PAST.3sg
The moon said:
664 jahān xeyli bozorg=ast
world very big=COP.PRES.3sg
The world is very big.
665 ne-mi-tavān-i
NEG-IPFV-able-2sg
You can’t
666 hame jā=rā be-gard-i
all place=OM SBJN=look.for.PRES-2sg
visit everywhere.

Paragraph 123
667 māhī goft
fish say.PAST.3sg
The fish said:
668 bāš-ad
SBJN.be.PRES-3sg
669 har jā ke tavānest-am
every place CLM be.able.PAST-1sg
670 mi-rav-am
IPFV-go.PRES-1sg
Ok, I'll go wherever I can.

Paragraph 124
671 māh goft
moon say.PAST.3sg
The moon said:
672 del=am mi-xāst
heart=PC.1sg IPFV-want.PAST.3sg
I’d love
673 tā sobh piš=at be-mān-am
until morning before=PC.2sg SBJN-remain.PRES-1sg
to stay with you until morning,
674 ammā abr=e siāh=e bozorg=i dār-ad
but cloud=EZ black=EZ big=IND have.AUX.PRES-3sg
mi-ā-(y)ad taraf=e man
IPFV-come.PRES-3sg direction=EZ PN.1sg
but a big black cloud is headed in my direction
675 ke jelo=(y)e nur=am=rā be-gir-ad
CLM front=EZ light=PC.1sg=OM SBJN-take.PRES-3sg
which will cover my light.
The fish said:

The moon said:

Gorgeous moon! I really love your light.

I was wanting it.

to shine on me forever.

Darling fish! In truth I don’t have any light myself.

the sun gives me light

and then I light up the ground with it.

Have you really not heard

that mankind wants

to fly in a few years’ time

and sit on me?
Paragraph 127
689 māhī goft
fish say.PAST.3sg

The fish said:

690 in qeyr=ez momken=ast
this without=EZ possible=COP.PRES.3sg

That’s impossible.

Paragraph 128
691 māh goft
moon say.PAST.3sg

The moon said:

692 kār=ez saxt=i=st
work=EZ difficult=IND=COP.PRES.3sg

It’s difficult,

693 vali ādam-hā har kār del=ēšān be-xāh-ad…
but person-PL any work heart=PC.3PL SBjn-want.PRES-3sg
but whatever men set their minds to do…

Paragraph 129
694 māh na-tavānest
moon NEG-be.able.PAST.3sg

The moon wasn’t able

695 harf=aš=rā tamām kon-ad
word=PC.3SG=OM finish SBJN.do.PRES-3sg

to finish what she was saying.

696 abr=ez siāh resid
cloud=EZ black arrive.PAST.3sg

The black cloud arrived

697 va ru=(y)aš=rā puš-ān-d
and face=PC.3SG=OM hide.PRES-CAUS-PAST.3SG

and covered her up

698 va šab dobāre tārik šod
and night again dark become.PAST.3SG

and the night grew dark again

699 va māhī siāh tak o tanhā mānd
and fish black single and alone remain.PAST.3SG

and the black fish was left all alone.

700 čand daqīqe māt o motahayyer tārīki=rā
several minute astounded and astonished darkness=OM
negāh kard
look do.PAST.3SG

For some minutes she stared, dumbfounded, into the darkness,

701 baːd zir=ez sang=i xazid
then under=EZ stone=IND creep.PAST.3SG

then she crept under a stone
and fell asleep.

Early in the morning she woke up

She saw above her head a bunch of tiny fish

As soon as they saw the black fish had woken up

They said with one voice:

Good morning!

The black fish soon recognized them

And said:

Good morning! You've come after me in the end?

One of the tiny fish said:

Yes, but we're still frightened.
Paragraph 133
715 yek=i digar goft
    one=IND other say.PAST.3sg
  Another said:
716 fekr=e morq=e saqqā rāhat=emān
    thought=EZ pelican comfortable=PC.1pl
ne-mi-gozār-ad
ne-IPFV-put.PRES-3sg
Thinking about the pelican does not allow us to relax.
Paragraph 134
717 māhi siāh goft
    fish black say.PAST.3sg
  The black fish said:
718 šomā-hā ziādi fekr mi-kon-id
    PN.2pl-PL too.much thought IPFV-do.PRES-2pl
You think too much.
719 hame=aš ke na-bāyad fekr kard
    all=PC.3sg CLM NEG-must.PRES thought do.INF
  One shouldn’t think all of the time.
720 rāh ke bi-oft-im
    way CLM SBJN-fall.PRES-1pl
721 tars=emān be kolli mi-riz-ad
    fear=PC.1pl totally IPFV-pour.PRES-3sg
  When we set out our fear will disappear completely.
Paragraph 135
722 ammā tā xāst-and
    but as.soon.as want.AUX.PAST-3pl
  But just as they were about to
723 rāh bi-oft-and
    way SBJN-fall.PRES-3pl
  set off,
724 did-and
    see.PAST-3pl
  they saw
725 ke āb=e dowr o bar=ešān bālā āmad
    CLM water=EZ around and away=PC.3pl up come.PAST.3sg
that the water around them was raised up
726 va sarpuš=i ru=(y)e sar=ešān gozāšt-e
  and lid=IND on=EZ head=PC.3pl put-PSPT
  become.AUX.PAST.3sg
  and a lid had come down over their heads

2 722-723 should be one clause.
va hame já tārik šod
and all place dark become.PAST.3sg
and everywhere grew dark

va rāh=e goriz=i ham na-mānd
and way=EZ escape=IND also NEG-remain.PAST.3sg
and no way of escape was left.

māhi siāh fowri fahmid
fish black quickly understand.PAST.3sg
The black fish quickly realised

ke tu=(y)e kise=(y)e morq=e saqqā gir oftād-e and
CLM in=EZ pouch=EZ pelican hook fall-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3pl
that they had been trapped in the pouch of the pelican.

Paragraph 136
māhi siāh=e kučulu goft
fish black=EZ little say.PAST.3sg
The little black fish said:

dust-ān! mā tu=(y)e kise=(y)e morq=e saqqā
friend-PL PN.1pl in=EZ pouch=EZ pelican
gir oftād-e im
hook fall-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.1pl
Friends! We have been caught in the pelican’s pouch,

ammā rāh=e farār ham be kolli baste nist
but way=EZ escape also totally closed NEG.be.PRES.3sg
but the way of escape isn’t completely closed.

Paragraph 137
māhi rize-hā šoru kard-and be gerye o zāri
fish tiny-PL start do.PAST-3pl to weeping and crying
The tiny fish started crying and weeping.

yek=i=šān goft
one=IND=PC.3pl say.PAST.3sg
One of them said:

mā digar rāh=e farār na-dār-im
PN.1pl other way=EZ escape NEG-have.PRES-1pl
We don’t have any way of escape left.

taqsr=e to=st
fault=EZ PN.2sg=COP.PRES.3sg
It’s your fault

ke zir=e pā=(y)e mā nešast-i
CLM under=EZ feet=EZ PN.1pl sit.PAST-2sg
that you slipped under our feet

va mā=rā az rāh dar bord-i
and PN.1pl=OM from way PREV take.PAST-2sg
and led us astray!
Paragraph 138
740 yek=i digar goft
one=IND other say.PAST.3sg
Another said:
741 hālā hame=(y)e mā=rā qurt mi-dah-ad
now all=EZ PN.1pl=OM swallow IPFV-give.PRES-3sg
Now he's going to swallow us all
742 va digar kār=emān tamām=ast
and other work=PC.1pl finish=COP.PRES.3sg
and that will be the end of us (all our work).

Paragraph 139
743 nāgahān sedā=(y)e qahqahe=(y)e tarsnāk=i
suddenly sound=EZ cackling=EZ frightful=IND
dar āb pičid
in water turn.around.PAST.3sg
Suddenly the sound of frightful cackling spread through the water.
744 in morq=e saqqā bud ke mi-xandid 3
this pelican be. PAST.3sg CLM IPFV-laugh.PAST.3sg
It was the pelican that laughed,
745 mi-xandid
IPFV-laugh.PAST.3sg
it laughed
746 va mi-goft
and IPFV-say.PAST.3sg
and said:
747 če māhi rize-hā=(y)i gir=am āmad-e Ø
what fish tiny-PL=IND hook=PC.1sg come-PSPT be.AUX.PRES-3sg
What tiny fish I have caught!
748 -hā -hā -hā ... rāsti ke del=am
truly CLM heart=PC.1sg
barā=(y)e=tān mi-suz-ad
for=EZ=PC.2pl IPFV-feel.PRES-3sg
Ho ho ho ho... I really feel sorry for you!
749 del=am ne-mi-ā-(y)ad
heart=PC.1sg NEG-IPFV-come.PRES-3sg
I don’t have any desire
750 qurt=etān be-dah-am! -hā -hā -hā hā...
swallow=PC.2pl SBJN-give.PRES-1sg
to swallow you! ha ha ha ha...

Paragraph 140
751 māhi rize-hā be eltemās oftād-and
fish tiny-PL to begging fall.PAST-3pl
The tiny fish fell to begging

---

3 744 should be two clauses.
Oh honourable Mister Pelican! We have heard stories about you many times

Oh honourable Mister Pelican! We have heard stories about you many times
The tiny fish said:

The noble Mister Pelican! We haven’t done anything.

We are innocent.

This little black fish led us astray ...

Cowards! Do you think this deceitful pelican is so merciful that you beg like this?

You have no idea what you are saying.

Now you shall see
Paragraph 145

778  mórg-e sāqqā goft
    pelican say.PAST.3sg
    The pelican said:

Paragraph 146

780  māhi rīz-hā goft-and
    fish tiny-PL say.PAST-3pl
    The tiny fish said:

Paragraph 147

782  mórg-e sāqqā goft
    pelican say.PAST.3sg
    The pelican said:

Paragraph 148

785  māhi sīāh-e kučulu xod=aš=rā kenār kešid
    fish black=EZ little self=PC.3sg=OM side draw.PAST.3sg
    The little black fish pulled away from them,

786  be māhi rīz-hā goft
    to fish tiny-PL say.PAST.3sg
    and said to the tiny fish:

787  qabul na-kon-id
    acceptance NEG-do.PRES-2pl
    Don’t accept!

788  in mórg-e hilegar mi-xāh-ad
    this pelican=EZ deceitful IPFV-want.PRES-3sg
    This deceitful bird wants
Paragraph 149
791 ammā māhi rize-hā ānqadr dar fekr=e rahāyi=(y)e but fish tiny-PL that.much in thought=EZ liberation=EZ xod=ešān bud-and self=PC.3pl be.PAST-3pl
But the tiny fish were so much thinking of their own liberation
792 ke fekr=e hic čiz=e digar=rā na-kard-and CLM thought=EZ none thing=EZ other=OM NEG-do.PAST-3pl that they didn’t consider anything else
793 va rixt-and sar=e māhi siāh=e kučulu and pour.PAST-3pl head=EZ fish black=EZ little and they attacked the little black fish.

Paragraph 150
794 māhi kučulu be taraf=e kise aqab mi-nešast fish little to direction pouch rear IPFV-sit.PAST.3sg
The little fish withdrew to (the rear of) the pouch
795 va āheste mi-goft and calmly IPFV-say.PAST.3sg and said calmly:
796 tarsu-hā! be har hāl gir oftād-e id coward-PL to every condition hook fall-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.2pl
Cowards! You are trapped anyway
797 va rāh=e farār=i na-dār-id and way=EZ escape=IND NEG-have.PRES-2pl and you have no way of escape.
798 zur=etān ham be man ne-mi-res-ad strength=PC.2pl also to PN.1sg NEG-IPFV-arrive.PRES-3sg and your strength is no match for me either.

Paragraph 151
799 māhi rize-hā goft-and fish tiny-PL say.PAST-3pl
The tiny fish said:
800 bāyad xafe=at kon-im must choke=PC.2sg IMP.do.PRES-1pl
We must choke you,
801 mā āzādi mi-xāh-im PN.1pl freedom IPFV-want.PRES-1pl
We want freedom.
Paragraph 152
802 māhi siāh goft
   fish black say.PAST.3sg
   The black fish said:
803 aql az sar=etān parid-e Ø
   reason from head=PC.2pl leave-PSPT be.AUX.PRES-3sg
   You’ve taken leave of your senses!
804 agar marā xafe be-kon-id
   if PN.1sg.OM choke SBJN-do.PRES-2pl
   If you choke me
805 bāz ham rāh=e farār=i peydā ne-mi-kon-id
   still also way=EZ escape=IND find NEG-IPFV-do.PRES-2pl
   You still won’t find a way of escape.
806 gul=aš=rā na-xor-id
   trick=PC.3sg=OM NEG-eat.PRES-2pl
   Don’t fall for his trick!

Paragraph 153
807 māhi rize-hā goft-and
   fish tiny-PL say.PAST-3pl
   The tiny fish said:
808 to in harf=rā barā=(y)e in mi-zan-i
   PN.2sg this word=OM for=EZ this IPFV-hit.PRES-2sg
   You’re saying that in order to
809 ke jān=e xod=at=rā nejāt be-dah-i
   CLM soul=EZ self=PC.3sg=OM rescue IMP-give.PRES-2sg
   save your own skin
810 vagarna aslan fekr=e mā=rā ne-mi-kon-i
   otherwise never thought=EZ PN.1pl=OM NEG-IPFV-do.PRES-2sg
   and even if not, you don’t have our interests in mind at all!

Paragraph 154
811 māhi siāh goft
   fish black say.PAST.3sg
   The black fish said:
812 pas guš kon-id
   so listen IMP.do.PRES-2pl
   So listen
813 rāh=i nešān=etān be-dah-am
   way=IND show=PC.2pl SBJN-give.PRES-1sg
   I can show you a way (of escape).
814 man miān=e māhi-hā=(y)e bijān
   PN.1sg middle=EZ fish-PL=EZ without.soul
   xod=am=rā be mord-an mi-zan-am
   self=PC.1sg=OM to die-INF IPFV-hit.PRES-1sg
   I’ll make it look like I’m dead, amongst the fish corpses;
آن وقت بین‌ایم

در زمانی که ما می‌بینیم...

یا تنها...

آیا یا نه...

آیا آنها می‌پذیریم یا نه...

یا اگر کلمه‌ای را از من نپذیرفته‌اید...

آیا توی این قاب بهم نمی‌کنید...

آیا می‌کشید؟...

و گفت...

با کون دیگر

و گفت: 

با داد زاد

و گفت: 

یکی از ماهیان‌ها کلمه‌ای را از ما نپذیرفته‌اند...

من تامین‌العمل در کلمه‌ای که ما گفته‌ایم...

یا گفت...

و گفت...

یکی از ماهی‌ها مشاهده کرده...

و گفت...

و گفت: 

لاشه... لاشه... لاشه...
This spoiled mummy's boy, why did you bring him along with you, anyway?

Then she got out the dagger

They were obliged to accept the little fish's plan.

They put up a sham of fighting and struggling.

The black fish pretended to be dead

We've killed the meddlesome black fish...

The pelican laughed

Well done!
Now as a reward for this work I will swallow you all alive

so you can have a stroll of my stomach!

The tiny fish didn’t get any chance at all,

with lightning speed they went down the pelican’s throat

and their fate was sealed.

But the black fish, just at that moment, drew her dagger

and with one stroke slit the pouch open

and got out.

The pelican gave a scream of pain

and flailed his head around in the water,

but he wasn’t able

to follow the little fish.
Paragraph 162
853 māhi siāh raft o raft o bāz ham raft fish black go.PAST.3sg and go.PAST.3sg and play also go.PAST.3sg
The black fish swam and swam and also played,
854 tā zohr šod until midday become.PAST.3sg until midday came.
855 hālā digar kuh va darre tamām šod-e bud now other mountain and valley finish become-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
Now the mountain and the valley had come to an end
856 va rudxāne az dašt-e hamvār=i mi-gozašt and river from plain=EZ same.level=IND IPFV-pass.PAST.3sg
and the river passed through a flat plain.
857 az rāst va čand rudxāne=(y)e kuček=e digar ham from right and left several river=EZ small=EZ other also be ān peyvast-e bud to PN.3sg join-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
From the right and the left, a number of other little rivers joined it
858 va āb=aš=rā čand barābar kard-e bud and water=PC.3sg=OM several equal do-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg and increased its flow several-fold.
859 māhi siāh az farāvānī=(y)e āb lezzat mi-bord fish black from abundance=EZ water delight IPFV-take.PAST.3sg
The black fish was delighted with the abundance of water.
860 nāgahān be xod āmad suddenly to self come.PAST.3sg
Suddenly she came to her senses
861 va did and see.PAST.3sg and saw
862 āb tah na-dār-ad water bottom NEG-have.PRES-3sg that the water had no bottom.
863 invar raft this.way go.PAST.3sg She went this way
864 ānvar raft that.way go.PAST.3sg and that.
865 be jā=(y)i bar na-xord to place=IND PREV NEG-eat.PAST.3sg She didn’t meet any land.
866 ānqadr āb bud that.much water be.PAST.3sg There was so much water
که ماهی کوچولو تُرُ (ی) اَش گوم شود-ِِ ِِ بَد
CLM ماهی کوچولو in=PC.3sg قبلاً پیدا کرده بود
that the little fish became lost in it

هار تورک که دل=یاِش خاَست
every way CLM قلب=PC.3sg می‌خواشت want.PAST.3sg
and whichever way she wanted to

شنا کرد
swim do.PAST.3sg
she could swim

وا بَژ سر=یاِش بِت جا=یا نا-خورد
and again head=PC.3sg به تن place=IND NEG-می‌خورد be.PAST.3sg
and she did not come across any land at all.

Paragraph 163

نَگاهانان دید
suddenly see.PAST.3sg
Suddenly she saw

یک حیوان=یا دَرَژ او بزرگ مدل=یا بَرق
one animal=EZ طولانی و بزرگ like=EZ برق
be تارا=یا همل می‌کاند attack IPFV-do.PRES-3sg
that some long and enormous creature was attacking her like lightning.

یک آره=یا و دَم جلو=یا شَد=ینا-خورد
one swordfish=EZ دو سر اورت دهان=ینا-خورد be.PAST.3sg
There was a two-edged sword at the front of its mouth!

مَهی کوچولو فکر کرد
fish little thought do.PAST.3sg
The little fish thought

هامین حال=ست
same.this now=COP.PRES.3sg
that now was the moment

که آرامیا که تکه تکه=یاِش می‌کاند
CLM ماهی کوچولو قطع قطع=PC.3sg SBJN-do.PRES-3sg
the swordfish was about to tear her to pieces,

زود به خود جنبد
soon to self move.PAST.3sg
and with great agility

وا یا یاد خالی کرد
and empty place=IND do.PAST.3sg
she moved away

وا امام رو=یاِه آب
and come.PAST.3sg آب on=EZ water
came up to the surface;

بَد از مدت=یا دوباره رفت زیر=یاَاِب
then after time.span=IND again go.PAST.3sg زیر=ینا-خورد under=EZ water
then after a while, went back under again
که تاه‌های آب‌سنگ را به گنبدی می‌گیرد
CLM bottom=EZ sea=OM SBJN-see.PRES-3sg
to see the bottom of the sea.

و باز از راه یک گاله ماهی، به آگاهی پرکرده باشد.
middle=EZ way to one shoal fish PREV come.across.PAST.3sg
hezār-hā hezār māhi
thousand-PL thousand fish
She came across a shoal of fish in the middle of her path – thousands and thousands of fish!

از یکی‌شان پرسید
from one=IND=PC.3pl ask.PAST.3sg
She asked one of them:

رفنق! من قرباً=
friend PN.1sg stranger=COP.PRES.1sg
Friend, I’m a stranger,

از راه‌هایی دوست می‌آم
from way-PL=EZ far IPFV-come.PRES-1sg
I’ve come from a long way away.

جایی کجاست
here where=COP.PRES.3sg
Where is this?

ماهی دستان‌هایی = به صدا گذاشت
fish friend-PL=PC.3sg=OM voice hit.PAST.3sg
The fish called its friends

وگفت
and say.PAST.3sg
and said:

نظاه کنید
look IMP.do.PRES-2pl
Look!

یکی دیگر…
one=IND other
Another one…

بنده به ماهی سیاه گفت
then to fish black say.PAST.3sg
Then he said to the black fish:

رفنق به داریا گوش آمدی
friend to sea welcome come.PAST-2sg
Friend, welcome to the sea!

یکی دیگر از ماهی‌هایی گفت
one=IND other from fish-PL say.PAST.3sg
Another of the fish said:
All the rivers and streams end up here, of course some of them get soaked up in swamps.

Paragraph 167
Another said:

Any time you want to, you can

Paragraph 168
The little black fish was overjoyed

I think

I’ll go for a look around first

I’m very keen,
Paragraph 169

908 in daf?e ke tur=e mard=e māhigir=rā dar mi-bar-id
this time.PL CLM net=EZ mard= EZ fish.take=OM PREV draw.PRES-2pl
when you drag away the fisherman's net,

909 man ham hamrāh=e šomā bāš-am
PN.1sg also companion= EZ PN.2pl SBJN.be.PRES-1sg
to be alongside you!

910 yek=i az māhi-hā goft
one=IND from fish-PL say.PAST.3sg
One of the fish said:

911 hamin zudi-hā be ārezu=(y)at mi-res-i
same.this quickness-PL to wish=PC.2sg IPFV-arrive.PRES-2sg
You'll attain your wish soon.

912 hālā bo-ro
now IMP-go.PRES
Go now

913 gašt=at=rā be-zan
around=PC.2sg=OM IMP-hit.PRES
and have your look around,

914 ammā agar ru=(y)e āb raft-i
but if on= EZ water go.PAST-2sg
but if you go up to the surface

915 movāzeb=e māhixār bāš
careful=EZ heron IMP.be.PRES
look out for the heron

916 ke in ruz-hā digar az hičkas parvā=(y)i na-dār-ad
CLM in day-PL other from noperson fear=IND NEG-have.PRES-3sg
which these days has no fear of anyone any more.

917 har ruz tā čahār panj māhi šekār na-kon-ad
every day until four five fish catch NEG-do.PRES-3sg
Every day, until he catches four or five fish,

918 dast az sar=e mā bar ne-mi-dār-ad
hand from head= EZ PN.1pl PREV NEG-have.PRES-3sg
he won’t leave us alone.

919 ānvaqt māhi siāh az daste=(y)e māhi-hā=(y)e daryā
that.time fish black from shoal=EZ fish-PL=EZ sea
jodā šod
apart become.PAST.3sg
At that time the black fish split off from the shoal of sea fish

920 va xod=aš be šenā kard-an pardāxt
and self=PC.3sg to swim do-INF engage.in.PAST.3sg
and went to have a swim by himself.

921 kam=i ba:d āmad be sath=e daryā
little=IND later come.PAST.3sg to surface=EZ sea
A little later, she came to the surface of the sea.
The sunlight was shining warmly.
The little black fish felt the burning warmth of the sun on her back
and was loving it.
At peace and happy, she was swimming at the surface of the sea
and saying to himself:
Death can very easily come across my path now,
but for as long as I can
I mustn’t go in search of death.
Of course, if at some point I am compelled to face death
– which I will –
it’s not important;
what’s important
ke zendegi yā marg=e man
CLM life or death=EZ PN.1sg
če asar=i dar zendegi=(y)e digar-ān
what impression=IND in life=EZ other-PL
dāšt-e bāš-ad…
have-PSPT SBJN.be.AUX.PRES-3sg
is what impression my life or death has on the lives of others…

Paragraph 170
māhi siāh=e kučulu na-tavānest
fish black=EZ tiny NEG-be.able.PAST.3sg
The little black fish wasn’t able

fekr va xiāl=aš=rā bištar
thought and idea=PC.3sg=OM more
az in donbāl kon-ad
from this behind SBJN.do.PRES-3sg
to think and dream any further,

māhixār āmad
heron come.PAST.3sg
(for) the heron came

va u=rā bar dāšt
and PN.3sg=OM PREV have.PAST.3sg
and grabbed her

va bord
and take.PAST.3sg
and carried her off.

māhi kučulu lā=(y)e menqār=e derāz=e māhixār
fish little fold=EZ beak=EZ long=EZ heron
dast o pā mi-zad
hand and foot IPFV-hit.PAST.3sg
The little fish beat against the long beak of the heron with all her might (lit.
hands and feet),

ammā ne-mi-tavānest
but NEG-IPFV-be.able.PAST.3sg
but she couldn’t

xod=aš=rā nejāt be-dah-ad
self=PC.3sg=OM rescue SBJN.give.PRES-3sg
free herself.

māhixār kamargāh=e u=rā čenān seft o saxt
heron waist=EZ PN.3sg=OM so hard and tight
gereft-e bud
grasp-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
The heron had grasped her waist so hard and tight

ke dāšt jān=aš dar mi-raft
CLM have.AUX.PAST.3sg soul=PC.3sg PREV IPFV-go.PAST.3sg
that the life was draining out of her!
After all, how long can a little fish remain alive out of water.

The fish thought if only the heron might right now swallow her.

so that for just a little while the water and moisture in its stomach might give her a few minutes before her death.

With this in mind she said to the heron:

Why don’t you swallow me alive?

I’m one of those fish.

that after death, their bodies fill up with poison.

The heron didn’t say anything.

but thought:

Oho, a trickster!

what craftiness on work = EZ.

Paragraph 171
What craftiness are you up to?

na-kon-ad
NEG-do.PRES-3sg
Is it maybe

mi-xāh-i
IPFV-want.PRES-2sg
so that you want

marā be harf bi-ār-i
PN.1sg.OM to word SBJN-bring.PRES-2sg
to make me talk

ke dar be-rav-i
CLM PREV SBJN-go.PRES-2sg
so you can escape?

Paragraph 172

xoški az dur namāyān šod-e bud
dry.land from far visible become-PSPT be_AUX.PAST.3sg
Dry land had become visible in the distance

va nazdik-tar o nazdik-tar mi-šod
and near-CMPR and near-CMPR IPFV-become.PAST.3sg
and was growing closer and closer.

māhi siāh fekr kard
fish black thought do.PAST.3sg
The black fish thought:

agar be xoški be-res-im
if to dry.land SBJN-arrive.PRES-1pl
If we reach the dry land,

digar kār tamām=ast
other work finish=COP.PRES.3sg
it will all be over.

in bud
this be.PAST.3sg
That is why

ke goft
CLM say.PAST.3sg
she said:

mi-dān-am
IPFV-know.PRES-1sg
I know

ke mi-xāh-i
CLM IPFV-want.PRES-2sg
that you want

marā bačče-hā=t be-bar-i
PN.1sg.OM for=EZ child-PL=PC.2sg SBJN-take.PRES-2sg
to take me for your children;
But by the time we get to dry land,

I'll be dead

and my body will have become a bag full of poison.

Why are you having no mercy on your children?

The heron thought:

Caution is a good idea!

I'll eat you myself

and catch another fish for my children...

But let me see,

are you really not trying to trick me?

No, you're not in a position

to do anything!

The heron was just thinking this
که دید

CLM see.PAST.3sg

و هنگامی که او گرفتار یک عضو شد.

badān=e māhi sīāh šol va biharakat mānd
body=EZ fish black slack and motionless remain.PAST.3sg

that the black fish’s body became slack and motionless.

bā xod=aš fekr kard
with self=PC.3sg thought do.PAST.3sg

She thought to herself:

yaːni mord-e Ø
t.it.means die-PSPT be.AUX.PRES-3sg

Does that mean she’s dead?

hālā digar xod=am ham ne-mi-tavān-am
now other self=PC.1sg also NEG-IPFV-be.able.PRES-1sg

Now I can’t eat her myself, either.

māhi=(y)e be in narm o nāzok=i=rā bixodi
fish=EZ to this softness and tenderness=IND=OM needlessly
harām kard-am
unlawful do.PAST-1sg

I’ve needlessly wasted this soft and tender fish!

That was why

ke māhi sīāh=rā sedā zad
CLM fish black=OM sound hit.PAST.3sg

she called to the black fish

ke be-gu-(y)ad
CLM SBJN-say.PRES-3sg
to say:

āhāy kučulu! hanuz nim=e jān=i dār-i
aha little still half=EZ soul=IND have.PRES-2sg

Aha, little one! Are you still half alive?

ke be-tavān-am
CLM SBJN-be.able.PRES-1sg

that I might

be-xor-am=at
SBJN-eat.PRES-1sg=PC.2sg

eat you?

Paragraph 175

ammā na-tavānest
but NEG-be.able.PAST.3sg

But she couldn’t
1001 harf=aš=rā tamām kon-ad
word=PC.3sg=OM finish SBJN.do.PRES-3sg
finish what she was saying;

1002 čun haminke menqār=aš=rā bāz kard
because same.this bill=PC.3sg=OM open do.PAST.3sg
for the moment she opened her bill,

1003 māhi sıāh jast=i zad
fish black jump=IND hit.PAST.3sg
the black fish made a leap (for it)

1004 va pāyin oftād
and down fall.PAST.3sg
and fell down.

1005 māhixār did
heron see.PAST.3sg
The heron saw

1006 badjur=i kolāh sar=aš raft
bad.way=IND hat head=PC.3sg go.PAST.3sg
that she had been meanly defrauded,

1007 oftād donbāl=e māhi sıāh=e kučulu
fall.PAST.3sg behind=EZ fish black=EZ little
and swooped down after the little black fish.

1008 māhi mesl=e barq dar havā şirje mi-raft
fish like=EZ lightning in air plunge IPFV-go.PAST.3sg
The fish plunged through the air like lightning.

1009 az eštiāq=e āb=e daryā bixod
from eager=EZ water=EZ sea no.purpose
šod-e bud
become-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
She had become desperately eager for the water of the sea

1010 va dahan=e xošk=aš=rā
and mouth=EZ dry=PC.3sg=OM
be bād=e martub=e daryā sepord-e bud
to wind=EZ moist=EZ sea dedicate-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
and had given over her dry mouth to the moist sea breeze.

1011 ammā tā raft tu=(y)e āb
but as.soon.as go.PAST.3sg in=EZ water
but the moment she went into the water

1012 va nafās=i tāze kard
and breath=IND fresh do.PAST.3sg
and took a fresh breath,

1013 māhixār mesl=e barq sar resid
heron like=EZ lightning head arrive.PAST.3sg
the heron arrived like lightning

1014 va in bār čenān besor?at māhi=rā šekār kard
and this time such with.speed fish=OM hunt do.PAST.3sg
and caught the fish with such speed this time
va qurt dād
and swallow give.
PAST.3sg
swallowed

ke māhi tā moddat=i na-fahmid
CLM fish for moment=IND NEG-understand.
PAST.3sg
that the fish didn’t realise for a while

če balā=(y)i be sar=aš āmad-e Ø
what calamity=IND to head=PC.3sg come-PSPT be.
AUX.PRES.
PAST.3sg
what calamity had come upon her,

faqat hess mi-kard
only feeling IPFV-
do.
PAST.3sg
but just felt

ke hame jā martub va tārik=ast
CLM all place moisture and darkness=COP.
PRES.
PAST.3sg
that everywhere was moist and dark

va rāh=i nist
and way=IND NEG.be.
PRES.
PAST.3sg
and there was nowhere to go

va sedā=(y)e gerye mi-ā-(y)ad
and sound=EZ crying IPFV-
come.
PRES.
PAST.3sg
and there was a sound of crying was coming from somewhere.

vaqti češm-hā=(y)aš be tārikī ādat kard
when eye-PL=PC.3sg to darkness custom do.
PAST.3sg
When her eyes got used to the darkness,

māhi=(y)e besyār rize=(y)i=rā did
fish=EZ very tiny=IND=OM see.
PAST.3sg
she saw a really tiny fish

ke guše=(y)i kez kard-e bud
CLM corner=IND cower do-
be.
AUX.
PAST.3sg
cowering in a corner

va gerye mi-kard
and crying IPFV-
do.
PAST.3sg
and crying

va nane=aš=rā mi-xāst
and mother=PC.3sg=OM IPFV-
want.
PAST.3sg
and wanting its mother.

māhi siāh nazdik šod
fish black near become.
PAST.3sg
The black fish went up to her

va goft
and say.
PAST.3sg
and said:

kučulu! pā šo
little foot IMP.
become.
PRES
Little one!
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| 1041 | That’s enough,
Paragraph 178

1042 to ke āberu=(y)e harče māhi=st
PN.2sg CLM reputation=EZ whatever fish=COP.PRES.3sg
pāk bord-i
clean take.PRES-2sg
you are a disgrace to the reputation of all fish!

1043 vaqti māhi rize jelo=(y)e gerye=aš=ṛā gereft
when fish tiny front=EZ crying=PC.3sg=OM take.PAST.3sg
When the tiny fish got control of her tears,
1044 māhi kučulu goft
fish little say.PAST.3sg
the little fish said:

1045 man mi-xāh-am
PN.1sg IPFV-want.PRES-1sg
I want

1046 māhixār=ṛā be-koš-am
heron=OM SBJN-kill.PRES-1sg
to kill the heron

1047 va māhi-hā=ṛā āsude kon-am
and fish-PL=OM at.ease SBJN.do.PRES-1sg
and put the fish at ease,

1048 ammā qablan bāyad to=ṛā birun be-ferest-am
but first must PN.2sg=OM outside SBJN-send.PRES-1sg
but first I must get you outside

1049 ke rosvā=(y)i be bār na-(y)āvar-i
CLM disgrace=IND to load NEG.SBJN-bring.PRES-2sg
so that you don’t compound your disgrace.

Paragraph 179

1050 māhi rize goft
fish tiny say.PAST.3sg
The tiny fish said:

1051 to ke xod=at dār-i mi-mir-i
PN.2sg CLM self-PC.2sg have.AUX.PRES-2sg IPFV-die.PRES-2sg
Since you are about to die yourself,

1052 četowri mi-xāh-i 4
how IPFV-want.AUX.PRES-2sg
how do you intend

1053 māhixār=ṛā be-koš-i
heron=OM SBJN-kill.PRES-2sg
to kill the heron?

4 1052-1053 should be one clause.
The little fish showed her dagger

and said:

I'll tear open her belly with this.

Now listen

and check out

what I'm saying.

I'll begin wriggling around

and going this way and that

so that heron gets tickled

and the moment her mouth opens

and she starts laughing loudly with the tickling

you jump out.

Then what about you?
Paragraph 182
1068 māhi kučulu goft
  fish little say.PAST.3sg
  The little fish said:

1069 fekr=e marā na-kon
  thought=EZ PN.1sg.OM NEG-do.PRES
  Don’t think about me.

1070 man tā in badjens=rā na-koš-am
  PN.1sg until this nasty.animal=OM NEG.SB.IN-kill.PRES-1sg
  Until I kill this nasty animal

1071 birun ne-mi-ā-(y)am
  outside NEG-IPFV-come.PRES-1sg
  I’m not coming out.

Paragraph 183
1072 māhi siāh in=rā goft
  fish black this=OM say.PAST.3sg
  The black fish said this

1073 va šoru kard be vul xord-an
  and begin do.PAST.3sg to wriggle eat-INF
  and started wriggling

1074 va invar o ānvar raft-an
  and this.way and that.way go-INF
  and going this way and that

1075 va šekam=e māhixār=rā qelqelak dād-an
  and belly=EZ heron=OM tickle give-INF
  and tickling the heron’s belly.

1076 māhi rize dam=e dar=e me:de=(y)e māhixār
  fish tiny at=EZ door=EZ stomach=EZ heron
  házer istād-e bud
  ready stand-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
  The tiny fish stood ready at the entrance to the heron’s stomach.

1077 tā māhixār dahān=aš=rā bāz kard
  as.soon.as heron mouth=PC.3sg=OM open do.PAST.3sg
  The moment the heron opened her mouth

1078 va šoru kard be qāh qāh xandid-an
  and begin do.PAST.3sg to cackle cackle laugh-INF
  and started laughing loudly with the tickling,

1079 māhi rize az dahān=e māhixār birun parid
  fish tiny from mouth=EZ heron outside jump.PAST.3sg
  the tiny fish jumped out of the heron’s mouth

1080 va dar raft
  and PREV go.PAST.3sg
  and escaped
va kam=i ba:d dar āb oftād
and little=IND then into water fall.PAST.3sg
and shortly afterwards fell into the water;

ammā harče montazer mānd
but whatever waiting remain
but however long he waited

az māhi siāh xabar=i na-šod
from fish black sign=IND NEG-become.PAST.3sg
there was no sign of the black fish.

nāghān did
suddenly see.PAST.3sg
Suddenly she saw

māhixār hamintowr pič o tāb mi-xor-ad
heron same.manner turn and twist IPFV-eat.PRES-3sg
the heron thrashing around

va faryād mi-keš-ad
and screaming IPFV-draw.PRES-3sg
and screaming,

tā-inke šoru kard be dast o pā zad-an
until begin do.PAST.3sg to hand and foot hit-INF
until it began twitching and writhing

va pāyin āmad-an
and below come-INF
and coming down

va ba:d šelepp=i oftād tu=(y)e āb
and then splash=IND fall.PAST.3sg in=EZ water
and then fell with a splash into the water

va bāz dast o pā zad
and again hand and foot hit.PAST.3sg
and again twitching and writhing

tā az jonb o juš oftād
until from moving and boiling fall.PAST.3sg
until it stopped moving and thrashing

ammā az māhi siāh=e kučulu
but from fish black=EZ little
hič xabar=i na-šod
not sign=IND NEG-become.PAST.3sg
but there was not a sign of the little black fish

va tā be hāl ham hič xabar=i
and until to now also not sign=IND
na-šod-e Ø …
NEG-become-PSPT be.AUX.PRES-3sg
and still until now there has been no sign ...
Paragraph 184
1094 māhi=(y)e pir qesse=aš=rā tamām kard
fish=ez old story=p.c.3sg=om finished do.past.3sg
(So) the old fish finished her story
1095 va be davāzdah hezār bačče va nave=aš
and to twelve thousand child and g’child=pc.3sg
goft
say.past.3sg
and said to her twelve thousand children and grandchildren:
1096 digar vaqt=e xāb=ast bačče-hā
other time=ez sleep=cop.pres.3sg child-pl
Now is the time for sleep, children,
1097 be-rav-id
SBJN-go.pres-2pl
go
1098 be-xāb-id
SBJN-sleep.pres-2pl
to sleep.

Paragraph 185
1099 bačče-hā va nave-hā goft-and
child-pl and g’child-pl.say.past-3pl
The children and grandchildren said:
1100 mādarbozorg! na-goft-i
grandmother neg-say.past-2sg
Granny! You haven’t said
1101 ān māhi rize četowr šod
that fish tiny how become.past.3sg
how the tiny fish ended up?

Paragraph 186
1102 māhi=(y)e pir goft
fish=ez old say.past.3sg
The old fish said:
1103 ān ham be-mān-ad barā=(y)e fardā šab
that also sbjn-remain.pres-3sg for=ez tomorrow night
As for that, it too can wait for tomorrow night.
1104 hālā vaqt=e xāb=ast šab bexeyr
now time=ez sleep=cop.pres.3sg night good
Now it’s time to sleep. Goodnight!

Paragraph 187
1105 yāzdah hezār o nohsad o navad o noh
eleven thousand and nine hundred and ninety and nine
māhi=(y)e kučulu šab bexeyr goft-and
fish=ez little night to.well.being say.past-3pl
11,999 little fish said goodnight
va raft-and  
and go.PAST-3pl

and went

va xābid-and  
and sleep.PAST-3pl

to sleep.

mādarbozorg ham xāb=aš bord  
grandmother also sleep=PC.3sg take.PAST.3sg

The grandmother went to sleep too

ammā māhi=(y)e sorx=e kučulu=i har čeqadr kard  
but fish=EZ red=EZ little=IND every how.much do.PAST.3sg

but one little red fish, try as she might,

xāb=aš na-bord  
sleep=PC.3sg NEG-take.PAST.3sg

couldn’t sleep.

šab tā sobh hame=aš  
evening to morning whole=PC.3sg

fekr=e daryā bud …  
thought=EZ sea be.PAST.3sg

From evening to morning she thought endlessly of the sea …
چند سال قبل در روستایی بودم

مدرسه‌مان تنها یک اتاق داشت.

دistanسیه ونیل ۱۰۰ متری بود.

من ۳۲ دانش‌آموز داشم.

دهانه دار یک پنجره و یک در در نزدیکی خیابان داشت.

۱۵ نفر در کلاس اول بودند.

۸ نفر در کلاس دوم بودند.

۶ نفر در کلاس سوم بودند.

۳ نفر در کلاس چهارم بودند.

آنها در پایان پاییز به من در آنجا ارسال کردند.

ویلینه‌ها دو یا سه ماه بدون معلم مانده بودند.

و که وقتی آنها من را دیدند (از دیدن من)

خوشحالم بوده‌اند.

و صدای خیلی بزرگی کرده بودند.

و زمانی که بچه‌ها را دیدند (از دیدن من)
they were joyful and made a lot of noise.

For four or five days the class was incomplete.

For four or five days the class was incomplete.

In the end I was able to pull together pupils from the wilderness and the carpet weaving factory and from here and there into the class.

More or less all of the children when they had nothing to do

they went to the factory of Haji Qoli the carpet weaver.

The smartest of them were paid ten-fifteen rial per day.

The workers in town wanted money in advance (i.e. before finishing the carpet).

The highest wages in the village were 25-35 rial.

But it was not more than ten days since I had come to the village.
که برف بارید
CLM snow fall.PAST.3sg

وا زامین یاخ بست
and ground ice bind.PAST.3sg
when the snow fell and covered the ground with ice.

شکاف-ه=ی dar o panjere=رā کاقز چاپ-آن-د-im
gap=PL=EZ door and window paper attach.PRES-CAUS-PAST-1pl
We attached paper to the gaps in the door and window

که سرمā tu na-(ی)ā-(ی)ad
CLM cold in NEG-come.PRES-3sg
to stop the cold coming in.

رژ=ی barā=(ی)e کلāس=یe چاپر=ez چهارم o سه-ی يوم
day=IND for=EZ class=EZ fourth and third
dikte mi-goft-am
dictation IPFV-say.PAST-1sg
One day I was saying dictation to the third or fourth class

کلāس=ی avval o دو-ی يوم bud-and
class=EZ first and second outside be.PAST-3pl
The first and second classes were outside.

افتاب bud
sunshine be.PAST.3sg
The sun was shining

وا برف-ه=ی نارم o ابکی چود-یe bud
and snow-PL soft and watery become-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
and the snow had become slushy.

از پانجرا mi-did-am
from window IPFV-see.PAST-1sg
From the window I saw

که باچچه-ه=ی sag=ی velgard=i=رā دو-ی ول=ی kارد=ی and
CLM child-PL dog=EZ stray=IND=OM circle do-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3pl
that the children had encircled a stray dog

وا بار سار o روش=ی exchange
and on head and face=PC.3sg
golule=(ی)e برف mi-zan-and
ball=EZ snow IPFV-throw.PRES-3pl
and were throwing snowballs at its head and face.

تستان-ه=ی bā sang o کول=یx دونبāl=ی sag-ه=ی mi-oftād-and
summer-PL with stone and clod after=ی dog-PL IPFV-fall.PAST-3pl
In the summer(s) they would chase the dogs with stones

زمستان-ه=ی bā golule=(ی)e برف
winter-PL with ball=یx snow
and in the winter(s) with snowballs.

کم=ی بام د سد=ی exchange=ی nāzok=ی
little=IND after voice=یx thin=IND
After a little while a thin voice was heard coming from behind the door.

Hey, I have brought beetroot!

Children! I have brought hot and sweet beetroot!

I asked the prefect.

“Mash Kazem, who is this?”

Mash Kazem said,

“Sir, he sells beetroot in the winter.

Do you want

me to ask him

in to come in?”

I opened the door

and Tari Verdi came in with his brazen bowl of beetroots.
šāl=e naxi=(y)e kohne=i bar sar o ru=(y)aš shawl=EZ cotton=EZ old=IND on head and face=PC.3sg pičid-e bud turn.around-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
He had an old cotton shawl wrapped around his head and face.
yek lenge az kafš-hā=š gāleš bud one pair of shoe=PL=PC.3sg galoshes be.PAST.3sg One in the pair of his shoes was a galosh
va yek lenge=aš az hamin kafš-hā=(y)e and one pair=PC.3sg from same.this shoe=PL=EZ maːmulī=(y)e mardāne ordinary=EZ male and one in the pair was an ordinary man’s shoes.
kot=e mardāne=aš tā zānu-hā=š mi-resid coat=EZ male=PC.3sg to knee=PL=PC.3sg IPFV-reach.PAST.3sg He had a man’s coat that reached down to his knees
dast-hā=š tu=(y)e āstin=e kot=aš arm=PL=PC.3sg in=EZ sleeve=EZ coat=PC.3sg penhān mi-šod hidden IPFV-become.PAST.3sg
(and) his hands/arms were hidden inside the sleeves of the coat.
az sarmā sorx šod-e bud from cold red become-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg He had become red from the cold.
ru(y)eham dah davāzdah sāl dāst all.in.all ten twelve year have.PAST.3sg All in all he was ten or twelve years old.
salām kard greeting do.PAST.3sg He made a greeting
kašk-sābi=rā ru=(y)e zamin gozāšt brazen-bowl=OM on=EZ ground put.PAST.3sg (and) put the brazen bowl on the ground.
goft say.PAST.3sg He said,
ejāze mi-dah-i āqā permission IPFV-give.PRES-2sg sir “Will you give me permission, sir
dast-hā=m=rā garm kon-am hand=PL=PC.3sg=OM warm SBJN.do.PRES-1sg to warm my hands?”
bačče-hā u=rā kenār=e boxāri keš-ān-d-and child=PL PN.3sg=OM beside=EZ heater/stove pull.PRES-CAUS-PAST-3pl
The children pulled him to the heater.
I offered my chair to him.

(But) he did not sit down.

(Instead) he said,

"No sir.

The other children had also come in at the voice of Tari Verdi (when they heard Tari Verdi)

The class had become noisy.

I made them all sit in their places.

When Tari Verdi had become a bit warmer

Then without waiting for my answer

he went to his beetroots
and removed the dirty and discoloured handkerchief from the side of the brazen bowl.

A delicious aroma rose from the beetroot.

A knife with a handle made of a horn of an animal belonging to “sardari” was on the beetroots (the name sardari is carved on the handle).

Tari Verdi chose a beetroot

Tari Verdi chose a beetroot

Tari Verdi chose a beetroot

Tari Verdi chose a beetroot

It is better

that you peel it yourself, sir

it is possible that my hands ....”

well, you know, we are villagers.

We have not seen town (=we do not know what it is like in town)

and do not know their customs and ways (there).

He spoke like an experienced older man.
labu=zar  
vasat=ez  
dast=am  
fešord-am  
beetroot=om  
middle=ez  
hand=pc.1sg  
press.past-1sg  
I pressed the beetroot in the middle of my hand.

pust=ez  
čerk=azš  
kand=ez  
šod  
peel=ez  
dirty=pc.3sg  
pull.off-pspt  
become.past.3sg  
The dirty peel pulled off.

va sorxi=(ye)  
tond o  
xošrang=i  
birun  
zad  
and  
redness=ez  
strong and  
of.nice.colour=ind  
out  
hit.past.3sg  
and  
a strong vivid redness emerged.

yek gazi  
zad-am  
one bite  
hit.past-1sg  
I took a bite.

širin=ez  
širin bud  
sweet=ez  
sweet  
be.past.3sg  
(and) it was very sweet.

nowruz az  
āxar=ez  
kelās  
gof  
Noruz  
from  
end=ez  
class  
say.past.3sg  
(Then) Noruz from the end of the class said,

āqā  
sir  
"Sir,

labu=(ye)  
hičkas  
mesl=ez  
tāri verdi  
širin  
beetroot=ez  
nobody like=ez  
Tari Verdi sweet  
ne-mi-šav-ad  
āqā  
NEG-ipfv-become.pres-3sg  
sir  
Nobody’s beetroot is as sweet as Tari Verdi’s, sir."

maš  
kāzem  
gof  
Mash Kazem say.past.3sg  
Mash Kazem said,

āqā  
xeṭhar=azš  
mi-paz-ad  
sir  
sister=pc.3sg  
ifadv-cook.pres-3sg  
"Sir, his sister cooks (them)"

in  
ham  
mi-foruš-ad  
this also  
ifadv-sell.pres-3sg  
(and) he sells (them).

nane=azš  
marız=ast  
āqā  
mother=pc.3sg  
ill=cop.pres.3sg  
sir  
His mother is ill, sir."

man  
be  
ru=(ye)  
tāri verdi  
ne-gāh  
kard-am  
PN.1sg  
to  
face=ez  
Tari Verdi look  
do.past-1sg  
I looked into the face of Tari Verdi

labxand=ez  
širin  
om  
mard=ez  
ne=i  
ru=(ye)  
lab-ān=azš  
bud  
smile=ez  
sweet and  
manly=ez  
on=ez  
lip-pl=pc.3sg  
be.past.3sg  
He had a sweet manly smile on this lips.
109 šāl-gardan=e naxi=aš=rā bāz kard-e bud
shawl-neck=ez cotton=pc.3sg=om open do-pspt be.aux.past.3sg
He had opened (unwrapped) his cotton neck shawl.

110 mu-hā=(y)e sar=aš guš-hā=(y)aš=rā
hair-pl=ez head=pc.3sg ear-pl=pc.3sg=om
puš-ān-d-e bud cover.pres-caus-past-pspt be.aux.past.3sg
His hair (of his head) covered his ears.

111 goft
say.past.3sg
He said,

112 har kas=i kasb o kār=i dār-ad digar āqā
every person=ind business and work=ind have.pres-3sg other sir
“Everyone has some sort of work anyway, sir.

113 mā ham in-kāre=im
PN.1pl also this-work.adj=cop.pres.1pl
This is our (=my) work."

114 man goft-am
PN.1sg say.past-1sg
I said,

115 nane=at če=aš=ast tāri verdi
mother=pc.2sg what=pc.3sg=cop.pres.3sg Tari Verdi
“What is wrong with your mother, Tari Verdi?”

116 goft
say.past.3sg
He said,

117 pā-hā=$š tekān ne-mi-xor-ad
leg/foot-pl=pc.3sg movement neg-ipv-eat.pres-3sg
“She is not able to move her legs.

118 kadxodā mi-gu-(y)ad
village.elder ipfv-say.pres-3sg
The village elder says

119 falaj šod-e Ø
paralysed become-pspt be.aux.pres.3sg
she is paralyzed.

120 či šod-e Ø
what become-pspt be.aux.pres.3sg
What has happened

121 xub ne-mi-dān-am man āqā
well neg-ipv-know.pres-1sg PN.1sg sir
I don’t really know, sir.”

122 goft-am
say.past-1sg
I said,
pedar=at …
father=PC.2sg
"Your father …"

harf=am=rā borid
word=PC.1sg=OM cut.PAST.3sg
He cut me off

va goft
and say.PAST.3sg
and said,

mord-e Ø
die-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3sg
"He has died."

yek=i az baĉče-hā goft
one=IND from child-PL say.PAST.3sg
One of the children said

be=š mi-goft-and asqar qāĉāqči āqā
to=PC.3sg IPFV-say.PAST-3pl Asghar smuggler sir
“They called him (he was called) Asghar the smuggler, sir.”

tāri verdi goft
Tari Verdi say.PAST.3sg
Tari Verdi said

asbsavārī xub balad bud
horseriding well guide be.PAST.3sg
“He was good at horseriding.

āxar=aš ruz=i sar=e kuh-hā golule xord
end=PC.3sg day=IND on=EZ mountain-PL bullet eat.PAST.3sg
Finally, one day he was hit by a bullet in the mountains

o mord
and die.PAST.3sg
and he died.

amnie-hā zad-and=aš
gendarmerie-PL hit.PAST-3pl=PC.3sg
The gendarmerie killed him.

ru=(y)e asb zad-and=aš
on=EZ horse hit.PAST-3pl=PC.3sg
They killed him on (a) horse.”

kam=i ham az injā o ānjā harf zad-im
little=IND also from here and there word hit.PAST-1pl
We also talked a bit about other things.

do se qerān labu be baĉče-hā foruxt
two three qeran beetroot to child-PL sell.PAST.3sg
He sold two or three qeran (1 qeran = 1 rial) worth of beetroot to the children

o raft
and go.PAST.3sg
and he left.
He did not take any money from me.

He said,

"This time (you are) my guest.

Next time you will pay.

Don’t be concerned

We do understand a little about courtesy, sir.

Tari Verdi went towards the village in the snow

and we heard his voice

saying,

"Hey beetroot! I bring hot and sweet beetroot, people!"

Two dogs hung around him

and wagged their tails.

The children told me many things about Tari Verdi
esm=e xāhar=aš "sulmāz" bud
name=EZ sister=PC.3sg Sulmaz be.PAST.3sg
His sister’s name was Sulmaz.
do se sāl=i bozorg-tar az u bud
two three year=IND big-CMPR from PN.3sg be.PAST.3sg
She was two or three years older than him
vaqti pedar=ešān zende bud
when father=PC.3pl alive be.PAST.3sg
when their father was alive
sāheb=e xāne o zendegi=(y)e xub=i bud-and
owner=EZ house and life=EZ good=IND be.PAST-3pl
they owned a house and their life was good.
baːd=aš be falākat oftād-and
after=PC.3sg to destitution fall.PAST-3pl
Then they became destitute.
avval xāhar va baːd barādar raft-and
first sister and then brother go.PAST-3pl
piš=e hāji qoli=(y)e faršbāf
to=EZ Haji Qoli=EZ carpet-weaver
First the sister and then the brother went to Haji Qoli the carpet weaver.
baːd=aš bā hāji qoli daːvā=šān šod
after=PC.3sg with Haji Qoli quarrel=PC.3pl become.PAST.3sg
Then they quarrelled with Haji Qoli
va birun āmad-and
and out come.PAST-3pl
and left (quit working for Haji Qoli).
rezā qoli goft
Reza Qoli say.PAST.3sg
Reza Qoli said,
āqā hāji qoli=(y)e bišaraf xāhar=aš=rā
sir Haji Qoli=EZ dishonourable sister=PC.3sg=OM
aziat mi-kard
bothering IPFV-do.PAST.3sg
“Sir, the dishonourable Haji Qoli bothered his sister.
baː nazar=e bad be=š negāh mi-kard āqā
with view=EZ bad to=PC.3sg look IPFV-do.PAST.3sg sir
he looked at her with bad intentions, sir.”
abu al-fazl goft
Abolfazl say.PAST.3sg
Abolfazl (name of a child in the class) said,
ā… āqā tāri verdi mi-xāst
sir Tari Verdi IPFV-want.PAST.3sg
“Sir, Tari Verdi wanted
āqā hāji qoli=rā bā dafe be-koš-ad=aš ā…
sir Haji Qoli=OM with comb SBJN-kill.PRES-3sg=PC.3sgsir…
sir, to kill Mr Haji Qoli with a weaver’s comb (dafe: a comb for beating the knots together tightly).

166 tāri verdi har ruz yek=i do bār be kelās
Tari Verdi every day one=IND two time to class
sar mi-zad
head IPFV-hit.PAST.3sg

Once or twice a day Tari Verdi dropped into the class (lit. popped his head in).

167 gāhi ham pas az tamām kard-an=e labu-hā=š
sometimes also after from finish do-INF=EZ beetroot-PL=PC.3sg
mi-āmad
IPFV-come.PAST.3sg

Sometimes he also came after finishing his beetroot

168 va sar=e kelās mi-nešast
and on=EZ class IPFV-sit.PAST.3sg
and would sit in on the class

169 be dars guš mi-kard
to lesson ear IPFV-do.PAST.3sg
and listen to the lesson.

170 ruz=i be=š goft-am
day=IND to=PC.3sg say.PAST-1sg
One day I said to him,

171 tāri verdi šenid-am
Tari Verdi hear.PAST-1sg

“Tari Verdi, I heard

172 bā hāji qoli da:vā=t šod-e Ø
with Haji Qoli quarrel=PC.2sg become-PSP. be.AUX.PRES.3sg
you quarrelled with Haji Qoli.

173 mi-tavān-i
IPFV-be.able.PRES-2sg
Can you

174 be man be-gu-(y)i četowr
to PN.1sg SBJN-say.PRES-2sg how
tell me how?”

175 tāri verdi goft
Tari Verdi say.PAST.3sg

Tari Verdi said,

176 harf=e gozašte-hā=st āqā
word=EZ leave-PL=COP.PRES.3sg sir
“Let past times be, sir.

177 sar=etān=rā dard mi-āvar-am
head=PC.3pl=OM pain IPFV-bring.PRES-1sg
I will give you a headache.”

178 goft-am
say.PAST-1sg
I said,

179 xeyli ham xoš=am mi-ā-(y)ad much also pleasant=PC.1sg IPFV-come.PRES-3sg. “It would give me great pleasure
180 ke az zabān=e xod=at CLM from tongue=EZ self=PC.2sg
181 az sir tā piāz šarh=e da:vā=tān=rā from garlic to onion explanation=EZ quarrel=PC.2pl=OM
182 be-šnav-am SBJN-hear.PRES-1sg to hear your explanation with all the details of your quarrel in your own words.”
183 baː d tāri verdi şoru be sohbat kard then Tari Verdi begin to talk do.PAST.3sg Then Tari Verdi began to speak
184 o goft and say.PAST.3sg and said,
185 xeyli be-baxš āqā much IMP-forgive.PRES sir “Please forgive me sir
186 man o xāhar=am az baččegi PN.1sg and sister=PC.1sg from childhood piš=e hāji qoli kār mi-kard-im at=EZ Haji Qoli work IPFV-do.PAST-1pl I and my sister worked from childhood for Haji Qoli.
187 yaːni xāhar=am piš az man ānjā raft-e that.is sister=PC.1sg before from PN.1sg there go-PSPT bud be.AUX.PAST.3sg That is, my sister had started working there before me.
188 man zir=e dast=e u kār mi-kard-am PN.1sg under=EZ hand=EZ PN.3sg work IPFV-do.PAST-1sg I worked under her.
189 u mi-gereft do tumān PN.3sg IPFV-get.PAST.3sg two toman She used to get two toman
184 man ham yek čiz=i kam-tar az u PN.1sg also one thing=IND little-CMPR from PN.3sg (and) I got a little bit less than her.
185 do se sāl=i piš bud two three year=IND before be.PAST.3sg It was two or three years ago
186 mādar=am bāz mariz bud mother=PC.1sg again ill be.PAST.3sg
my mother was ill again.

191 kār ne-mi-kard
work NEG-IPFV-do.PAST.3sg
*She did not work*

192 ammā zamingir ham na-bud
but bedridden also NEG-be.PAST.3sg
*and was not bedridden either.*

193 tu kārxāne si tā čehel bačče=(y)e digar ham bud-and
in factory thirty until forty child=EZ other also be.PAST-3pl
*In the factory there were thirty or forty other children too.*

194 hālā ham hast-and
now also be.PRES-3pl
*They are there now as well*

195 ke panj šeš ostādkār dāšt-im
CLM five six foreman have.PAST-1pl
*we had five or six foremen.*

196 man o xāhar=am sobh mi-raft-im
PN.1sg and sister=PC.1sg morning IPFV-go.PAST-1pl
*My sister and I used to go in the morning*

197 va zohr bar mi-gašt-im
and noon PREV IPFV-return.PAST-1pl
*and return at noon*

198 va baːd-az-zohr mi-raft-im
and after-from-noon IPFV-go.PAST-1pl
*and we went in the afternoon*

199 o asr bar mi-gašt-im
and early.evening PREV IPFV-return.PAST-1pl
*and returned in the early evening.*

200 xāhar=am dar kārxāne čādor sar=aš mi-kard
sister=PC.1sg in factory chador head=PC.3sg IPFV-do.PAST.3sg
*In the factory my sister wore a chador*

201 ammā digar az kas=i ru ne-mi-gereft
but other from person=IND face NEG-IPFV-take.PAST.3sg
*but she no longer covered her face for anyone.*

202 ostādkār-hā ke jā=(y)e pedar=e mā bud-and
foreman-PL CLM place=EZ father=EZ PN.1pl be.PAST-3pl
*The foremen were in our father’s place*

203 va digar-ān ham ke bačče bud-and
and other-PL also CLM child be.PAST-3pl
*and the others you know were children (here ke means ‘you know’)*

204 va hájī qoli ham ke arbāb bud
and Haji Qoli also CLM owner be.PAST.3sg
*and Haji Qoli was the master. (Haji Qoli owned the factory.)*

205 āqā in āxar-hā hájī qoli=(y)e bişaraf mi-āmad
sir this last-PL Haji Qoli=EZ dishonourable IPFV-come.PAST.3sg
Sir, in those final days Haji Qoli the bastard used to come.

He stood over both of our heads

and he looked constantly at my sister

and sometimes he would also put his hand on her head or on mine

and for no reason laugh

and pass by.

I did not feel bad about it

since he was our boss

and was showing love.

One Thursday we were getting our weekly wages.

He gave one toman extra to my sister

and said,

"Your mother is ill."
This is for her expenses."

Then he laughed in my sister’s face

It seemed that my sister got scared,

and she did not say anything,

and the two of us, sir, we came to my mother.

Haji Qoli had given extra wages to my sister

she went into thought

and saying things in each others’ ears
CLM suppose IPFV-want.PAST-3pl
that it seemed they did not want

man o xāhar=am na-šnav-im
PN.1sg and sister=PC.1sg NEG-hear.PRES-1pl
my sister and I to hear. ” (lit. wanted me and my sister not to hear)

āqā ruz=e panjšanbe=(y)e digar āxar az hame raft-im
sir day=EZ Thursday=EZ other last from all go.PAST-1pl
Sir! On the next Thursday we were the last to go

mozd be-gir-im
wages SBJN-take.PRES-1pl
to get out wages.

hāji xod=āš goft-e bud
Haji self=PC.3sg say-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
Haji himself had said

ke vaqti sar=āš xalvat šod
CLM when head=PC.3sg quiet become.PAST.3sg
that when he was not busy

piš=aš be-rav-im
before=PC.3sg SBJN-go.PRES-1pl
we should go to him.

hāji āqā pānzdah hezār ezāfe dād
Haji sir fifteen thousand extra gave.PAST.3sg
Haji, sir, gave fifteen rial (hezār=rial) extra.

o goft
and say.PAST.3sg
and said,

fardā mi-ā-(y)am xāne=tān
tomorrow IPFV-come.PRES-1sg house=PC.2pl
“Tomorrow I will come to your home.

yek harf-hā=i bā nane=tān dār-am
one word-PL=IND with mother=PC.2pl have.PRES-1sg
I have something to say to your mother.”

bad tu surat=e xāhar=am xandid
then in face=EZ sister=PC.1sg laugh.PAST.3sg
Then he laughed in my sister’s face

ke man hič xoš=am na-(y)āmad
CLM PN.1sg not pleasure=PC.1sg NEG-come.PAST.3sg
which I did not like at all.

xāhar=am rang=aš parid
sister=PC.1sg colour=PC.3sg disappear.PAST.3sg
My sister went pale

va sar=aš=rā pāyin andāxt
and head=PC.3sg=OM down throw.PAST.3sg
and she lowered her head.
Please forgive me, sir.

You yourself said

I should tell you everything.

I threw the fifteen rial at Haji

Mr. Haji, we do not need the extra money.

My mother does not like it.

It is not for you and your mother.

It is not for you and your mother.

Then he took fifteen rials

Then he took fifteen rials

Then he took fifteen rials
when my sister pulled back

and ran out.

I was about to start crying from anger

(and) a weaver’s comb was on the table.

I took it

and threw it.

The weaver’s comb cut his face

Haji cried out

and asked for help.

I ran out

and did not realise any more

what had happened (in the whole situation).

I came home.

sister=PC.1sg beside=EZ mother=PC.1sg
kez kard-e bud
crouch do-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
My sister was crouching beside my mother

va gerye mi-kard
and cry IPFV-do.PAST.3sg
and crying.

šab āqā kadxadā āmad
evening sir village.elder came.PAST.3sg
In the evening, sir, the village elder came

hājī qoli az dast=e man šekāyat kard-e Ø
Haji Qoli from hand=EZ PN.1sg complaint do-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
Haji Qoli had complained against me

va niz goft-e bud
and also say-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
and also said

ke mi-xāh-am
CLM IPFV-want.PRES-1sg
I want

bāšān qowm o xiš be-šav-am
with=PC.3pl people and relative SBJN-become.PRES-1sg
to become a relative of them.

agar-na pesar=e=rā mi-sepord-am dast=e
otherwise father=DEF=OM IPFV-turn.over.PAST-1sg hand=EZ

amnie-hā
gendarmerie-PL
Otherwise I would have turned over the boy to the gendarmerie

pedar=aš=rā dar mi-āvord-and
father=PC.3sg=OM PREV IPFV-bring.PAST-3pl
to teach him a good lesson (lit. they would pull out his father).

baːd kadxadā goft
then village.elder say.PAST.3sg
Then the village elder said,

hājī marā be xāstegārī ferestād-e Ø
Haji PN.1sg.OМ to proposal send-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3sg
“Haji has sent me to propose (to the girl)

āre yā na
yes or no
yes or no?”

zan o bačče=(y)e hājī qoli hālā ham tu šahr=ast āqā
wife and child=EZ Haji Qoli now also in town=COP.PRES.3sg sir
Haji Qoli’s wife and child(ren) are in town right now, sir!

dar čahār=tā deh=e digar zan=e siqe dār-ad
in four=CL village=EZ other wife=EZ temp.marriage have.PRES-3sg
In four other villages he has temporary wives.
Please forgive me, sir.

He is just like one big pig.

Fat and plump with a short black and white beard.

A set of artificial teeth, some of which are gold.

And a long rosary in his hand.

Far from you, a big old and ugly pig.

My mother said to the village elder,

"If I had a hundred daughters I would not give one of them to that old hyena."

What we have seen and experienced.

Village elder, you yourself know, don’t you,

That such people are not going.

Real SBJN-become.PRES-3pl
to become true relatives of us villagers.”

304 kadxodā āqā goft
village.elder sir say.PAST.3sg
The village elder, sir, said,

305 āre to rāst mi-gu-(y)i
yes PN.2sg right IPFV-say.PRES-2sg
“Yes, you are right.

306 hāji qoli siqe mi-xāh-ad
Haji Qoli temp.marriage IPFV-want.PRES-3sg
Haji Qoli wants a temporary marriage.

307 ammā agar qabul na-kon-i
but if accepting NEG-con.PRES-2sg
But if you do not accept

308 bačče-hā=rā birun mi-kon-ad
child-PL=OM out IPFV-do.PRES-3sg
he will fire the children.

309 ba:d ham dard=e sar=e amnie-hā=st o inhā
then also ache=EZ head=EZ gendarmerie-PL=COP.PRES.3sg and this.PL
Then in addition you (will) have the headache of the gendarmerie, etc.

310 in=rā ham be-dān
this=OM also SBIN-know.PRES.2sg
you should know this!

311 xāhar=am pošt=e nane=am
sister=PC.1sg behind=EZ mother=PC.1sg
kez kard-e bud
crouch do-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
My sister was crouched behind my mother

312 o miān=e heq heq=e gerye=aš mi-goft
and between=EZ hiccup hiccup=EZ crying=PC.3sg IPFV-say.PAST.3sg
and in between sobbing and crying she said,

313 man digar be kārxāne na-xāh-am raft
PN.1sg other to factory NEG-want.AUX.PRES-1sg go.PAST.3sg
“I will not go to the factory again.

314 marā mi-koš-ad
PN.1sg.OM IPFV-kill.PRES-3sg
He will kill me.”

315 az=aš mi-tars-am
from=PC.3sg IPFV-fear.PRES-1sg
I am afraid of him.”

316 sobh xāhar=am sar=e kār na-raft
morning sister=PC.1sg head=EZ work NEG-go.PAST.3sg
In the morning my sister did not go to work.

317 man tanhā raft-am
PN.1sg alone go.PAST-1sg
I went alone.
Haji Qoli had stood by the door and rotating his rosary. I got scared, sir (and) did not go near. Haji Qoli who had a cloth tied around the wound on his face. I approached him, fearfully and as I was about to go through the door he took my wrist and threw (me) into the factory yard and he started hitting me with his fists and kicking me. Finally, I freed myself.
464

332 va dāvīd-am
and run.PAST-1sg
and ran
333 dafe=(y)e diruzi=rā bar dāšt-am
comb=EZ yesterday.ADJ=OM up have.PAST-1sg
and picked up the weaver’s comb of the day before
334 āŋqadr kotak=am zad-e bud
so.much beating=PC.1sg hit-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
he had beaten me so much
335 ke āš o lāš šod-e bud-am
CLM soup and corpse become-PSPT be.AUX.PAST-1sg
that I was half dead.
336 fāryād zad-am
cry hit.PAST-1sg
I cried
337 ke qoromsāq=e bišaraf hālā be=t
CLM cuckold=EZ dishonourable now to=PC.2sg
nešān mi-dah-am
sign IPFV-give.PRES-1sg
you bastard, now I’m gonna show you
338 ke bā ki taraf=i
CLM with who side=COP.PRES.2sg
who you are facing (with whom you are a part)
339 marā mi-gu-(y)and pesar=e asqar qāčāqči
PN.1sg.OM IPFV-say.PRES-3pl son=EZ Asghar smuggler
they call me (=I am known as) the son of Asghar the smuggler!
340 tāri verdi nafas=i tāze kard
Tari Verdi breath=IND new do.PAST.3sg
Tari Verdi took a new breath
341 va dobāre goft
and again say.PAST.3sg
and said again,
342 āqā mi-xāst-am
Sir IPFV-want.PAST-1sg
“Sir I wanted
343 hamānjā be-koš-am=aš
same.place SBJN-kill.PRES-1sg=PC.3sg
to kill him right there.”
344 kārgar-hā ja:m šod-and
worker-PL gathering become.PAST-3pl
The workers gathered.
345 va bord-and=am xāne=mān
and take.PAST-3pl=PC.1sg home=PC.1sg
and they took me home.
man az qeyz=am gerye mi-kard-am
PN.1sg from wrath=PC.1sg cry IPFV-do.PAST-1sg
I wept in anger

va xod=am=rā be zamin mi-zad-am
and self=PC.1sg=OM to ground IPFV-hit.PAST-1sg
and I threw myself on the ground

va fohš mi-dād-am
and curse IPFV-give.PAST-1sg
and cursed

va xun az zaxm=e surat=am mi-rixt
and blood from wound=EZ face=PC.1sg IPFV-pour.PAST.3sg
and blood poured from my face wound

āxar ārām šod-am
end calm become.PAST-1sg
Finally I became calm.

yek boz=i dāšt-im
one goat=IND have.PAST-1pl
We had a goat

man va xāhar=am be bist tumān xarid-e
PN.1sg and sister=PC.1sg to twenty toman buy-PSPT

bud-im
be.AUX.PAST-1pl
(which) I and my sister had bought for twenty tomans.

foruxt-im=aš
sell.PAST-1pl=PC.3sg
We sold it

va bā moxtasar pul=i ke zaxire kard-e bud-im
and little money=IND that store do-PSPT be.AUX.PAST-1pl
and with the little money we had saved

yek=i do māh gozar-ān-d-im
one=IND two month pass.PRES-CAUS-PAST-1pl
we made one or two months go by.

āxar xāhar=am raft piš=e zan=e nānpaz
end sister=PC.1sg go.PAST.3sg before=EZ woman=EZ baker
Finally my sister went to the woman baker

va man ham har kā=i piš āmad
and PN.1sg also every work=IND before come.PAST.3sg
and every job that came up

donbāl=aš raft-am
after=PC.3sg go.PAST-1sg
I went after it.

goft-am
say.PAST-1sg
I said,
تَاری‌ورْدی چَرَّا ذَخْرَهۢ‌ام دَار‌ی-ام خَالص وَمَن‌ام قَنَان‌ام اَش-ام.

مَا رَجُل خَبِیر تَاری‌ورْدی؟

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مَا رَجُل خَبِیر تَاری‌ورْدی؟
Now I am saving up for my own wedding.

Well, you know, since my sister went to her husband’s house (i.e. got married)

My mother has been left alone.

She needs someone to take care of her (lit. take her under her wing)

and become her friend (lit. talking partner).

It became impolite.

Would you forgive me, sir.
Once upon a time

there was an old man who had three sons.

The name of the youngest son was Sasha.

This old man had a field.

In the field he used to sow wheat, rice or other things.

But every night an animal would come, wreck the whole field, eat the crop and go.

One day the old man says to his sons:

You must go and sleep in turn in the field.
tā in heyzān=rā be-gir-id
so that this animal=OM SBJN-take.PRES-2pl
so that you catch this animal,

čun in heyzān mi-ā(y)ad
because this animal IPFV-come.PRES-3sg
because this animal comes

va mazraʔe=rā xarāb mi-kon-ad
and field=OM ruined IPFV-do.PRES-3sg
and ruins the field.

šab=e avval pesar=e bozorg-tar mi-rav-ad
night=EZ first son=EZ big-CMPR IPFV-go.PRES-3sg
The first night the eldest son goes,

vali har čeqadr mi-nešin-ad
but however much IPFV-sit.PRES-3sg
but however long he sits there,

hič heyzān=i ne-mi-ā(y)ad
no animal=IND NEG-IPFV-come.PRES-3sg
no animal comes.

xāb=aš mi-gir-ad
sleep=PC.3sg IPFV-take.PRES-3sg
He gets tired,

va mi-xāb-ad
and IPFV-sleep.PRES-3sg
and falls asleep.

sobh ke bidār mi-šav-ad
morning CLM awake IPFV-become.PRES-3sg
In the morning when he wakes up,

mi-bin-ad
IPFV-see.PRES-3sg
He sees

ān heyzān āmad-e Ø
that animal come-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3sg
that the animal has come,

mazraʔe=rā xarāb kard-e Ø
field=OM ruined do-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3sg
ruined the field,

mahsul=rā xord-e Ø
crop=OM eat-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3sg
eaten the crop

va raft-e Ø
and go.PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3sg
and gone.

mi-ā(y)ad xāne
IPFV-come.PRES-3sg home

mi-gu-(y)and
IPFV-say.PRES-3pl
He comes home, they say:

31 ān=rā gereft-i
PN.3sg=OM catch.PAST-2sg
Did you catch it?

32 mi-gu-(y)ad
IPFV-say.PRES-3sg
He says:

33 na xeyli nešast-am
no much sit.PAST-1sg
No, I sat there for a long time

34 vali hič heyvān=i na-(y)āmad
but no animal=IND NEG-come.PAST-3sg
but no animal came.

35 šab=e dovvom pesar=e vasati ham mi-rav-ad
night=EZ second son=EZ middle also IPFV-go.PRES-3sg
On the second night the middle son also goes,

36 vali har čeqadr mi-nešin-ad
but however much IPFV-sit.PRES-3sg
but however long he sits

37 mi-bin-ad
IPFV-see.PRES-3sg
he sees

38 hič heyvān=i na-(y)āmad
no animal=IND NEG-come.PAST-3sg
that no animal comes.

39 xaste mi-šav-ad
tired IPFV-become.PRES-3sg
He gets tired,

40 va mi-xāb-ad
and IPFV-sleep.PRES-3sg
and falls asleep.

41 sobh ke bidār mi-šav-ad
morning CLM awake IPFV-become.PRES-3sg
In the morning when he wakes up,

42 mi-bin-ad
IPFV-see.PRES-3sg
he sees

43 heyvān āmad-e Ø
animal come-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3sg
that the animal has come,

44 gandom-hā=rā xord-e Ø
wheat-PL=OM eat-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3sg
eaten the wheat

45 va raft-e Ø
and go-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3sg
On the third night the youngest son, whose name was Sasha,

takes a decision and decides to go.

Before he goes, he cuts his hand, pours salt onto the wound

so that it will sting, and he won't fall asleep.

He goes and sits a long time.

But no animal comes;

however since his hand is really stinging,

he doesn't fall asleep.

At last, when it gets to the middle of the night,
he sees

61 az dur zamin dār-ad mi-larz-ad from afar ground have.AUX.PRES-3sg IPFV-shake.PRES-3sg that the ground is shaking far away.

62 heyvān=i mi-ā-(y)ad animal=IND IPFV-come.PRES-3sg

An animal appears,

63 ke az guš-hā=(y)aš dud CLM from ear-PL=PC.3sg smoke az damāq=aš ātaš mi-ā-(y)ad birun from nose=PC.3sg fire IPFV-come.PRES-3sg out with smoke coming out of its ears, and fire from its nose.

64 vaqti ke heyvān mi-res-ad jelow-tar when CLM animal IPFV-arrive.PRES-3sg front-CMPR When the animal draws closer

65 mi-bin-ad IPFV-see.PRES-3sg he sees

66 asb=i=ast bā mu-hā=(y)e talāyi va noqrei horse=IND=COP.PRES.3sg with hair-PL=EZ golden and silvery that it is a horse with golden and silvery hair.

67 yek guše=i qāyem mi-šav-ad one corner=IND hidden IPFV-become.PRES-3sg He hides in a corner,

68 tanāb mi-andāz-ad dowr=e gardan=e asb rope IPFV-throw.PRES-3sg around=EZ neck=EZ horse throws a rope around the horse’s neck

69 va asb=rā mi-gir-ad and horse=OM IPFV-take.PRES-3sg and catches it.

70 asb xeyli say mi-kon-ad horse much try IPFV-do.PRES-3sg The horse tries hard

71 xod=aš=rā nejāt be-dah-ad self=PC.3sg=OM rescue SBJN-give.PRES-3sg to free itself,

72 vali ne-mi-tavān-ad but NEG-IPFV-be.able.PRES-3sg but it cannot.

73 baːd šoru mi-kon-ad be harf zad-an then start IPFV-do.PRES-3sg to word strike-INF Then it begins to speak.

74 mi-gu-(y)ad IPFV-say.PRES-3sg It says:
xāheš mi-kon-am
request IPFV-do.PRES-1sg
Please

marā āzād kon
PN.1sg.OM free IMP.do.PRES
set me free

be-rav-am
SBJN-go.PRES-1sg
so that I can go.

dar avaz qowl mi-dah-am
in return promise IPFV-give.PRES-1sg
In return I promise

digar hič vaqt be mazra?e=(y)e šomā na-(y)ā-(y)am
other no time to field=EZ PN.2pl NEG-SBJN.come.PRES-1sg
never to come to your field again.

sāšā mi-gu-(y)ad
Sasha IPFV-say.PRES-3sg
Sasha says:

na āzād=at ne-mi-kon-am
no freedom=PC.2sg NEG-IPFV-do.PRES-1sg
No, I shan’t free you,

čun man xod=am asb lāzem dār-am
since PN.1sg self=PC.1sg horse need have.PRES-1sg
since I myself need a horse.

asb na-dār-am
horse NEG-have.PRES-1sg
I don’t have one.

mi-gu-(y)ad
IPFV-say.PRES-3sg
It says:

ke xob marā āzād na-kon
CLM fine PN.1sg.OM free NEG-do.PRES
That’s fine, don’t free me.

ammā agar āzād=am na-kon-i
but if free=PC.1sg NEG-SBJN-do.PRES-2sg
But if you don’t free me

be dard=at ne-mi-xor-am
to need=PC.2sg NEG-IPFV-eat.PRES-1sg
I won’t be of any use to you.

ne-mi-tavān-i
NEG-IPFV-be.able.PRES-2sg

az man estefāde kon-i
of PN.1sg use SBJN.do.PRES-2sg
You won’t be able to use me.

ammā agar vel=am kon-i
but if release=PC.1sg SBJN.do.PRES-2sg
If you let me go,

any time you need me

or have a task for me to do,

come to the forest

and whistle three times.

Say

‘Oh silvery and golden horse, diviner of mysteries, stand in front of me just like a flower in a meadow.’

I will come quickly.’

Sasha says:

Fine.

He lets the horse go.

The horse goes,

and he (Sasha) returns home.
They say:
105 ān heyvān=i ke gandom-hā=rā mi-xor-ad
that animal=REL CLM wheat-PL=OM IPFV-eat.PRES-3sg
gereft-i
catch.PAST-2sg
Did you catch the animal which was eating the wheat?
106 mi-gu-(y)ad
IPFV-say.PRES-3sg
He says:
107 āre u=rā gereft-am
yes PN.3sg=OM catch.PAST-1sg
Yes, I caught him.
108 yek asb=e xeyli xošgel bud
one horse=EZ very beautiful be.PAST.3sg
It was a very beautiful horse.
109 mu-hā=(y)e tan=aš
hair-PL=EZ body=PC.3sg
yek=i talāyi yek=i noqrei bud
one=IND golden one=IND silvery be.PAST.3sg
The hair of its body was a golden and silvery mixture.
110 mi-gu-(y)ad
IPFV-say.PRES-3pl
They say:
111 kojā=st
where=COP.PRES.3sg
Where is it?
112 be-rav-im
SBJN-go.PRES-1pl
Let’s go and see!
113 be-bin-im
SBJN-see.PRES-1pl

Sasha says:
114 sāšā mi-gu-(y)ad
Sasha IPFV-say.PRES-3sg
I let it go,
vel=aš kard-am
release=PC.3sg do.PAST-1sg
and it went.

They say:
116 to dār-i doruq mi-gu-(y)i
PN.2sg have.AUX.PRES-2sg lie IPFV-say.PRES-2sg
You are lying.
agar asb gereft-e bud-i
if horse catch-PSPT be.AUX.PAST-2sg
If you had caught a horse
vel=aš ne-mi-kard-i
release=PC.3sg NEG-IPFV-do.PAST-2sg
you wouldn’t have let it go.
barā=(y)e če vel=aš kard-i
for=ez what release=PC.3sg do.PAST-2sg
What did you let it go for?
mi-gu-(y)ad
IPFV-say.PRES-3sg
He says:
xob qowl dād
well promise give.PAST.3sg
Well, it gave a promise
ke digar gandom-hā=rā na-xor-ad
CLM other wheat-PL=OM NEG-SBJN.eat.PRES-3sg
that it wouldn’t eat the wheat any more,
har vaqt ham man kār=aš dāšt-am
any time also PN.1sg work=PC.3sg have.PAST-1sg
and also any time I had anything for it to do
bi-ā(y)ad
SBJN-come.PRES-3sg
it would come.
be u mi-xand-and
at PN.3sg IPFV-laugh.PRES-3pl
They laugh at him,
va mi-gu-(y)and
and IPFV-say.PRES-3pl
and say:
ke to doruq mi-gu-(y)i
CLM PN.2sg lie IPFV-say.PRES-2sg
You’re lying!
harf=aš=rā bāvar ne-mi-kon-and
word=PC.3sg=OM belief NEG-IPFV-do.PRES-3pl
They don’t believe what he said.
vali az fardā mi-bin-and
but from tomorrow IPFV-see.PRES-3pl
But from the next day they see
ke digar hič heyvān=i na-(y)āmad
CLM other no animal=IND NEG-come.PAST.3sg
that no animal comes any more
mazraʔe=rā xarāb kon-ad
field=OM ruined SBJN.do.PAST-3sg
to ruin the field
and eat the wheat.

A few days pass.

The king’s daughter says:

I want to get married.

I shall sit in my room at the top storey of the palace.

Anyone who can come with a horse and jump and take my ring from my hand,

I shall become his wife.

Sasha’s brother’s mount their horses

and get ready

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Sasha says:

They say:

You have no horse,

and you don’t have the capability either.

Why are you wanting to come?

Very well, I will go to the forest

and collect mushrooms.

The brothers mount their horses and set off.

Sasha goes to the forest
va se bār sut mi-zan-ad
and three time whistle IPFV-hit.PRES-3sg
and whistles three times.

mi-gu-(y)ad
IPFV-say.PRES-3sg
He says:

ey asb=e noqretāyi qeybguy=eye nahāni
O horse=EZ silvery.golden diviner=EZ hidden
be-ist dar moqābel=ez man
IMP-stand.PRES in front=EZ PN.1sg
hamčun gol=i dar čaman
like flower=IND on grass
Oh silvery and golden horse, diviner of mysteries, stand in front of me just like a flower in a meadow.

mi-bin-ad
IPFV-see.PRES-3sg

ke az dur asb dār-ad mi-ā-(y)ad
CLM from far horse have.AUX.PRES-3sg IPFV-come.PRES-3sg
He sees that the horse is coming from afar.

asb mi-ā-(y)ad
horse IPFV-come.PRES-3sg
The horse comes

va mi-gu-(y)ad
and IPFV-say.PRES-3sg
and says:

či=st sāšā
what=COP.PRES.3sg Sasha
What is it Sasha?

če mi-xāh-i
what IPFV-want.PRES-2sg
What do you want?

sāšā mi-gu-(y)ad
Sasha IPFV-say.PRES-3sg
Sasha says:

doxtar=e pādešāh nešast-e Ø
daughter=EZ king sit-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3sg
tu=(y)e otāq=aš tabaqye=(y)e bālā
in=EZ room=PC.3sg storey=EZ above
The king’s daughter is sitting in her room upstairs,

goft-e Ø
say-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3sg
and has said:

har kas ke mi-xāh-ad
any person CLM IPFV-want.PRES-3sg
Anyone who wants
bā man ezdevāj kon-ad
with PN.1sg marriage SBJN.do.PRES-3sg
to marry me

be-par-ad
SBJN-jump.PRES-3sg
must jump,

angoštar=rā az dast=am dar bi-āvar-ad
ring=OM from hand=PC.1sg PREV SBJN-bring.PRES-3sg
and take the ring from my hand.

man mi-xāh-am
PN.1sg IPFV-want.PRES-1sg
I want

be-rav-am
SBJN-go.PRES-1sg
to go.

asb mi-gu-(y)ad
horse IPFV-say.PRES-3sg
The horse says:

bāš-ad
SBJN.be.PRES-3sg
Alright,

vali lebās=at monāseb nist
but clothing=PC.2sg suitable NEG.be.PRES.3sg
but your clothing isn’t appropriate.

bi-ā
IMP-come.PRES
Come

az guš=e čap=e man bo-ro
from ear=EZ left=EZ PN.1sg IMP-go.PRES
and go in through my left ear,

va az guš=e rāst=am bi-ā birun
and from ear=EZ right=PC.1sg IMP-come.PRES out
out through my right ear,

tā lebās-hā=(y)at
so.that clothe-PL=PC.2sg
šik va barāzande va xub be-šav-ad
chic and elegant and good SBJN-become.PRES-3sg
so that your clothing might become chic, elegant and good.

sāšā mi-gu-(y)ad
Sasha IPFV-say.PRES-3sg
Sasha says:

xeyli xub
very well
Very well.

az guš=e čap=e asb mi-rav-ad tu
via ear=EZ left=EZ horse IPFV-go.PRES-3sg in
He goes in through the horse's left ear,

192 az guš-e rāst=aš mi-ā-(y)ad birun via ear=EZ right=PC.3sg IPFV-come.PRES-3sg out comes out through his right ear.

193 mi-bin-ad IPFV-see.PRES-3sg He sees

194 ke lebās-hā=(y)aš CLM clothe-PL=PC.3sg xeyli tamiz va xub va šik šod very clean and good and chic become.PAST.3sg that his clothing has become very clean, good and chic.

195 savār=e asb mi-šav-ad mount=EZ horse IPFV-become.PRES-3sg He mounts the horse

196 va dav-ān dav-ān mi-rav-ad and run-PRPT run-PRPT IPFV-go.PRES-3sg and sets off at a run.

197 vaqtí ke nazdik=e panjere=(y)e otāq=e when CLM near=EZ window=EZ room=EZ doxtar=e pādešāh mi-res-ad daughter=EZ king IPFV-arrive.PRES-3sg When he arrives near the window of the room of the king's daughter,

198 asb bā sor?at mi-par-ad bālā horse with speed IPFV-jump.PRES-3sg up the horse jumps up quickly

199 va sāšā angoštār=rā az dast=e doxtar=e pādešāh and Sasha ring=OM from hand daughter=EZ king dar mi-āvar-ad PREV IPFV-bring.PRES-3sg and Sasha takes the ring from the hand of the king's daughter.

200 doxtar=e pādešāh=rā mi-bus-ad daughter=EZ king=OM IPFV-kiss.PRES-3sg He kisses the king's daughter

201 va farār mi-kon-ad and escape IPFV-do.PRES-3sg and runs away.

202 hame bāham mi-gu-(y)and all together IPFV-say.PRES-3pl Everyone there says:

203 u=rā be-gir-id PN.3sg=OM IMP-take.PRES-2pl Catch him!

204 u=rā be-gir-id PN.3sg=OM IMP-take.PRES-2pl Catch him!
205 in ke bud this who be.PAST.3sg
Who was that?

206 in ke bud this who be.PAST.3sg
Who was that?

207 vali hič asb=i na-tavānest but no horse=IND NEG-be.able.PAST.3sg
be asb=e noqretalāyi be-res-ad to horse=EZ silvery.golden SBJN-reach.PRES-3sg
But no horse can catch up with the silvery and golden horse.

209 sāšā mi-ā-(y)ad tu=(y)e jangal Sasha IPFV-come.PRES-3sg in=EZ forest
Sasha comes to the forest

210 va asb=rā vel mi-kon-ad and horse=OM release IPFV-do.PRES-3sg
and releases the horse.

211 dafʔe=(y)e avval az guš=e čap=e asb time=EZ first from ear=EZ left=EZ horse
raft-e bud tu go-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg in
The first time, he had gone in through the horses left ear,

212 ammā in dafʔe az guš=e rāst mi-rav-ad tu but this time via ear=EZ right IPFV-go.PRES-3sg in
but this time he goes in through its right ear,

213 az guš=e čap mi-ā-(y)ad birun via ear=EZ left IPFV-COME.PRES-3sg out
and comes out through the left ear,

214 va dobāre mesl=e avval mi-šav-ad and again like=EZ first IPFV-become.PRES-3sg
bā hamān lebās-hā with same.that clothe-PL
and again ends up as at first with the same clothes.

215 baːd asb=rā vel mi-kon-ad then horse=OM release IPFV-do.PRES-3sg
Then he releases the horse

216 va mi-gu-(y)ad and IPFV-say.PRES-3sg
and says:

217 bo-ro IMP-go.PRES
Go.

218 ān dast=aš=rā ke ru=(y)e that hand=PC.3sg=OM CLM on=EZ
ān angoštar=e doxtar=e pādešāh bud which ring=EZ daughter=EZ king be.PAST.3sg
bā yek tekke pārče mi-pič-ad
with one piece cloth IPFV-wrap.PRES-3sg
He wraps his hand on which was the ring of the king’s daughter with a piece of cloth.

va mi-ā-(y)ad xāne
and IPFV-come.PRES-3sg home
and comes home.

barādar-hā=(y)aš mi-gu-(y)and
brother-PL=PC.3sg IPFV-say.PRES-3pl
His brothers say:

kojā bud-i sāšā
where be.PAST-2sg Sasha
Where have you been, Sasha?

mi-gu-(y)ad
IPFV-say.PRES-3sg
He says:

raft-e bud-am jangal
go-PSPT be.AUX.PAST-1sg forest
I went to the forest

qārč ja:m kon-am
mushroom collect SBJN.do.PRES-1sg
to collect mushrooms.

mi-gu-(y)and
IPFV-say.PRES-3pl
They say:

xob dast=at če šod-e Ø
well hand=PC.2sg what become-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3sg
Well, what has happened to your hand?

mi-gu-(y)ad
IPFV-say.PRES-3sg
He says:

hič čiz
no thing
Nothing.

xār raft-e Ø tu=(y)e dast=am
thorn go-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3sg into=EZ hand=PC.1sg
A thorn went into my hand.

dāšt-am donbāl-e qārč mi-gašt-am
have.AUX.PAST-1sg after=EZ mushroom IPFV-look.for.PAST-1sg
I was looking for mushrooms

ke xār raft tu=(y)e dast=am
CLM thorn go.PAST.3sg into=EZ hand=PC.1sg
when a thorn went into my hand.

xob šomā-hā ta:rif kon-id
well PN.2pl-PL narration IMP.do.PRES-2pl
Well then, you lot tell me

če šod
what become.PAST.3sg
what happened.

mi-gu-(y)and
IPFV-say.PRES-3pl
They say:

pesar=ī āmad
boy=IND come.PAST.3sg
A boy came on a horse,

bā asb parid
with horse jump.PAST.3sg
jumped up,

angoštar=rā az dast=e doxtar=e pādešāh
ring=OM from hand=EZ daughter=EZ king
dar āvard
PREV bring.PAST.3sg
took the ring from the hand of the king’s daughter,

va farār kard
and escape do.PAST.3sg
and fled away.

mi-gu-(y)ad
IPFV-say.PRES-3sg
He says:

dādāš-ḥā=(y)e man in man na-bud-am
brother-PL=EZ PN.1sg this PN.1sg NEG-be.PAST-1sg
ke ānjā bud-am
CLM there be.PAST-1sg
My brothers, maybe it was me who was there?

mi-gu-(y)and
IPFV-say.PRES-3pl
They say:

be-nešin sar=e jā=(y)at
IMP-sit.PRES head=EZ place=PC.2sg
Sit in your place!

če mi-gu-(y)i
what IPFV-say.PRES-2sg
What are you saying?

če juri mi-tavān-i
what way IPFV-be.able.PRES-2sg
How could you have been there?
aslan to asb na-dār-i
basically PN.2sg horse NEG-have.PRES-2sg
You don’t have any horse at all,
tāze ān javān xeyli xošgel bud
new that youth very handsome be.PAST.3sg
and moreover, that youth was very handsome.
lebās-hā=(y)e xeyli qašang=i dāšt
clothe-PL=EZ very beautiful=IND have.PAST.3sg
He had very beautiful clothes.
bixodi čarand na-gu
needlessly nonsense NEG-say.PRES
Don’t talk nonsense without any reason.
sāšā mi-gu-(y)ad
Sasha IPFV-say.PRES-3sg
Sasha says:
xeyli xub
very well
Very well.
mi-nešin-ad sar=e jā=(y)aš
IPFV-sit.PRES-3sg head=EZ place=PC.3sg
va digar harf=i ne-mi-zan-ad
and other word=IND NEG-IPFV-hit.PRES-3sg
He sits in his place and speaks no more.
doxtar=e pādešāh čand ruz
daughter=EZ king several day
tu=(y)e šahr eːlām mi-kon-ad
in=EZ city announce IPFV-do.PRES-3sg
For several days the king’s daughter announces in the city:
ke har ke angoštar=e marā
CLM any one ring=EZ PN.1sg.OM
bar dāšt=e Ø
PREV take-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3sg
Whoever has taken my ring
bi-ā-(y)ad
SBJN-come.PRES-3sg
should come,
angoštar=e marā be-dah-ad
ring=EZ PN.1sg.OM SBJN-give.PRES-3sg
give my ring back to me
va be-gu-(y)ad
and SBJN-say.PRES-3sg
and say
ki=st
who=COP.PRES.3sg
who he is.
hič kas ne-mi-rav-ad
no person NEG-IPFV-go.PRES-3sg
No one goes,
sāša ham ne-mi-rav-ad
Sasha also NEG-IPFV-go.PRES-3sg
and Sasha doesn’t go either.
belaxare doxtar=e pādešāh
finally daughter=EZ king
yek mehmāni tartib mi-dah-ad
one party arrangement IPFV-give.PRES-3sg
Finally the king’s daughter throws a party,
va mi-gu-(y)ad
and IPFV-say.PRES-3sg
and says:
tamām=e mard-hā=(y)e šahr
whole=EZ man-PL=EZ city
bāyad be in mehmāni bi-ā=(y)and
must to this party SBJN-come.PRES-3pl
All the men of the city must come to this party.
in dafʔe digār barādar-hā majbur mi-šav-and
this time other brother-PL obliged IPFV-become.PRES-3pl
This time though the brothers have no choice
sāša=rā ham bā xod=ešān be-bar-and
Sasha=OM also with self=PC.3pl SBJN-take.PRES-3pl
but to take Sasha with them too,
čun doxtar=e pādešāh goft-e bud
since daughter=EZ king say-PSPT be.AUX.PAST.3sg
since the king’s daughter said
ke hame=(y)e mard-hā=(y)e šahr bāyad bi-ā=(y)and
CLM all=EZ man-PL=EZ city must SBJN-come.PRES-3pl
that all the men of the city must come.
vaqti ke mi-rav-and ānjā
when CLM IPFV-go.PRES-3pl that.place
When they go there,
doxtar=e pādešāh xod=aš barā=(y)e hame
daughter=EZ king self=PC.3sg for=EZ all
yekiyeki šarbat va širini mi-bar-ad
one.by.one drink and sweets IPFV-carry.PRES-3sg
the king’s daughter herself takes drinks and sweets for everyone, person by person
va az mehmān-hā pazirāyi mi-kon-ad
and of guest-PL hospitality IPFV-do.PRES-3sg
and offers hospitality to the guests.
vaqti be sāša mi-res-ad
when to Sasha IPFV-arrive.PRES-3sg
When she reaches Sasha,
mi-gu-(y)ad
IPFV-say.PRES-3sg
she says:

dast=at چe یod-e Ø
hand=PC.2sg what become-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3sg
What has happened to your hand?

sāšā  mi-gu-(y)ad
Sasha IPFV-say.PRES-3sg
Sasha says:

raft-e bud-am jangal
go-PSPT be.AUX.PAST-1sg forest
I went to the forest

qārč ja:m kon-am
mushroom collect SBJN.do.PRES-1sg
to collect mushrooms,

ke xār raft tu=(y)e dast=am
CLM thorn go.PAST.3sg in=EZ hand=PC.1sg
and a thorn went into my hand.

doxtar=e pādešāh mi-gu-(y)ad
daughter=EZ king IPFV-say.PRES-3sg
The king’s daughter says:

bāyad dast=at=rā bāz kon-i
must hand=PC.2sg=OM open SBJN.do.PRES-2sg
You must unbind your hand

va be man nešān be-dah-i
and to PN.1sg show SBJN-give.PRES-2sg
and show it to me.

vaqti ke sāšā dast=aš=rā bāz mi-kon-ad
when CLM Sasha hand=PC.3sg=OM open IPFV-do.PRES-3sg
When Sasha unbinds his hand,

doxtar=e pādešāh angoštar=e xod=aš=rā
daughter=EZ king ring=EZ self=PC.3sg=OM
tu=(y)e dast=e sāšā mi-bin-ad
in=EZ hand=EZ Sasha IPFV-see.PRES-3sg
the king’s daughter sees her own ring on Sasha’s hand.

mi-gu-(y)ad
IPFV-say.PRES-3sg
She says:

in to bud-i
this PN.2sg be.PAST-2sg
Was that you,

ke ān ruz bā asb āmad-i
CLM that day with horse come.PAST-2sg
who came on horseback that day?

mi-gu-(y)ad
IPFV-say.PRES-3sg
He says:

291 bale man bud-am

Yes, it was me.

292 mi-gu-(y)ad

IPFV-say.PRES-3sg

She says:

293 vali to in šekl na-bud-i

But you didn’t look like this.

294 asb=at kojā=st

horse=PC.2sg where=COP.PRES.3sg

Where is your horse?

295 sāšā mi-gu-(y)ad

Sasha IPFV-say.PRES-3sg

Sasha says:

296 man bāyad asb=am=rā sedā kon-am

PN.1sg must horse= PC.1sg=OM call SBJN.do.PRES-1sg

I must call my horse.

297 mi-ā-(y)ad pāyin

IPFV-go.PRES-3sg down

He goes down.

298 mi-ist-ad

IPFV-stand.PRES-3sg

stands there,

299 va dobāre se bār sut mi-zan-ad

and again three time whistle IPFV-hit.PRES-3sg

and again whistles three times.

300 mi-gu-(y)ad

IPFV-say.PRES-3sg

He says:

301 ey asb=e noqretalāyi qeybguy=(y)e nahāni

O horse=EZ silvery.golden diviner=EZ hidden

be-ist dar moqābel=e man

IMP-stand.PRES in front=EZ PN.1sg

hamčun gol=i dar čaman

like flower=IND on grass

Oh silvery and golden horse, diviner of mysteries, Stand in front of me just like a flower in a meadow.

302 asb mi-dav-ad

horse IPFV-run.PRES-3sg

303 va mi-ā-(y)ad

and IPFV-come.PRES-3sg

The horse comes running.

304 sāšā az guš=e čap=e asb mi-rav-ad tu

Sasha from ear=EZ left=EZ horse IPFV-go.PRES-3sg in
Sasha goes in through the left ear of the horse,

305 az guš=e rāst=aš mi-ā-(y)ad birun from ear=EZ right=PC.3sg IPFV-come.PRES-3sg out comes out through its right ear.

306 va mi-šav-ad hamān javān=e xoşgel=e and IPFV-become.PRES-3sg same.that youth=EZ handsome=EZ ān ruzi that day.ADJ and becomes the same handsome youth of that day.

307 doxtar=e pādešāh xeyli xoşhāl mi-šav-ad daughter=EZ king very happy IPFV-become.PRES-3sg The king's daughter is very happy

308 ke yek pesar=e xoşgel va xoştip CLM one boy=EZ handsome and good-looking bā yek asb=e noqretalāyi with one horse=EZ silvery.golden hamān kas=i bud-e Ø same.that person=REL be-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3sg

309 ke angoštar=rā az dast=aš CLM ring=OM from hand=PC.3sg dar āvard-e Ø PREV bring-PSPT be.AUX.PRES.3sg The king's daughter is very happy that a handsome and good-looking boy with a silvery and golden horse is the very one who took the ring from her hand.

310 bā sāšā arusi mi-kon-ad with Sasha wedding IPFV-do.PRES-3sg She marries Sasha

311 va bā ham zendegi mi-kon-and and with each other life IPFV-do.PRES-3pl and they live together.
Appendix 3: Participant Reference Charts

Chart 01: Māhi siāh=e kučulu .......................................................... 492-522
Chart 02: Sāšā va asb=e jāduyi .......................................................... 523-530
Participants (in order of appearance): māhi=(y)e pīr ‘old fish’ [MP], baččehā va navehā=(y)aš ‘children and g’children of old fish’ [B&N], māhi siāh kučulu ‘little black fish’ [MSK], mādar ‘mother’ [M], māhi=(y)e bozorg hamsāye ‘big fish neighbour’ [MBH], māhi pīr hamsāye ‘old fish neighbour’ [MPH], hamsāye=(y)e digar ‘another neighbour’ [HD], dustān=aš ‘her friends’ [D], kafē māhi ‘skimmer fish’ [KM], qurbāge ‘frog’ [Q], mārmulak ‘lizard’ [MK], xarčang ‘crab’ [X], pesarbačče=(y)e čupān ‘shepherd boy’ [PC], galle boz o gusfand ‘herd of goats and sheep’ [G], āhu ‘gazelle’ [A], lākpošthā ‘tortoises’ [LP], kabkhā ‘partridges’ [KK], māhi=(y)e rīz ‘tiny fish’ [MR], zanān o doxtarān ‘women and girls’ [Z&D], māh ‘moon’ [MH], morq=e saqqā ‘pelican’ [MS], arremāhi ‘swordfish’ [AM], māhi=(y)e daryā ‘seafish’ [MD], māhīxār ‘heron’ [MX], māhi=(y)e besīr rīz ‘very tiny fish’ [MBR], māhi=(y)e sorx=e kučulu ‘little red fish’ [MXK].

Grammatical coding: N: noun/NP; pn: pronoun; pc: pronominal clitic; Ø: zero or verb suffix only; pos: possessor, vo: verbal object; po: prepositional object; self: reflexive; ind: indefinite; PoD: point of departure; Pres: presentational construction; INT: participant introduced. Subordinate clause*.

Subject tracking: S1: same subject as previous clause; S2: subject was addressee of previous clause; S3: subject was other non-subject of previous clause; S4: subject is none of the above.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Pre-Su</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>C’xt</th>
<th>Non-subject</th>
<th>C’xt</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>šabe čelle bud</td>
<td>Pres</td>
<td>night of Winter Solstice.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>pn [B&amp;N] N (story)</td>
<td>3sg told 3pl story</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>yeki bud yeki nabud</td>
<td>Pres</td>
<td>Once upon a time,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>yek N [MSK] ind</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td>There was a little black fish that 3sg used to live with 3sg mother in brook.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6*</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>N [M] pc [MSK] N (stream)=i ind</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>in N (stream)</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>N (mountain)</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td>This brook sprang from the rocky side of a mountain and 3sg ran along the bottom of a valley.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>N (valley)</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The house of MSK and 3sg M was behind a black rock.

At night, the two slept under the seaweed.

As for MSK, there remained a longing in 3sg heart that as had happened once before might happen again,

M and MSK would swim after each other from morning until dinnertime, and sometimes 3pl would get caught up amongst other fish and 3pl dashing around in one place, 3pl would go and 3pl come back.

This child was an only (child) since from ten thousand eggs (that) M had laid only this same child had come out properly.

For several days MSK had been thinking
24  va  Ø [MSK]  S1

25  Ø [MSK]  S1

26  va  Ø [MSK]  S1

27  va  Ø [MSK]  S1

28  N [M] [nonpos]  S3

29  N (child)  S4

30*  ke  Ø [MSK]  S1

31  Ø (generic)  S4

32*  ke  N [MSK] pos  S4

33  PoD  N (one day)  S4

34  N [MSK]  S4

35  va  Ø [MSK]  S1

38  N [M] [nonpos]  S2

42  N [MSK]  S2

46  N [M] pc [MSK]  S2

48  N [MSK]  S2

50  N [M] pc [MSK]  S2

53  N [MSK]  S2

Content
3sg talking very little.
lazily and listlessly 3sg was wandering this way and that, and 3sg wandering back again
and most times too 3sg fell behind 3sg M.
M supposed
3sg child to be a bit ill
which would soon be cured completely.
But the truth is
that MSK’s pain springs from something external!
One day, early in the morning before sunrise,
and 3sg said:
M, sleepy, said:
MSK said:
3sg M said:
MSK said:
3sg M said:
MSK said:
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<tr>
<th>No.</th>
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<th>C’xt</th>
<th>Non-subject</th>
<th>C’xt</th>
<th>Content</th>
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<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [M]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M, 3sg laughed and 3sg said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Ø [M]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>[speech]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK said:</td>
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<td></td>
<td>[speech]</td>
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<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [M]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>N (word)</td>
<td>pc [MSK]</td>
<td>3sg M interrupted and 3sg said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pc [MSK]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø [M]</td>
<td>S1</td>
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<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S2</td>
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<td></td>
<td>MSK said:</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[speech]</td>
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<tr>
<td>117</td>
<td>vaqti</td>
<td>N (words) pos MSK</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td></td>
<td>When MSK had finished talking, 3sg M said:</td>
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<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [M]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pc [MSK]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>125</td>
<td>dar in vaqt PoD</td>
<td>N [MBH]</td>
<td>INT pn [M+MSK] pos</td>
<td>N (home)</td>
<td>At this moment, a big fish drew near 3pl home and 3sg said:</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Ø [MBH]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK’s M, at the sound of 3pl neighbour, came outside and 3sg said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Ø [M]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>135</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MBH]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK’s M said:</td>
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<tr>
<td>137</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MSK] pos N [M]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The neighbour said:</td>
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<tr>
<td>146</td>
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<td>N [MBH]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
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<td>MSK said</td>
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<td>150</td>
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<td>S2</td>
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<td>The neighbour said:</td>
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<td>162</td>
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<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>[speech]</td>
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<tr>
<td>164</td>
<td>N [M]</td>
<td>pc [MSK]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>3sg M said:</td>
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<tr>
<td>170</td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>[speech]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>MSK said:</td>
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<tr>
<td>176</td>
<td>N [MBH]</td>
<td>[speech]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>The neighbour said to MSK’s M:</td>
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<tr>
<td>178</td>
<td>N [M]</td>
<td>[speech]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>M said:</td>
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<td>183</td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>[speech]</td>
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<td>MSK said:</td>
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<td>pc [MSK]</td>
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<td>3sg M said:</td>
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<tr>
<td>188</td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>[speech]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>MSK said:</td>
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<tr>
<td>191</td>
<td>N [MBH]</td>
<td>[speech]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>The neighbour said:</td>
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<tr>
<td>193</td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>[speech]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>MSK said:</td>
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<tr>
<td>195</td>
<td>N [M]</td>
<td>pc [MSK]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>3sg M said:</td>
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<tr>
<td>201</td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>[speech]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>MSK said:</td>
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<tr>
<td>205</td>
<td>N (argument)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>N (other fish)=$rā$</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>206</td>
<td>N [MSK] pos N (words)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>N (everyone) =$rā$</td>
<td>The noise of the argument drew the other fish there too.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>207</td>
<td>pn [MPH] $yek=i$</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td></td>
<td>The words of MSK had annoyed everybody.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>210</td>
<td>pn [MPH] $digar=i$</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td>One of the old fish said:</td>
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<tr>
<td>212</td>
<td>pn [MPH] $yek=i$</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Another said:</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>212</td>
<td>pn [MPH] $digar$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>One of 3pl said:</td>
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<tr>
<td>216</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MBH]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The neighbour (said) [indirect speech] Another said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>219</td>
<td></td>
<td>pn [MBH]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>digar=i</em></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[speech]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>222</td>
<td></td>
<td>N (other fish)</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Just as 3pl were going to 3pl grab MSK,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>223</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø (other fish)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>N [MSK]=rā</td>
<td></td>
<td>3sg friends got 3sg away</td>
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<tr>
<td>224</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [D]</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td>pn [MSK]=rā</td>
<td></td>
<td>and 3pl carried 3sg out of the conflict.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pc [MSK]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK’s M was beating 3sg head and breast</td>
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<tr>
<td>225</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø [D]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>pc [MSK]</td>
<td></td>
<td>and 3sg crying and 3sg saying:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>226</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>N [MSK] pos</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>N (head and breast) pc [M]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N [M]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>227</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Ø [M]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>228</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Ø [M]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>[speech]</td>
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<tr>
<td>232</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S4</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>[speech]</td>
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<tr>
<td>235</td>
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<td>pn (other fish)</td>
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<td>One of the fish shouted out from a distance:</td>
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<td><em>yek-i</em></td>
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<td></td>
<td>[speech]</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>237</td>
<td></td>
<td>pn (other fish)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A second said:</td>
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<td>241</td>
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<td>pn (other fish)</td>
<td>S1</td>
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<td>A third said:</td>
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<td><em>sevvomi</em></td>
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<td>S1</td>
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<td>A fourth said:</td>
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<td>246</td>
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<td>S1</td>
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<td>A fifth said:</td>
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<td>255</td>
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<tr>
<td>257</td>
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<td>N [M]</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3sg M said:</td>
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<td>pc [MSK]</td>
<td>[speech]</td>
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<tr>
<td>259</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>pn (everyone)</td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK didn’t have anything else to say to 3pl.</td>
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<tr>
<td>260</td>
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<td>pn [D]</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>pn [MSK]=rā</td>
<td>N (waterfall)</td>
<td>Some of 3sg friends of the same age accompanied 3sg to the waterfall and 3pl came back from there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>261</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Ø [D]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>pn (waterfall)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>262</td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>pn (everyone)</td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK, when 3sg parted from 3pl, 3sg said:</td>
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<tr>
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<td>PoD</td>
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<tr>
<td>263</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3sg friends said:</td>
</tr>
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<td>[speech]</td>
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<tr>
<td>266</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [D]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pc [MSK]</td>
<td>[speech]</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>267</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>N (waterfall)</td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK descended the waterfall and 3sg fell into a pool full of water.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>268</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>269</td>
<td>avvales</td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>N (hands and feet)=rā pc [MSK]</td>
<td>At first 3sg was all disorientated (lost 3sg hands and feet).</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PoD</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>270</td>
<td>ammā</td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
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<td>ba:d</td>
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<tr>
<td>271</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>N (pond)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>272</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>273</td>
<td></td>
<td>N (water)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>pn (one place)</td>
<td></td>
<td>3sg had never seen all that water collected in one place.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>274</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [KM]</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thousands of skimmer fish were flitting about the water.</td>
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<tr>
<td>275</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>N [MSK]=rā</td>
<td></td>
<td>3pl saw MSK,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>276</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø [KM]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>pc [MSK]</td>
<td></td>
<td>3pl mocked 3sg and 3pl said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>277</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø [KM]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>278</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø [KM]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>279*</td>
<td></td>
<td>N (water)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MSK looked 3pl up and down well and 3sg said:

One of the skimmer fish said:

Another said:

Another said:

Another said:

The (little black) fish said:

The skimmer fish said with one voice:

The (little black) fish said:

The skimmer fish got very angry, but since 3pl realised

MSK was telling the truth

3pl took a different tack and 3sg said:

The (little black) fish said:

The skimmer fish said:
The (little black) fish said:

The skimmer fish said:

MSK burst out laughing too

3sg thought it would be best
to leave the skimmer fish to 3pl own devices

3sg go.

Then 3sg thought it would be a good idea
to have a word or two with 3pl mother,
so 3sg asked:

Suddenly the shrill sound of a frog made 3sg start (caused 3sg to move from 3sg place).

The frog was sitting at the edge of the pond on a rock;

3sg jumped into the water and 3sg came up to MSK

and 3sg said:

MSK said:

The frog said:

MSK said:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Pre-Su</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>C’xt</th>
<th>Non-subject</th>
<th>C’xt</th>
<th>Content</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>370</td>
<td>N [Q]</td>
<td>N [Q]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The frog grew angry and 3sg jumped after MSK.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>371</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Ø [Q]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK put on a burst of speed and 3sg sped off like lightning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>372</td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>373</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3sg swirling up the slimy mud and the worms together at the bottom of the pond.</td>
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<tr>
<td>374</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>N (mud)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>N (worms)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>N (pond)=rā</td>
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<tr>
<td>375</td>
<td>N (valley)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The valley was full of twists and turns.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>376</td>
<td>N (stream)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td></td>
<td>N (water)</td>
<td></td>
<td>The stream also increased in flow (lit. it’s water became so much again)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>ham</em></td>
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<td></td>
<td>pc (stream)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>377</td>
<td>ammā</td>
<td>Ø (generic)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>378</td>
<td>Ø (2sg)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td>N (mountains)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N (valley)=rā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>379</td>
<td>Ø (2sg)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td>N (stream)=rā</td>
<td></td>
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<td>N (thread)</td>
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<tr>
<td>380</td>
<td>yek jā</td>
<td>N (boulder)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>N (mountain)</td>
<td></td>
<td>At one point a big boulder had become separated from the mountain and 3sg fallen into the valley and 3sg had divided the water into two parts.</td>
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<tr>
<td>381</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Ø (boulder)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>N (valley)</td>
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<tr>
<td>382</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Ø (boulder)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>N (water)=rā</td>
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<tr>
<td>383</td>
<td>N [MK]</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td></td>
<td>N (belly)=rā</td>
<td></td>
<td>A large lizard, the size of the palm of your hand, had stuck 3sg-self by the belly to the rock,</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pc [MK]</td>
<td></td>
<td>N (rock)</td>
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</table>

Content
3sg enjoying the warmth of the sun and 3sg watching a large, round crab 3sg had sat on gravel at the base of the water where the water was shallow and 3sg was eating a frog which 3sg had caught.

MSK suddenly saw the crab and 3sg was afraid. 3sg said hello from a long way off. The crab gave 3sg a shifty look and 3sg said:

MSK said:
The crab said:
MSK said:
The crab said:
Having said this the crab made 3sg way little by little towards MSK.
The way 3sg moved was so funny
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<tr>
<td>437</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>(S3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>that MSK laughed at 3sg involuntarily and 3sg said:</td>
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<tr>
<td>438</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK kept 3sg distance from the crab.</td>
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<tr>
<td>442</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>N [X]</td>
<td></td>
<td>A shadow fell over the water and suddenly, a loud splash sent the frog rolling across the gravel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>443</td>
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<td>N (shadow)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>N (water)</td>
<td></td>
<td>The lizard laughed so much at the crab’s behaviour that 3sg slipped and 3sg was close to falling into the water 3sg-self.</td>
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<tr>
<td>444</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>N (splash)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>N [X]=rā N (gravel)</td>
<td></td>
<td>The crab wasn’t able to get out any more.</td>
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<tr>
<td>445</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MK]</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td>N [X] pc [X]</td>
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<td>MSK saw a shepherd boy standing at the edge of the water and 3sg looking at 3sg and the crab.</td>
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<tr>
<td>446</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>Ø [MK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A flock of goats and sheep came up to the water and 3pl dipped 3pl snouts in the water.</td>
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<tr>
<td>447</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Ø [MK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The valley was full of the sound of baa-ing and bleat-ing.</td>
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<tr>
<td>448</td>
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<td>Ø [MK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>pc.self ham</td>
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<td>MSK was very patient</td>
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<tr>
<td>449</td>
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<td>N [X]</td>
<td>S3</td>
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<td>450</td>
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<td>Ø [X]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
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<td>451</td>
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<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S4</td>
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<tr>
<td>452*</td>
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<td>N [PC]</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td>N (water)</td>
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<tr>
<td>453*</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Ø [PC]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>u [MSK] N [X]</td>
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<tr>
<td>454</td>
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<td>N [G]</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td>N (water)</td>
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<tr>
<td>455</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Ø [G]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>N (snouts) pc [G] N (water)</td>
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<tr>
<td>456</td>
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<td>N (valley)</td>
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<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S4</td>
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<tr>
<td>458*</td>
<td>ān vaqt</td>
<td>N [MK]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>N (crack)</td>
<td>Just then, the lizard scurried into a crack in the rock and 3sg returned with a tiny little dagger.</td>
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<tr>
<td>459*</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Ø [G]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>N (water)</td>
<td>until the goats and sheep had drunk 3pl water and 3sg gone.</td>
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<tr>
<td>460</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>N [MK]=rā</td>
<td>Then 3sg called to the lizard and 3sg said:</td>
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<tr>
<td>461</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td>The lizard said:</td>
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<tr>
<td>470</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>N [MK]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK said:</td>
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<tr>
<td>473</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td>The lizard said:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>477</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>N [MK]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK said:</td>
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<td>483</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td>The lizard said:</td>
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<td>485</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>N [MK]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK said:</td>
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<tr>
<td>495</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td>The lizard said:</td>
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<tr>
<td>498</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>N [MK]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK said:</td>
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<tr>
<td>504</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>N [MK]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>N (dagger)</td>
<td>MSK took the dagger and 3sg said:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>506</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>N (dagger)=rā</td>
<td>The lizard said:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>511</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK said:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>518</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>N [MK]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td>The lizard said:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>524</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK said:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>531</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>N [MK]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td>The lizard said:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The lizard put 3sg ear to a split in the rock and 3sg listened and 3sg said:

The lizard went into the crack in the rock and MSK was obliged to go on 3sg way. But the same question niggled in 3sg mind which 3sg kept asking 3sg-self:

(So) MSK swam along and 3sg thought (to 3sg-self).

At every point along the way 3sg saw something new and 3sg learnt (something). Now 3sg really enjoyed 3sg doing somersaults over waterfalls to fall to the bottom and then to swim on again. 3sg felt the warmth of the sun on 3sg back and 3sg drew strength from 3sg.
In one place, a gazelle was hurriedly drinking water.

MSK greeted (3pl) and 3sg said:

The gazelle said:

MSK didn’t see the bullet mark, but from the limping of the deer when 3sg ran 3sg understood that 3sg was telling the truth.

In one place some tortoises were snoozing in the warmth of the sun and in another the boisterous laughing of partridges echoed through the valley.

The perfume of mountain herbs filled the air and the water grew turbulent.

Then in the afternoon 3sg reached a place where the valley broadened and the water ran through the middle of a copse.

The volume of water was so great that MSK really began to have fun.

Later too 3sg came across lots of fish.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Pre-Su</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>C’xt</th>
<th>Non-subject</th>
<th>C’xt</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>584</td>
<td>az vaqti ke</td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>N [M]</td>
<td>pc [MSK]</td>
<td>Since the time 3sg had become separated from 3sg M, 3sg hadn’t seen any fish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>585</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>N (fish)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Several tiny fishes surrounded 3sg, and 3pl said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>586</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MR]</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td>pc [MSK]</td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>587</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Ø [MR]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The tiny fish said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>589</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>592</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MR]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The tiny fish said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>594</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>597</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MR]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The tiny fish said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>599</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>601</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MR]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The tiny fish said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>603</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK didn’t say anything. One of the tiny fish said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>604</td>
<td></td>
<td>pn [MR]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>607</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Another said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>609</td>
<td></td>
<td>pn [MR]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>612</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The tiny fish said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>614</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MR]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>617</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The rumour rapidly spread amongst the fish that a little black fish had come from a long way away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>620</td>
<td></td>
<td>N (rumour)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>N [MR]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>621*</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
and 3sg wanted to go
3sg find the end of the river
and 3sg also had no fear of the pelican!

Some of the tiny fish were tempted to go with MSK, but because of greater fear 3pl didn’t say anything.

Some also said:

On the bank of the river was a village.

The women and girls of the village washed 3pl dishes and clothes in the river.

MSK listened for a while to 3pl hue and cry
and for a while 3sg watched the watery antics of the children
and 3sg went on 3sg way
and 3sg continued on 3sg way,
3sg going further and further until night fell
and 3sg slipped under a stone
and 3sg slept.

In the middle of the night 3sg woke up
va Ø [MSK]
N (m’light)
S1

INT

va Ø (m’light)
S1

N [MSK]
S4

N [MH]=rā

N (m’light)
S3

N (river)

MSK really loved the moon.

On nights when the m’light fell on the water,

N (heart)
S4

MSK loved to creep out from under the seaweed

va Ø [MSK]
S1

pn [MH]

N [MSK]
S4

pc [MSK]

to creep out from under the seaweed
and 3sg have a few words with 3sg

ammu N [M] N (seaweed)
S4

but every time 3sg M woke up

va Ø [M]
S1

pn [MSK]=rā

N (seaweed)

and 3sg dragged 3sg under the seaweed

va Ø [MSK]
S1

N (seaweed)

and 3sg went back to sleep.

N [MSK] S4

N [MH]

MSK went after the moon
and 3sg said:

va Ø [MSK] [speech]
S1

N [MH] [speech]
S2

The moon said:

N [MSK] [speech]
S2

MSK said:

N [MH] [speech]
S2

The moon said:

N [MSK] [speech]
S2

MSK said:

N [MH] [speech]
S2

The moon said:

N [MSK] [speech]
S2

MSK said:

N [MSK] [speech]
S2

MSK said:
The moon said:
The moon wasn’t able to finish what 3sg was saying.
The black cloud arrived and 3sg covered 3sg up and the night grew dark again and MSK was left all alone. For some minutes 3sg stared, dumb-founded, into the darkness, then 3sg crept under a stone and 3sg slept. Early in the morning 3sg woke up and 3sg saw above 3sg head a bunch of tiny fish that were chattering to each other. Then 3pl saw MSK had woken up and 3pl said with one voice: MSK soon recognized 3pl and 3sg said:

One of the tiny fish said:

Another said:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Pre-Su</th>
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<th>Non-subject</th>
<th>C’xt</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>717</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>722</td>
<td>ammā</td>
<td>Ø [MSK+MR]</td>
<td>S1+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>But when 3pl tried to set off,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>723</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø [MSK+MR]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3pl saw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>724</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø [MSK+MR]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>that the water was far away from 3pl and there was a blockage above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>725*</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>N (water)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>pc [MSK+MR]</td>
<td></td>
<td>and a lid had come down over 3pl heads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>726*</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>N (lid)=i</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>N (head)</td>
<td>pc [MSK+MR]</td>
<td>and everywhere grew dark and no other way of escape was left.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>727*</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>N (place)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK quickly realised that 3pl fallen into the pouch of the pelican.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>728*</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>N (escape)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The tiny fish started crying and weeping.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>729</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>One of 3pl said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>730*</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>Ø [MSK+MR]</td>
<td>S1+</td>
<td>N [MS] pos</td>
<td></td>
<td>Another said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>731</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Suddenly the sound of frightful giggling filled the water.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>734</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MR]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>It was the pelican</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>735</td>
<td></td>
<td>pn [MR]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>that laughed and laughed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>740</td>
<td></td>
<td>pn [MR] yek=i</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>and 3sg said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>743</td>
<td></td>
<td>nāgahān</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Pre-Su</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>C’xt</td>
<td>Non-subject</td>
<td>C’xt</td>
<td>Content</td>
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<td>--------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>751</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MR]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The tiny fish fell to begging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>752</td>
<td><em>va</em></td>
<td>Ø [MR]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>and 3pl said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>758</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MS]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The pelican said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>763</td>
<td></td>
<td>N (fish)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>N (pouch)</td>
<td></td>
<td>A number of fish ... were heaped up at the bottom of the pouch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>764</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MR]</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The tiny fish said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>768</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>772</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MR]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The tiny fish said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>778</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MS]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The pelican said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>780</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MR]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The tiny fish said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>782</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MS]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The pelican said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>785</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>pc.self [MSK]</td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK pulled away from 3pl, and 3sg said to the tiny fish:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>786</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>N [MR]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>789</td>
<td><em>ammā</em></td>
<td>N [MR]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>But the tiny fish were so much were so much thinking of 3pl own liberation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>790*</td>
<td><em>ke</em></td>
<td>Ø [MR]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>that 3pl didn’t consider anything else</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>791*</td>
<td><em>va</em></td>
<td>Ø [MR]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>pc.self [MR]</td>
<td></td>
<td>and 3pl fell upon MSK.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>792</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>N (pouch)</td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK withdrew to (rear of) the pouch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>793</td>
<td><em>va</em></td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>and 3sg said calmly:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>799</td>
<td></td>
<td>[speech]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The tiny fish said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Pre-Su</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>C’xt</td>
<td>Non-subject C’xt</td>
<td>Content</td>
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<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>802</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK said:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>807</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MR]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td>The tiny fish said:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>811</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK said:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>822</td>
<td></td>
<td>pn [MR] yek=i</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>N (word) pc [MSK]</td>
<td>One of the fish interrupted what 3sg was saying and 3sg shouted:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>823</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø [MR]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>826</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK saw 3sg crying and 3sg said:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>827</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>829</td>
<td>ba:d</td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>N (dagger)=rā</td>
<td>Then 3sg got out the dagger and waved (it) before the eyes of the tiny fish.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>830</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>N [MR]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>831</td>
<td></td>
<td>pn [MR]</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>N [MSK] pos N (plan)=rā</td>
<td>3pl were obliged to accept MSK’s plan.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>832</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø [MR]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>N (sham)=i</td>
<td>3pl put up a sham of fighting and struggling.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>833</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK pretended to be dead and 3pl swam upwards and 3sg said:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>834</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>pn [MR]</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>835</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø [MR]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td>The pelican laughed and 3sg said:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>838</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MS]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>839</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Ø [MS]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>N (opportunity)</td>
<td>The tiny fish didn’t get any chance at all, with lightning speed 3pl went down the pelican’s throat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>843</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MR]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>N (opportunity)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>844</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø [MR]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>N [MS] pos N (throat)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
No. | Pre-Su | Subject | C’xt | Non-subject | C’xt | Content
--- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | ---
845 | N (fate) pc [MR] | S1 |  |  |  | and 3pl fate was sealed.
846 | ammā N [MSK] | S4 | N (dagger)=rā pc [MSK] |  |  | But MSK, just at that moment, drew 3sg dagger
847 | va Õ [MSK] | S1 | N (pouch)=rā |  |  | and 3sg with one stroke slit the pouch open and 3sg got out.
848 | va Õ [MSK] | S1 |  |  |  | The pelican screamed in pain and 3sg flailed 3sg head around in the water,
849 | N [MS] | S4 |  |  |  | but 3sg wasn’t able to catch MSK.
850 | va Õ [MS] | S1 | N (head) pc [MS] |  |  | MSK swam and swam and swam, until midday came.
851 | ammā Õ [MS] | S1 |  |  |  | Now the mountain and the valley had come to an end and the river became level with the plain.
852 | Õ [MS] | S1 | N [MSK]=rā |  |  | From the right and the left, a number of other little rivers joined 3sg
853 | N [MSK] | S4 |  |  |  | and increased 3sg flow some-fold.
854* | N (midday) | S4 |  |  |  | MSK was delighted with the abundance of water.
855 | halā N (mountain and valley) | S4 |  |  |  | Suddenly 3sg came to 3sg senses
856 | va N (river) | S4 |  |  |  | and 3sg saw that the water had no bottom.
857 | az rāst va N (other rivers) ţap PoD | S4 | pn (river) |  |  | 3sg went this way and that.
858 | ŕ (other rivers) | S1 | N (water)=rā pc (river) |  |  | 3sg didn’t make any progress.
859 | N [MSK] | S4 | N (water) |  |  |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
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<th>Non-subject</th>
<th>C’xt</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>866</td>
<td></td>
<td>N (water)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>There was so much water that MSK became lost in it and whichever way 3sg wanted to 3sg could swim and 3sg did not come across any land at all.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>867*</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>pc (water)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Suddenly 3sg saw that some long and enormous creature was attacking 3sg like lightning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>868</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>N (heart)</td>
<td>pc [MSK]</td>
<td>MSK thought that now was the moment the swordfish was about to tear 3sg to pieces, and 3sg with great agility 3sg made a break and 3sg came up to the surface; then after a moment, 3sg went back under again to see the bottom of the sea.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>869</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>N (head)</td>
<td>pc [MSK]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>870</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>871</td>
<td>nāgahān</td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>N (some animal)</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td>N (direction) pc [MSK]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>872</td>
<td></td>
<td>N (some animal) INT</td>
<td></td>
<td>pc [MSK]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>873</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [AM]</td>
<td>Pres</td>
<td>N (mouth)</td>
<td>pc [AM]</td>
<td>There was a two-tailed swordfish before 3sg mouth!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>874</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK thought that now was the moment the swordfish was about to tear 3sg to pieces, and 3sg with great agility 3sg made a break and 3sg came up to the surface; then after a moment, 3sg went back under again to see the bottom of the sea.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>875*</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>N [AM]</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>pc [MSK]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>876*</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>N [AM]</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>pc [MSK]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>877</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>878</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>879</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>880</td>
<td>baːd az moddati PoD</td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>881*</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>N (sea)=rā</td>
<td></td>
<td>INT 3sg came across a shoal of fish in the middle of 3sg path – thousands and thousands of fish! 3sg asked one of 3pl:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>882</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>N [MD]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>883</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>pc.no [MD]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[speech]
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
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<th>C’xt</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>887</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MD]</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>N [D] pc [MD]</td>
<td></td>
<td>The fish called 3sg friends and 3sg said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>888</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø [MD]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Then 3sg said to MSK:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>891</td>
<td>*ba:*d</td>
<td>Ø [MD]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td></td>
<td>Another of the fish said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>893</td>
<td></td>
<td>pn [MD]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td><em>yek=i</em> digar</td>
<td></td>
<td>Another said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>896</td>
<td></td>
<td>pn [MD]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td><em>yek=i</em> digar</td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK was over-joyed that 3sg had arrived at the sea, and 3sg said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>900</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>One of the fish said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>901</td>
<td><em>ke</em></td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>N (sea)</td>
<td></td>
<td>So MSK split off from the shoal of sea fish and 3sg went to have a swim by 3sg-self.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>902</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A little later, 3sg came to the surface of the sea.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>910</td>
<td></td>
<td>pn [MD]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td><em>yek=i</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>The sunlight was shining warmly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>919</td>
<td><em>änväqt</em></td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>N [MD]</td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK felt the burning warmth of the sun on 3sg back and 3sg was loving (it).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>920</td>
<td><em>va</em></td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>pc.self [MSK]</td>
<td></td>
<td>At peace and happy, 3sg was swimming at the surface of the sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>921</td>
<td>*kami ba:*d</td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>922</td>
<td></td>
<td>N (sunlight)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>923</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>N (sun) =rā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>924</td>
<td><em>va</em></td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>925</td>
<td><em>ārām va xoš</em></td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MSK wasn’t able to think and deliberate any further, for a heron came and grabbed 3sg and carried 3sg off.

MSK beat against the long beak of the heron with hands and feet, but 3sg couldn’t free 3sg-self.

The heron had grasped 3sg waist so hard and tight that the life was draining out of 3sg!

After all, how long can a little fish remain alive out of water.

MSK thought if only the heron might right now swallow 3sg so that for just a little while the water and humours in 3sg stomach might give 3sg a few minutes before death.

With this in mind 3sg said to the heron:

The heron didn’t say anything,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
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<th>Non-subject C’xt</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>957</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø [MX] [speech]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td>3sg thought:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>964</td>
<td></td>
<td>N (dry land)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dry land had become visible in the distance and 3sg was growing closer and closer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>965</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Ø (dry land)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK thought:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>966</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MSK] [speech]</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td></td>
<td>This being so 3sg said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>969</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>in bud</td>
<td>Pres</td>
<td></td>
<td>The heron thought:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>970</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>Ø [MSK] [speech]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td>The heron was just thinking this when 3sg saw that MSK’s body was slack and motionless.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>978</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MX] [speech]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td>3sg thought to 3sg-self:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>986</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MX]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>987</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>Ø [MX]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>988*</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>N [MSK] pos N (ability)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>989</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø [MX]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>pc.self [MX]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>994</td>
<td></td>
<td>[speech] in bud</td>
<td>Pres</td>
<td></td>
<td>This being so 3sg called to MSK to say:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>995</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø [MX]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>N [MSK]=rā</td>
<td>But 3sg couldn’t finish what 3sg was saying;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>996</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø [MX]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td>for the moment 3sg opened 3sg bill,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000</td>
<td>ammā</td>
<td>Ø [MX]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1001</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø [MX]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>N (words)=rā</td>
<td>MSK made a leap for it and 3sg fell out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1002</td>
<td>čun</td>
<td>Ø [MX]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>N (bill)=rā</td>
<td>The heron saw that 3sg had been meanly defrauded,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>haminke</td>
<td>PoD</td>
<td></td>
<td>pc [MX]</td>
<td>3sg swooped down after MSK.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1003</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1004</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1005</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [MX]</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1006*</td>
<td></td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>N (head) pc [MX]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1007</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø [MX]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1008 Pre-Su | Subject | C’xt | Non-subject | C’xt | Content
--- | --- | --- | --- | --- | ---
N [MSK] | | S4 | | | 
Ø [MSK] | S1 | N (sea) | | | MSK plunged through the air like lightning.
Ø [MSK] | S1 | N (mouth)=rā pc [MSK] | | | 3sg was desperately eager for the water of the sea
Ø [MSK] | S1 | N (sea) | | | 3sg was encouraging 3sg dry mouth with recollections of the sea’s moistness.
Ø [MSK] | S1 | | | | but the moment 3sg went into the water
Ø [MSK] | S1 | | | | and 3sg took a fresh breath, the heron arrived like lightning
N [MX] | S4 | | | | and 3sg caught MSK with such speed this time
N [MSK]=rā | S1 | | | | and 3sg swallowed that MSK didn’t realise for a while
N (breath) | S1 | | | | what had arrived over 3sg head,
N (mouth) | S1 | | | | 3sg just felt that everywhere was moist and dark
N (mouth) | S1 | | | | and there was nowhere to go
ammar | Ø [MSK] | S1 | | | and the sound of crying was coming from somewhere.
va | Ø [MSK] | S1 | | | When 3sg eyes got used to the darkness,
Ø [MSK] | S4 | N (head) pc [MSK] | | | 3sg saw a really tiny fish
va | Ø [MSK] | S3 | | | 3sg covering in a corner
ke | N [MSK] | S3 | | | and 3sg crying and wanting 3sg mother.
Ø [MSK] | S1 | N (mother)=rā pc [MSK] | | |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Non-subject</th>
<th>C’xt</th>
<th>Content</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1027</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK went up to 3sg and 3sg said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1028</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The tiny fish said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1032</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>N [MBR]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1039</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>When the tiny fish got control of 3sg tears,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1043</td>
<td>vaqti</td>
<td>N [MBR]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>N (tears)</td>
<td>pc [MBR]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1044</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1050</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>N [MBR]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The tiny fish said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1054</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>N (dagger) = rā</td>
<td>pc [MSK]</td>
<td>MSK showed 3sg dagger and 3sg said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1055</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The tiny fish said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1066</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>N [MBR]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1068</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The tiny fish said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1072</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>N [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>pn (this) = rā</td>
<td></td>
<td>MSK said this and 3sg started wriggling and 3sg going this way and that and 3sg tickling the heron’s belly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1073</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1074</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1075</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Ø [MSK]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>N [MX] pos N (belly) = rā</td>
<td></td>
<td>The tiny fish stood ready at the entrance to the heron’s stomach.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1076</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>N [MBR]</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>N [MX] pos N (stomach)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1077</td>
<td>tā</td>
<td>N [MX]</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>N (mouth) pc [MX]</td>
<td></td>
<td>The moment the heron opened 3sg mouth and 3sg started laughing, the tiny fish jumped out of the heron’s mouth and 3sg escaped</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1078</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Ø [MX]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1079</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>N [MBR]</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>N [MX] pos N (mouth)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1080</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Ø [MBR]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

520
and shortly afterwards fell into the water; but however long 3sg waited there was no sign of MSK.

Suddenly 3sg saw the heron thrashing around and 3sg screaming, until 3sg began beating 3sg wings and feet together and 3sg coming down and then 3sg falling into the water and still 3sg beating 3sg wings and feet until 3sg stopped moving and thrashing but there was not a sign of MSK and still until now 3sg hasn’t been seen… So the old fish finished 3sg story and said to 3sg twelve thousand children and grandchildren:

The children and grandchildren said:

The old fish said:

11,999 little fish said goodnight
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
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<th>Non-subject</th>
<th>C’xt</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1106</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Ø [B&amp;N]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>and went to sleep.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1107</td>
<td>Ø [B&amp;N]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The grandmother went to sleep too</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1108</td>
<td>N [MP]</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>pc [MP]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>but one little red fish, try as 3sg might, couldn’t sleep.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1109</td>
<td>ammā</td>
<td>N [MXK]</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>From evening to morning 3sg thought endlessly of the sea…</td>
</tr>
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<td>1110</td>
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**Chart 02: Participant Reference Chart for Sāša va asb=e jāduyi**

**Participants:** pir=e mard ‘old man’ [PM]; se tā pesar ‘three sons’ [P], [P1], [P2], [P3]; sāša ‘Sasha’ [S]; heyvān ‘animal’ [H]; asb ‘horse’ [A]; barādar ‘brothers’ [B]; doxtar=e pādešāh ‘king’s daughter’ [DP].

**Grammatical coding:** N: noun/NP; pn: pronoun; pc: pronominal clitic; Ø: zero or verb prefix only; pos: possessor; vo: verbal object; self: reflexive; PoD: point of departure; Pres: presentational construction; INT: participant introduced. Subordinate clause*.

**Subject tracking:** S1: same subject as previous clause; S2: subject was addressee of previous clause; S3: subject was other non-subject of previous clause; S4: subject is none of the above

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<td>pc [S]</td>
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524
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<td>N (ear)</td>
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<td>134*</td>
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<td>Ø [H]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>N (field)</td>
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<td>3sg eats the grain</td>
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<td>135*</td>
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<td>Ø [H]</td>
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<td>N (crops)</td>
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<td>a few days pass</td>
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<td>136</td>
<td>PoD</td>
<td>N (few days)</td>
<td>S4</td>
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<td>DP says …</td>
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<td>137</td>
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<td>N [DP] [speech]</td>
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<td>Sasha’s B mount their horses.</td>
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<td>146</td>
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<td>N [B]</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>N (horses) pc [B]</td>
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<td>3pl get ready to go</td>
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<tr>
<td>147</td>
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<td>Ø [B]</td>
<td>S1</td>
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<td>Sasha says …</td>
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<tr>
<td>148</td>
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<td>Ø [B]</td>
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<td>3pl say …</td>
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<td>149</td>
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<td>N [S] [speech]</td>
<td>S4</td>
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<td>Sasha says …</td>
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<td>151</td>
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<td>Ø [B] [speech]</td>
<td>S2</td>
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<td>3pl say …</td>
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<td>N [S] [speech]</td>
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<td>Sasha says …</td>
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<td>N [B] [speech]</td>
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<td>B mount 3pl horses</td>
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<td>Ø [B]</td>
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<tr>
<td>163</td>
<td>N [S]</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>N (forest)</td>
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<td>Sasha goes to the forest</td>
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<td>Ø [S]</td>
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<td>3sg whistles three times</td>
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<td>165</td>
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<td>3sg says … [speech]</td>
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<td>S1</td>
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<td>3sg sees</td>
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<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td>N [A]</td>
<td>S4</td>
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<td></td>
<td>that … A is coming</td>
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<td>169</td>
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<td>S3</td>
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<td>A comes</td>
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<td>170</td>
<td>Ø [A]</td>
<td>S1</td>
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<td>3sg says … [speech]</td>
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<td>173</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Sasha says … [speech]</td>
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<td>182</td>
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<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A says … [speech]</td>
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<td>189</td>
<td>N [S]</td>
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<td>Sasha says … [speech]</td>
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<tr>
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<td>S1</td>
<td>N (left ear) pos A</td>
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<td>3sg goes in A’s left ear</td>
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<td>3sg out thru right ear</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>3sg sees</td>
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<td>194*</td>
<td>N (clothes) pc [S]</td>
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<td></td>
<td>that 3sg clothing has become …</td>
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<td>195</td>
<td>Ø [S]</td>
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<td>N [A]</td>
<td>N-S4</td>
<td>3sg mounts A</td>
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<td>196</td>
<td>Ø [S]</td>
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<td></td>
<td>3sg goes at a run</td>
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<td>197*</td>
<td>vaqtī</td>
<td>Ø [S]</td>
<td>N (room) pos DP</td>
<td>N-S4</td>
<td>when 3sg arrives near the window of room of DP</td>
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<tr>
<td>198</td>
<td>N [A]</td>
<td>S3</td>
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<td>A jumps up quickly</td>
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<td>199</td>
<td>N [S]</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>N (ring)=rā N (hand) pos [DP]</td>
<td>N-S4</td>
<td>N-S4, and S takes ring off DP’s hand</td>
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<td>200</td>
<td>Ø [S]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>N [DP]=rā</td>
<td>N-S3</td>
<td>3sg kisses DP</td>
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<td></td>
<td>3sg escapes</td>
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<td>202</td>
<td>N (all)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>all together say … [speech]</td>
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<tr>
<td>207</td>
<td>valī</td>
<td>N (no horse)=i ind</td>
<td>N [A]</td>
<td>N-S4</td>
<td>but no horse can reach to the silver and gold A</td>
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No. Pre-Su Subject C’xt Non-subject C’xt Content
208 N [S] S4 N (forest) Sasha comes to the forest
209 Ø [S] S1 N [A] =rā 3sg releases A
210 PoD Ø [S] S1 N (left ear) pos [A] N-S4 3sg goes in thru left ear
211 ammā Ø [S] S1 N (right ear) pos [A] N-S3 but this time 3sg goes in thru right ear
212 Ø [S] S1 N (left ear) pos [A] N-S3 3sg comes out of left ear
213 Ø [S] S1 hamān N (clothes) 3sg ends up with those same clothes ...
214 ba:d Ø [S] S1 N [A] =rā N-S3 then 3sg releases A
215 Ø [S] S1 3sg says ...
218 Ø [S] S1 ān N (hand) =rā pc [S] 3sg wraps that 3sg hand on which is DP’s ring
219 Ø [S] S1 yek N (cloth) ind with piece of cloth
220 Ø [S] S1 3sg comes home
221 N [B] pc [S] S4 B say …
223 Ø [S] S2 3sg says …
226 Ø [B] S2 3pl say …
228 Ø [S] S2 3sg says …
235 Ø [B] S2 3pl say …
241 Ø [S] S2 3sg says …
244 Ø [B] S2 3pl say …
253 N [S] S2 Sasha says …
255 Ø [S] S1 N (place) pc [S] 3sg sits in 3sg place
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<tr>
<td>256</td>
<td>Ø [S]</td>
<td>S1</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>3sg says no more</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>257</td>
<td>PoD</td>
<td>N [DP]</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td></td>
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<td>after several days</td>
</tr>
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<td>the DP announces</td>
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<td>263</td>
<td></td>
<td>ke [speech]</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>no one goes</td>
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<td>264</td>
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<td>N [S]</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sasha doesn’t go either</td>
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<td>265</td>
<td>belaxare</td>
<td>N [DP]</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>yek N (party)</td>
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<td>finally, DP gives a party</td>
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<td>266</td>
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<td>S1</td>
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<tr>
<td>268</td>
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<td>S4</td>
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<td></td>
<td>this time B obliged</td>
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<tr>
<td>269*</td>
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<td>Ø [B]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>N [S]=rā pc.self [B]</td>
<td>N-S4</td>
<td>to take Sasha with 3pl</td>
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<tr>
<td>270*</td>
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<td>N [DP]</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>since DP had said</td>
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<td>271*</td>
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<td>N (all men) pos N (city)</td>
<td>S4</td>
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<td>all men of the city must come</td>
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<tr>
<td>272*</td>
<td>vaqti</td>
<td>Ø [B+S]</td>
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<td>ān jā N (place)</td>
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<td>when 3pl go to that place</td>
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<tr>
<td>273</td>
<td></td>
<td>N [DP]</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>pc.self [DP]</td>
<td>N (drink &amp; sweets)</td>
<td>DP 3sg-self is serving drinks to each one</td>
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<tr>
<td>274</td>
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<td>Ø [DP]</td>
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<td>N (guests)</td>
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<td>3sg giving hospitality to guests</td>
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<td>275*</td>
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<td>Ø [DP]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>to N [S]</td>
<td>N-S4</td>
<td>when 3sg gets to Sasha</td>
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<td>276</td>
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<td>Ø [DP]</td>
<td>S1</td>
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<td>3sg says …</td>
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<td>278</td>
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<td>N [S]</td>
<td>S2</td>
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<td>Sasha says …</td>
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<td>282</td>
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<td>N [DP]</td>
<td>S2</td>
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<td>DP says …</td>
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<td>285*</td>
<td>vaqti</td>
<td>N [S]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>N (hand)=rā pc [S]</td>
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<td>when Sasha unbinds 3sg hand</td>
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<td>286</td>
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<td>N [DP]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>N (ring)=rā pc.self [DP]</td>
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<td>DP sees 3sg-self ring on S’s hand</td>
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<td>287</td>
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<td>Ø [DP]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3sg says …</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Ø [S]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
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<td>3sg says …</td>
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<tr>
<td>292</td>
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<td>Ø [DP]</td>
<td>S2</td>
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<td>3sg says …</td>
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<td>295</td>
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<td>N [S]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sasha says …</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[speech]</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>297</td>
<td>Ø [S]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>N (down)</td>
<td></td>
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<td>3sg goes below</td>
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<td>Ø [S]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3sg stands</td>
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<tr>
<td>299</td>
<td>Ø [S]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3sg again whistles three times</td>
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<td>300</td>
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<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>3sg says …</td>
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<tr>
<td>302</td>
<td>N [A]</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A runs</td>
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<tr>
<td>303</td>
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<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3sg comes</td>
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<td>304</td>
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<td>S4</td>
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<td>Ø [S]</td>
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<td>pc [A]</td>
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<td>Ø [S]</td>
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<td><em>hamān N (youth)</em></td>
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<td>3sg becomes that same handsome youth again</td>
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<td>307</td>
<td>N [DP]</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DP becomes very happy</td>
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<td>308</td>
<td>yek N (boy) ind</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>with [A] <em>hamān</em> (person) ind</td>
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<td>that a handsome boy with a silver and gold A is that same person</td>
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<td>309*</td>
<td>Ø (S)</td>
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<td>N (ring)=rā pc [DP]</td>
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<td>3sg took 3sg ring</td>
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<td>310</td>
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<td>S1</td>
<td>N (with S)</td>
<td></td>
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<td>3sg marries Sasha</td>
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<tr>
<td>311</td>
<td>Ø [DP+S]</td>
<td>S1+</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>3pl live with each other</td>
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</table>
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