A COMPARATIVE DIALECTAL DESCRIPTION OF IRANIAN TALESHI

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Abstract

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This work presents a synchronic description of the Taleshi language spoken in northwest Iran. Its purpose is to provide a comparative study of the basic phonological, morphological and syntactic structure of three dialects spoken in Iran: Anbarani (northern), Asalemi (central) and Masali (southern). In addition, the sociolinguistic situation of the dialects is explored, along with some key elements of narrative discourse structure.

To date only individual dialects of Iranian Taleshi have been described, mostly at the level of a grammatical sketch. This study, by comparing key representative speech varieties of each main dialect area, provides an overview of the whole dialect continuum, and is thereby able to show how the language changes from north to south. This variation has arisen partly as a result of language contact: the Taleshi language area is surrounded by other languages, including South Azerbaijani (Turkic), and Tati, Gilaki and Persian (all Western Iranian). Language shift to Persian is also occurring, and many Talesh no longer transmit their mother tongue to the next generation.

The data for the study is drawn from fieldwork carried out in Iran during 2006 and 2007. This fieldwork included the elicitation of word and sentence lists, and the recording, transcription and translation of narrative texts in each dialect area. Further to these, a short film (The Pear Film) was used to elicit spontaneous narrative texts in nine locations along the dialect continuum; we therefore include some wider comment on other dialects of Iranian Taleshi.

Declaration

No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

Copyright Statement

Acknowledgements

When I tell friends that the Talesh region of Iran is beautiful, I am of course thinking partly of its stunning forests and mountains. However, first and foremost I am thinking of its people, who have been unfailingly gracious and generous to me with their time and hospitality. My sincere thanks go to all those who sat patiently with me to tell stories, undergo comprehension testing, and painstakingly translate and explain.

My research would not have been possible without the kind permission of the Iranian government. The University of Sistan and Balochestan went out of their way to help me obtain this, and I subsequently received much assistance from the Farmandar of Talesh, Mr Alizade, the Mayor of Masal, Mr Kazemi, the Bakshdar of Shanderman, Mr Saber, and especially from Mr Taghi Eskanderi. My sincere thanks to them; to the Iranian families who provided accommodation for us in various parts of Talesh; and to academics at the University of Gilan who took an interest in my research and shared their resources with me.

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Finally, I give thanks to the Creator of life. This thesis is witness to the fact that with Him, nothing is impossible.

List of Abbreviations

Items marked with an asterisk do not appear in any interlinear gloss.

1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person
A*	Most agent-like argument in a transitive clause
ACC	Accusative
ADJ	Adjectival marker
AUG	Augment
AUX	Auxiliary verb
CAUS	Causative
CL	Classifier
COMP	Complementizer
CMPR	Comparative
COP	Copula (followed by person and number)
CPr*	Complex Predicate
CSSV	Concessive
CTV*	Complement-Taking Verb
DADJ	Derived adjective marker
DEMD	Demonstrative (distal)
DEMP	Demonstrative (proximate)
DIM	Diminutive
DISC	Discourse marker
EMPH	Emphatic
ERG	Ergative
EVID	Evidential
EZ	(Persian) ezafe
FRQ	Frequentative
IMPF	Imperfective
IMP	Imperative
IND	Indefinite
INF	Infinitive
INTSV	Intensive
IO	Indirect Object
IOD	Indirect Object (distal)
IOP	Indirect Object (proximal)
IRR	Irrealis
LV*	Light verb
NOM	Nominalizer
NEC	Necessitative
NEG	Negative
NQU	Negative question particle
NV*	Non-verbal element
OBL	Oblique
P	Plural
P*	Most patient-like argument in a transitive clause
PAR	Partitive
PHB	Prohibitive
POSS	Possessive

PROG	Progressive
PRS	Present tense
PST	Past tense
PTC	Participle
PTV	Partitive
PVB	Preverb
QU	Question (interrogative) particle
RCH	Relative clause head marker
RECP	Reciprocal
REL	Relativizer
S	Singular
S*	Intransitive subject
SAMED	Same, distal
SAMEP	Same, proximal
SAP*	Speech act participant (i.e. 1st or 2nd person)
SBJ	Subjunctive
SRCE	Source
TR	Transitive
v.i.*	Intransitive verb
v.t.*	Transitive verb

Candidate's degrees and research experience

Daniel Paul studied Classics and Oriental Studies at Cambridge University, obtaining a B.A.(Hons) in 1996. In 2003 he graduated with an M.A. in linguistics from the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, before joining a team to survey the minority languages of Tajikistan. This research was sponsored by that country's National State University in Dushanbe.

Subsequently Daniel has taught research methodology and phonology at the University of Sistan and Balochestan, Iran; sociolinguistic survey at the University of North Dakota, USA; phonetics at the European Training Programme, accredited by the University of Middlesex, UK; and been a teaching assistant for courses in world Englishes and typology at the University of Manchester. He has also conducted sociolinguistic and linguistic fieldwork in Iran and Afghanistan.

1 Introduction

1.1 Geographical and historical background

The Talesh people live along the southern part of the Caspian Sea's west coast. The region is dominated by the Talesh mountain range, which runs from north to south and creates a narrow coastal strip. This strip runs for over 100 miles from close to Rasht in Iran northwards into Azerbaijan, and is heavily cultivated. Traditionally the Talesh practised animal husbandry, and migrated westward each summer through a number of thickly wooded valleys up to their mountain pastures. This practice continues today, although it has declined in some areas. The origins of the name Talesh are unclear. Asatrian and Borjian (2005) cite a reference to the ethnonym in an Armenian manuscript originally translated from Greek in the 5th century, before the Islamic invasion of Iran, to demonstrate the age of the group. Bazin (1980) finds further references confirming the link between the Talesh and the Iranian province of *Gilân* which are traceable to the philosopher and grammarian Asma'yi, who died in 828. The Talesh region has been divided into two since the Russian annexation of its northern part in 1813. Asatrian and Borjian (ibid) report that at this date the Talesh of Iran were formally divided into the *Xamse-ye Tavâleš* (Talesh Quintet), five clans consisting *of Kargânrud, Asâlem, Tâleš Dulâb, Šândarman* and *Mâsâl*. Taleshi speakers in Iran today live in a somewhat wider area, most of which is described by the administrative district (*šahrestân*) of Talesh in the Province of *Gilân*.

The sketch map below (Figure 1) shows the main locations mentioned in the body of this study. Modern maps of the region include "Map of West Alborz (Gilan)", which covers all of the Talesh region except for the villages north of *Namin*, and "Map of Ardabil Province", which does include these villages.[1] There is also a useful general map in Bazin (1996, p.117). Subsequent to his seminal (1980) study, Bazin (1996) gives a brief update describing subsequent geographical change in the Talesh region. He notes three particular socio-economic processes at work. First, there has been a considerable expansion of rice cultivation in the coastal lowlands, at the expense of wheat and barley farming, although this expansion is under pressure as a result of population growth.[2] Second, opposite processes have been at

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[1] See the bibliography for more details. The place names on both of these maps are written in Persian script. Place names in this chapter follow the orthographic conventions set out in Table 14.

[2] More recently there has also been a boom in the cultivation of kiwis along the coastal strip between Hashtpar and Astara. However, rice cultivation still dominates the landscape.

work on the pattern of pastoral migrations in the southern area and further north. In the south, opening out onto the Gilan plain, Bazin notes a decline in husbandry activity in favour of agriculture (primarily rice, mulberries and tea). In northern and central areas, on the other hand, summer migrations up westward to the mountain pastures remain vibrant. The third process he describes is the development and reinforcement of a series of regional centres, including weekly bazaars in different towns, pilgrimages to two religious sites (*Emâmzâde*), and tourism. During 2006 and 2007 we observed a number of hotels and restaurants catering for tourists which have sprung up recently along the main coastal road, and a large number of tourists in *Mâsule*. Local inhabitants also reported that the mountain pastures, and the new and improved roads which feed them, see heavy tourist traffic during the summer.

Hajatpour (1383/2004, p.37) gives the breakdown shown in Table 1 below for Taleshi, Turkish and Gilaki ethnic backgrounds in some key population centres. Two caveats apply to this data, however. First, those of Persian ethnic background have not been counted. Second, ethnicity does not necessarily determine mother tongue: many ethnic Talesh, especially amongst the younger generations, consider Persian to be their first language.

Table 1: Population figures for six key Talesh districts[3]

	Total Population	% Taleshi	% Turkish	% Gilaki
Âstârâ	63,254	65 (41,000)	35	>1
Haštpar	155,784	75 (117,000)	24	1
Rezvânšahr	60,064	93 (56,000)	1	6
Mâsâl	46,072	96 (44,000)	0.5	3.5
Fuman	103,192	51 (53,000)	4	45
Šaft	75,292	70 (53,000)	1	29

Combining these percentages would give a total of around 360,000 people of Talesh ethnicity for these six centres alone; together with other towns and villages with an ethnic Talesh population, the total number in Iran could then reach half a million. However, with regard to mother-tongue speakers, while Asatrian and Borjian (2005) suggest there may be one million Taleshi speakers in Iran, Gordon's (2005) figure of 112,000 is probably more realistic.

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[3] Figures in brackets are rounded to the nearest 1,000. Each of these districts includes a major town and the outlying villages which fall under the town's jurisdiction.

Figure 1: Map of the Iranian Taleshi-speaking area (not to scale)

Figure 1: Map of the Iranian Taleshi-speaking area (not to scale)
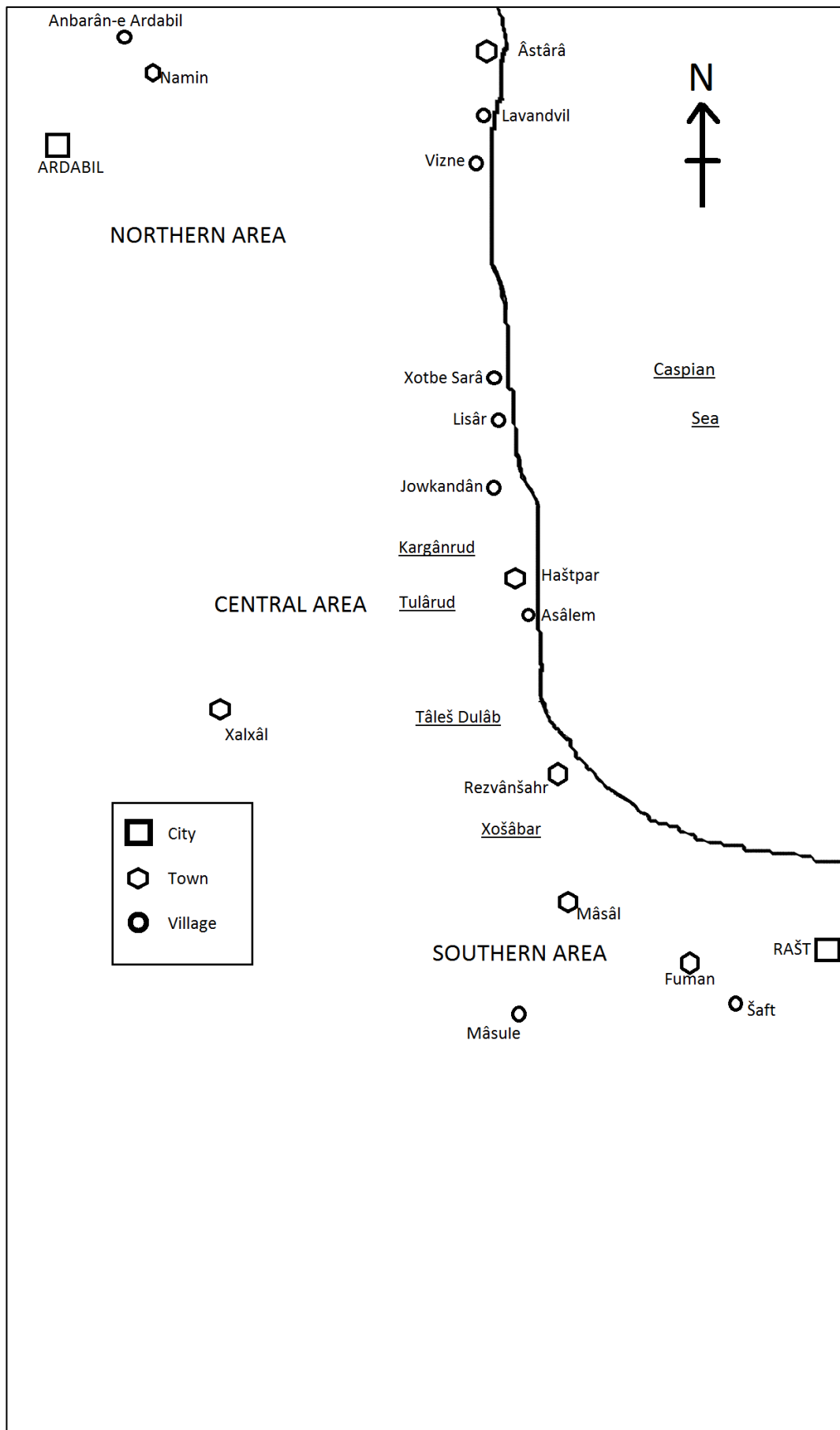
Meanwhile, Tiessen (2003, p.11) reports close to 500,000 ethnic Talysh in Azerbaijan, including close to 400,000 in the districts of Astara, Lenkaran, Lerik, Masalli and Yardimli.[4] The sociolinguistic situation of Taleshi in Iran is explored in more detail in §9.

1.1.1   Research Locations

The Talesh region is commonly divided into three general dialect areas: Northern, Central and Southern (cf. §1.2). Together with lexicostatistical research findings from 2006 confirming this division (see §9.3.1), this led us to assume that mutual intelligibility within each dialect area would be very high, but much lower across area boundaries. We therefore chose three key centres for the main body of the research. In each of the locations listed below, we recorded texts and conducted informal interviews; in addition, in the key centres we elicited sentence lists for grammatical analysis and comparison.

1.1.1.1   Anbarâne Ardebil (northern area)

The *Anbarân* district includes a collection of several villages close to the Azerbaijan border, between the cities of *Âstârâ* and *Ardabil* and 2km north of the town of *Namin*. It is the only area left in Iran where the northern dialect of Taleshi dominates in the social domain in more than one neighbouring village. The largest Taleshi-speaking settlements in the district are *Anbarân-e Soflâ* and *Aminjân*, so we chose language consultants from these two villages.

1.1.1.2   Asâlem (central area)

The *Asâlemi* dialect is in the middle of the central dialect area and some 12km south of *Haštpar*, the regional centre. While a combination of Persian and Turkish language use has heavily reduced the amount of Taleshi spoken in *Haštpar* and further north, in *Asâlem* the impact has been less severe; and even less so in the villages to the south and west of the main town. For this reason we selected language consultants from such southern and western villages: *Allâdeh*; *Khâlifeâbâd*, famous for its Saturday bazaar; and *Khâleh Sarâ*.

1.1.1.3   Mâsâl-Šânderman (southern area)

Taleshi speakers commonly identify the *Mâsâl-Shânderman* area as the best representative of the southern dialect; a number (even in the northern and central areas) go further and describe it as the best place to find "pure Taleshi", perhaps influenced by the

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[4] This estimate was based on interviews between 1999 and 2001 with government officials in each of the districts in Azerbaijan where significant numbers of Talysh live.

regular appearance of speakers from this area on Taleshi television programmes.[5] *Mâsâl* is located some 50km west and slightly north of *Rasht*, and 20km directly south of *Rezvânshahr*, which is near the boundary between the central and southern dialects. *Shânderman* is roughly 6km north of the centre of *Mâsâl*. An excellent research opportunity in this area under the guidance of the deputy mayor of *Shânderman* provided a large number of recorded texts from several locations, in addition to the other linguistic work detailed below. The main consultant from this area came from the north of *Mâsâl* itself.

1.1.1.4   Other Research Locations

In the northern area, we visited *Anbarân Mahalle*, a village just to the west of *Âstârâ*. The Taleshi-speaking inhabitants of this village migrate north to *Anbarân-e Ardabil* during the hot summer months. We also visited *Vizne*, 20km south of *Âstârâ*.

In the central area, we also visited *Jokandân*, 10km north of *Haštpar* (the area is also known as *Turk Mahalle* "Turkish Place").

In the southern area, in addition to visiting many homes in the *Mâsâl* and *Šândarman* areas, we also visited *Mâsule*, a resort town in the Talesh mountains 30km south-west of *Mâsâl* and 60km west of *Rašt*.

1.2   Linguistic background

Gordon (2005) suggests the following linguistic classification for Taleshi:
Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Iranian, Western, Northwestern, Taleshi

Linguistically, the term Taleshi covers a dialect continuum stretching from central Azerbaijan down to some villages around *Rašt* on the Caspian Coast in Iran. In Azerbaijan the language is referred to as Talysh/Talyshi, and was documented extensively by the Russian scholar Miller (1953) (see "Previous Research", §1.3 below). Within Iran, Bazin (1980) chose fifteen "unités dialectales subjectives", each one consisting of a valley or group of adjacent valleys, and recorded wordlists and a list of thirty sentences. Two of the significant "thresholds" which he found were between *Tulârud* and *Xotbeh Sarâ* on the one hand, and south of *Tâleš Dulâb* on the other. On the basis of these linguistic divisions and a set of distinct cultural groupings, he suggested a basic tripartite division between:

1. "Northern Talesh" extending north from *Lisâr* to the border with Azerbaijan;

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[5] Others point out that speakers from this area are predominantly Shia, unlike their fellow-Talesh further north who are mainly Sunni; and that the Shia government of Iran prefers such speakers to appear on television for this reason.

2. "Central Talesh" around Hashtpar, comprising the three districts of *Kargânrud*, *Asâlem* and *Tâleš Dulâb*; and

3. "Southern Talesh" from *Xošâbar* to the south, including *Mâsâl*, *Šândarman*, *Fuman* and *Mâsule*.

Such a division met with the general agreement of those we interviewed amongst both the Taleshi and scholarly communities; but even within these regions considerable grammatical and lexical variation is reported, as illustrated by the wordlists we collected.

1.3   Previous research

1.3.1   General works

Asatrian and Borjian (2005) provide an excellent overview of literature on the Taleshi, with sections on geography, history, ethnography and language. The seminal work on Iranian Taleshi geography is Bazin (1980). He includes some discussion on dialectology and on the linguistic influence of Azerbaijani, Persian and Gilaki on the Taleshi language. A short update is provided in Bazin (1996). The articles under "Gilan" in the Encyclopaedia Iranica (ed. Yarshater) contain some information on Taleshi geography and history. An article on Taleshi is forthcoming. On history, Asatrian and Borjian (ibid) single out Aqajani (1999), Ahmadi (2001) and Abdoli (1998) for particular mention; they also cite a number of ethnographic works by the latter. Shokuri (2003) is a locally produced anthology of cultural and pastoral practices, while Abdoli (2001) is a compilation of Taleshi and Tati poetry with Persian translation.

1.3.2   Taleshi language

The best known linguistic study is Miller (1953), a descriptive grammar of Azerbaijani Talyshi, which was based on the Talyshi texts he published in 1930. A more recent grammar of Azerbaijani Talyshi is Pirejko (1991), while Schulze (2000) is a grammatical sketch based on the analysis of a single narrative text.

On Iranian dialects of Taleshi, studies include those on the lects of:

- Anbaran (Amirian 2005)

- Karganrud and Tularud (Guizzo 2003)

- Asalem (Yarshater 1996; Kishekhale 2007)

- Taleshdulab (Abdoli 2001; Hajatpour 1997)

- Masal (Nawata 1982; Naghzguy-Kohan 1994; De Caro (forthcoming))

- Masule (Lazard 1979; Mohammadizadeh 1996)

Linguistic articles in Persian include Kishekhale (2003 and 2005) on the ergative construction in Taleshi, Naghzguy Kohan (2005) on Taleshi phonology, and Jirdahi and Samsars' (2001) acoustic study of Taleshi vowels. A monthly magazine on Taleshi affairs, "Talesh", is published in Asalem and often includes brief linguistic studies. Typological work in English includes Stilo (2004a) on language contact in the wider area; Stilo (2008a) and De Caro (2003) on verbal alignment and pronominal clitics; and De Caro (forthcoming) on "Upper Southern Taleshi". Sokolova (1953) provided a phonetic sketch of Azerbaijani Talyshi.

Taleshi dictionaries include Pirejko (1976) between Azerbaijani Talyshi and Russian, and a shorter glossary by Rajabov (1992); and on the Iranian side, Jirdahi (2008). Guizzo's (2003) PhD dissertation on Karganrudi and Tularudi also contains a lexicon focussing on those dialects but including references to related lexical items of several other dialects, including Anbarani, Asalemi and Masali among others.

1.4 Methodology

The corpus material on which this study is based was collected and transcribed in the course of fieldwork conducted during March 2006 and April to June 2007 in the Talesh region. On both occasions official permission to conduct linguistic research was provided by the District Governor, who kindly introduced us to the local mayors of each town.

On the basis of the general consensus described above, we took Iranian Taleshi to consist of three main dialect areas running from north to south along the coast of the Caspian Sea. 500-sentence elicitation lists, wordlists and texts were recorded from mother-tongue speakers in towns commonly reported to be central to each dialect area respectively: Anbaran-e Ardabil for Northern Taleshi (a man in his 40s), Asalem for Central Taleshi (a man in his 30s), and Masal for Southern Taleshi (a man in his 40s). The lists and texts were transcribed *in situ*, again with the help of local mother-tongue speakers. We read a brief statement explaining the purpose of our research to every respondent who provided us with linguistic data. We then explained this statement to the respondent, and invited them to give their written consent to their speech being recorded, transcribed and used for academic purposes as part of a linguistic investigation of Iranian Taleshi. All the data presented here was given on the basis of such written consent, and in accordance with the research ethics policies of the University of Manchester.

Altogether sixty seven texts were recorded in the Talesh area, totalling 295 minutes in length. In addition to folktales and personal anecdotes, the Pear Story film (Chafe 1980) was used to elicit a narrative describing the film's action in twelve locations, including Anbaran-e

Ardabil, Asalem and Masal. In each case a respondent was asked to watch the film twice, and then tell from memory what they had seen into the microphone. The approximate age (in 2007) and home village of each text's narrator is provided in the list of texts in Appendix A. Elicitation lists were recorded from a man in his fifties from Anbarân-e Ardabil for Anbarani, a man in his thirties from Allâdeh for Asalemi, and a man in his fifties from Mâsâl for Masali.

A functional approach is adopted for the analysis of linguistic forms. Most significantly, Lambrecht's (1994) approach is used to categorize different kinds of information structure (cf. §§6.9.1ff); and a methodology presented by Dooley and Levinsohn (2001) for the analysis of text linguistic issues (cf. especially ch.8).

1.5   Presentation and transcription

Vernacular words are written in italics, and transcribed according to the transcription principles presented in §2.8.

Verb forms cited in isolation are in the infinitive.

For all data examples of clause length or longer, the textual source is cited according to the trigraphs listed in Appendix A. Anbarani texts begin with AN, Asalemi texts with AS, and Masali texts with M. Where elicited data cited for one dialect has a morphologically parallel equivalent in another dialect (barring phonological and lexical differences), this is noted with an ampersand. For example, an Asalemi example from the verb phrase list, which has parallel Anbarani and Masali equivalents, would be cited [AsVP] &AN/M. Examples from texts given in full in Appendix B also cite the sentence number for ease of cross-reference.

Where a verbal element is unambiguously a preverb (cf. §§4.2.2 and 7), this element is glossed separately as PVB, while the meaning of the verb as a whole (preverb plus stem) is given under the verb stem.

Glossing conventions generally follow the recommendations of the Leipzig Glossing Rules (Comrie, Haspelmath and Bickel 2008). These stipulate, for example, that morpheme boundaries be marked with a hyphen - and clitic boundaries with a double bar =.

1.6   Structure

Chapter 2 describes the sound systems of the three dialects. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 present their various parts of speech, with an emphasis on morphology: nominal; verbal; and other parts of speech respectively. Chapter 6 investigates their syntactic structure, while chapter 7 discusses the semantics of preverbs. Chapter 8 explores salient features of Taleshi narrative discourse structure, grouped around two themes: how events are structured through

narrative; and how participants are tracked. Finally, chapter 9 presents the findings of sociolinguistic research into the three dialects, and the impact that contact with Persian has had on their grammatical structure.

More details are set out in the Table of Contents, beginning at page 2.

2 Phonology

2.1 Introduction

2.1.1 Background

This chapter describes the key phonological features of the Anbarani (northern), Asalemi (central) and Masali (southern) dialects of Iranian Taleshi. It is based primarily on data from word lists; use was also made of 500-sentence elicitation lists and spontaneous narrative texts. In addition, reference is made to phonological sketches contained in previous studies. Phonetic transcriptions follow the conventions of the International Phonetic Alphabet. They are indicated by square brackets; phonemic transcriptions are in italics. §0 deals with consonants, with an extended section on fronting and palatalization; §2.3 deals with vowels; while remaining sections cover other phonological processes, suprasegmental features, and orthography issues (§2.8).

Acoustic measurements are based on recordings of the elicitation sessions referred to in §1.4, each made with middle-aged men who were mother-tongue speakers of their respective dialects. They were made with a Sony MZ-RH1 minidisc recorder using a 44.1KHz sampling rate and an Audiotechnica ATM63HE microphone.

2.1.2 Previous Studies

Miller (1953) and Schulze (2003) both include sections on the phonology of Talyshi in Azerbaijan. Amirian-Budalalu (2005) investigated the phonology of the Anbarani Taleshi spoken in Mirzanaq, north of Namin; while Guizzo (2006) includes three pages on the main phonological features of Tularud and Karganrud. In the central area, Yarshater (1996) has three pages on Asalemi phonology, while in the south Nawata (1982) and Naghzguy-Kohan (2005) investigated Masali and Lazard (1978) sketched the phonology of Masulei. Finally, Jirdahi and Samsar (2001) conducted a phonetic study of Taleshi vowels (Jirdahi is a mother tongue speaker from Fouman, in the southern dialect area).

2.2 Consonants

2.2.1 Number of Phonemes and Outline of Main Issues

Miller (1953), Schulze (2000, p.8), Naghzguy-Kohan (2005, p.47) and Nawata (1982, p.93) count twenty two consonant phonemes, while others make twenty three by including the glottal stop [ʔ] (Amirian-Budalalu 2005, p.31) or the labial-velar approximant [w] (Guizzo 2006, p.23; Yarshater 1996, p.85). Lazard [1978, p.253] also counts twenty two, but accords additional, "uncertain" status to [ʔ] (only between vowels); [w] (only after the vowel [o]); and [ŋ] (which appears only in one word in his corpus).

The consonant system is generally similar to other Western Iranian languages such as Persian and neighbouring Gilaki (though see discussion of the uvular position in §2.2.7 below, and that of palatalization in §2.2.12): Rastorgueva et al (1971) find the same twenty two phonemes in Gilaki that the authors just cited describe in Taleshi.

The remainder of this section includes some general remarks about Taleshi consonants together with more detailed comments on semivowels, fronting and palatalization.

2.2.2 General Remarks on Consonants

Table 2 below lists the consonants found in all three dialects. Where orthographic convention is to use a different symbol to the IPA standard, this symbol is given in parentheses. Table 3 sets out the possible realizations of each of these consonants.

Table 2: Consonants Common to All Three Dialects

	Bilabial		Labio-Dental		Alveolar		Post-Alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glottal
Plosive	p	b			t	d					k	g	
Affricate									tʃ (č)	dʒ (j)			
Tap						ɾ							
Fricative			f	v	s	z	ʃ (š)	ʒ (ž)			x	ɣ (ğ)	h
Nasal		m				n							
Approximant									j (y)				
Lateral Approximant						l lʲ (lʸ)							

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Table 3: Description of Consonant Inventory

Phoneme	Important phonetic realizations	Notes and Description
p	pʰ p	Voiceless aspirated bilabial plosive.
b	b β	Voiced bilabial plosive. Spirantisation
t	t̪ʰ t̪ tʲ	Voiceless aspirated dental plosive.
d	d̪ dʲ	Voiced dental plosive.
k	kʰ k k̟	Voiceless aspirated velar plosive. Velar Fronting
g	g g̟	Voiced velar plosive. Velar Fronting
tʃ	tʃ	Voiceless palatal grooved fricative.
dʒ	dʒ	Voiced palatal grooved fricative.
ɾ	ɾ ɾʲ	Voiced alveolar tap.
f	f	Voiceless labio-velar fricative.
v	v	Voiced labio-velar fricative.
s	s sʲ	Voiceless alveolar grooved fricative.
z	z	Voiced alveolar grooved fricative.
ʃ	ʃ	Voiceless post-alveolar grooved fricative.
ʒ	ʒ	Voiced post-alveolar grooved fricative.
x	x	Voiceless velar fricative.
ɣ	ɣ ɢ	Voiced velar fricative.
h	h	Voiceless glottal fricative.
m	m	Voiced bilabial nasal.
n	n nʲ	Voiced alveolar nasal.
j	j	Voiced palatal approximant.
l	l lʲ	Voiced alveolar lateral approximant.

2.2.3   Minimal Pairs

2.2.3.1   Labials

<u>Anbarani</u>

[pu] 'foot'   [bu] 'load'

[pyɾ] 'full'[6]   [buɾ] 'spade'

[faɾ] 'well'   [vaz] 'condition'

[feɾ] 'oven'   [vəɾ] 'place'

<u>Asalemi</u>

[pɔɾ] 'previous'   [bɔɾ] 'load'

[puɾ] 'full'   [buɾ] 'twist'

[ba] 'was.3s'   [va] 'and'

[baɾ] 'upon'   [vaɾ] 'direction'

[baˈla] 'child'   [faˈla] 'shred'   [valˈla] 'by God!'

<u>Masali[7]</u>

[pi] 'fat'   [bi] 'quince'   [vi] 'willow'

[pu] 'weft'   [bu] 'smell'   [fu] 'swollen'

[faʃ] 'improper' [vaʃ] 'flame'

[pand] 'ditch'   [fand] 'trick'

2.2.3.2   Dentals and Sibilants

<u>Anbarani</u>

 [tə] 'you.s'   [də] 'two'   [sə] 'red'   [ʃət] 'milk'

[səˈma] 'straw'   [ʃəˈma] 'you.ᴘ'   [ˈzənna] 'knowing'   [ʒəˈgu] 'like.this'

[ziˈna] 'yesterday'   [ʒiˈa] 'rope'

<u>Asalemi</u>

[tə] '2s'   [də] 'two'   [sə] 'stone'   [zəŋ] 'knee'

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[6] /puɾ/ is ordinarily pronounced with a front vowel [y], but may also be pronounced with [u] – the two are in free variation within a limited environment. See §2.3.1.2 for more details.

[7] Masali minimal pairs from De Caro (forthcoming).

[tuŋ] 'jug'   [du] 'buttermilk'   [suk] 'cockerel'   [zu] 'quick'   [ʃu] 'husband'   [ʒun] 'loss'

[sɐ] 'three'   [ʃɐ] 'to go'

Masali

[ti] 'thorn'   [di] 'village'   [si] 'illness;stone'   [zi] 'gave birth'

[sɔ] 'shadow'   [zɔ] 'born'   [ʃɔ] 'king'   [ʒɔ] '(s/he) had hit'

2.2.3.3   Palatals

Anbarani

[tʃuˈɾa] 'solution'   [dʒuˈɾa] 'type'   [jul] 'big'   [ˈʃɣɾanda] 'with force'

[tʃuˈka] 'well'   [dʒuˈkas] 'stranger'

[tʃaˈma] 'our'   [dʒam] 'crowd'   [jad] 'each other'   [ʃan] 'are gone'   [ˈʒana] 'hitting'

Asalemi

[tʃam] 'eye'   [dʒam] 'crowd'   [jak] 'one'

[ˈʃamun] 'we have gone'   [ˈʒamuna] 'we have loaded'

[tʃun] 'because' [dʒuɾ] 'type'   [ʃun] 'they went'   [ʒun] 'loss'

Masali

[tʃaˈɾa] 'pasture'   [dʒaˈɾa] 'stubborn'   [jaˈɾa] 'wound'

[ʃaˈɾaɣ] 'natural calamity'   [ʒaˈɾa] 'you all mix'

2.2.3.4   Back Obstruents

Anbarani

[ku] 'blind; work'   [gu] 'cow'   [xug] 'pig'   [huʃ] 'sand'

[ka] 'house'   [gap] 'speech'   [xaˈba] 'song'   [ɣab] 'pot'

Asalemi

[ˈkiɔ] 'where?'   [giˈɔ] 'plant'

[ˈgəɾdi] 'all'   [ɣəɾˈmaɣ] 'hook'   [ˈxəɾsi] 'bear.ᴏʙ'   [ˈhəɾsi] 'anger'

Masali

[kɔ] 'where'   [gɔ] 'cow'   [xɔ] 'alright'   [ɣɔɣ] 'dull'   [hɔ] 'just there'

[gəɾ] 'thunderbolt'   [ɣəɾ] 'exhausted'

2.2.3.5   Nasals

<u>Anbarani</u>

[my] 'hair'   [nu] 'put'

[ˈnuma] 'did not come'   [nuˈna] 'put on'

[umˈem] 'I came'   [umˈen] 'they came'

<u>Asalemi</u>

[muˈi] 'hair.ᴏʙ'   [nuˈe] 'to put'

[aˈma] 'we'   [aˈna] 'so much'

[ʃim] 'I went'   [ʃin] 'they went'

<u>Masali</u>

[maˈtʃa] 'nozzle' [naˈtʃa] 'ram'

[ɾaˈma] 'flock'   [ɾaˈna] 'wooden egg'

[ʃim] 'I went'   [ʃin] 'they went; sweet'

2.2.3.6   Liquids

<u>Anbarani</u>

[ɾivˈɔs] 'rhubarb'   [livˈɔn] 'leaves'

[vəɾ] 'place'   [vəl] 'flower'

<u>Asalemi</u>

[ɾang] 'colour'   [lanˈɡɔn] 'limping'

[ɾɔ] 'way'   [lɔ] 'not' (Arabic loanword)

[xəɾ] 'cloud'   [xəl] 'hole'

<u>Masali</u>

[ɾɔp] 'snail'   [lɔp] 'spider'

[xəɾ] 'mist'   [xəl] 'hole'

2.2.4   Aspiration and Transition

In careful speech, the unvoiced phones [p, t, k] tend to be aspirated in all
environments except before another consonant. In more rapid speech aspiration is lighter,

especially in Masali. Where these sounds occur in the environment of another consonant, aspiration is generally weak or non-existent:

a. First segment of a consonant sequence: [p] does not occur in the environment of a following consonant, and [t] and [k] only very rarely (0.3% of wordforms in the corpus for Anbarani and Asalemi, and 0.4% for Masali). In fact, Taleshi's preference for open syllables may involve epenthesis even when borrowing Persian words, e.g. [kʰitʰiˈɾi] 'kettle' (compare Persian [kʰetˈɾi]). Where [t] and [k] do occur before another consonant, there is an open transition (a release of the closure before the articulators move into place for the following sound) in all three dialects but no aspiration on the first consonant in the sequence, e.g. [ˈitkʰa] 'a little' (Anbarani and Asalemi); [lutˈfanda] (Anbarani) and [ˈlutfina] (Asalemi) 'kindly'. In Masali the first consonant tends to fricativize slightly, e.g. [aˈtɾɔfikʰu] 'around adv.', [haṭˈman] 'certainly'; [fiḵɾ] 'thought'.

b. Second segment of a consonant sequence: After sibilants, some weak aspiration remains evident, e.g. [aŋˈguʃtʰ] 'finger' (Masali); [pʰustʰ] 'skin' (Anbarani and Masali). After other consonants there is no aspiration, e.g. [paɾt] 'throw' (all dialects), and sometimes no release of the second consonant in word-final position, e.g. [badˈbaxt˺] 'unfortunate' (Masali).

2.2.5   Voicing

Voiced stops often undergo partial devoicing, especially in word-final position. Examples include: [meɾd̥] 'man' (all dialects); [myẓ] 'banana' (Anbarani); [bəɾẓ] 'rice' (all dialects); [dasˈbend̥] 'armband' (Masali).

Some bilabial segments in Asalemi and Masali exhibit free variation in voicing following the voiceless sibilant [s]. Examples: [isˈpi]/[isˈbi] 'white' (cf. Anbarani [səˈpi]); [əsˈpa]/[əsˈba] 'dog' (cf. Anbarani [səˈpa]).

2.2.6   Glottalic Onset

Glottalic vocalic onset is an automatic feature before word-initial vowels (though not in hiatus – see §2.6.1).[8] Examples: [ʔaˈma] 'we', [ʔijɔˈza] 'permission'.

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[8] This is also the case in Persian; cf. Windfuhr (1989, p.528).

2.2.7   Uvular Strengthening

Grammatical descriptions of Taleshi vary in their analysis of how this segment is realized phonetically. In Persian there is one uvular phoneme, which may be expressed as a voiced [ɢ] or voiceless [q] plosive or as a voiced fricative [ʁ] depending on its environment (Pisowicz 1985, p.42)[9]. In Gilaki the voiced fricative is always used.[10] For the northern, central and southern dialects of Taleshi respectively Guizzo (2003), Yarshater (1996) and de Caro (forthcoming) suggest that it is always the voiced velar fricative [ɣ], though de Caro cites the exceptional case of an occasional voiced stop [ɢ] before back vowels under Persian and Azeri influence. On the other hand, various descriptions in Persian argue that the realization is usually plosive: Amirian-Budalu calls the sound "uvular, voiced, plosive" (2005, p.29) in Anbarani; Kishekhale claims that all consonants other than palatalized variants are "the same twenty two as exist in formal Persian" (2007, p.25) in Central Taleshi; and Naghzguy-Kohan, describing the Masali of Taskuh, again labels the sound "uvular, plosive, voiced" (2005, p.46).

Our own analysis of this sound conforms to that of de Caro's (forthcoming) in most respects: in Northern, Central and Southern Taleshi /ǧ/ is usually the voiced velar fricative [ɣ], but may strengthen to the voiced stop [ɢ] before back vowels in Masali, and before both back vowels and the central vowel [ə] in Anbarani. However, it remains a fricative in all Asalemi examples:

Anbarani: [səɣ] 'stone'; [ɣɔb]/[ɢɔb] 'pot'; [ɣətʃ]/[ɢətʃ] 'biting'.

Asalemi: [ɣab] 'pot'; [ɣərˈmaɣ] 'fishing hook'; [faˈɣat] 'only'.

Masali: [mɔrɣɔˈna] 'egg'; [jaˈɣa] 'animal's neck'; [ɣul]/[ɢul] 'ghoul'.

The phoneme /ǧ/ has no voiceless counterpart, although in some words [ʁ] undergoes progressive assimilation to [x] before voiceless [ʃ] in Taleshi pronunciation (e.g. Asalemi [naxˈʃa] 'plan').

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[9] Windfuhr (1989, p.528) notes the double origin of this phoneme in Persian: on the one hand, an indigenous Persian/Iranian voiced velar fricative; on the other, "the merger of the Arabic uvular voiceless stop *q* with the uvular voiced fricative …, as well as the voice-neutral back velar stop before back vowels in Turkish."

[10] Donald Stilo, personal communication (2010).

2.2.8 Optional Final Stop Deletion

In addition to the partial devoicing of word-final voiced stops described in section 2.2.5 above, word-final stops may be deleted entirely in some words. For example, Miller (1953, p.55) reports the instability of /st/ clusters in Azerbaijani Talyshi, with Persian words such as [dɑst] 'hand' and [dust] 'friend' finding equivalents [dɑs] and [dus] respectively. In Iranian Taleshi, however, many words which originally contained /st/ clusters, such as [dɑs] and [dɑst] ([dɔs] and [dɔst] in Masali), are in free variation. One explanation for the continued prevalence of the Persian form may be the high levels of bilingualism in and positive attitudes towards Persian in the Taleshi-speaking area.

Other examples where the word-final stop of a Persian word is universally omitted in its Taleshi equivalent include:

[gɔv] > [gu] (Anbarani), [go] (Asalemi), [gɔ] (Masali), 'cow'

[tʃub] > [tʃu] 'wood'

[xuk] > [xu] 'boar' ([xug] in Anbarani)

That this is not a regular phonological process is evidenced by words such as [tʃun] 'because' (all three dialects), [suk] 'cockerel' (all three dialects) and [kup] 'felt' (Asalemi), which retain their word-final stops.

2.2.9 Nasalization and Nasal Assimilation

Vowels – most notably the close back vowel [u] – nasalize in the environment of preceding nasal consonants. Nasalization is strongest in the Masali dialect. Examples: [mũ] 'hair' (all dialects); [mũˈɾa] 'rat' (Anbarani).

/n/ is an alveolar stop [n] except before velar sounds where it assimilates to [ŋ], e.g. [paˈlaŋg] 'leopard' (all dialects); [aŋˈgəl] 'knot' (all dialects, except that in Anbarani the first vowel is [ɔ]).

2.2.10 Labial Softening

Labial softening of [b] > [β] is common, especially in Masali (e.g. [ɔba] > [ɔβa] 'happened-3s'). Also in Masali, some free variation is found between [b] and [v], e.g. in words [golɔˈbi]~[golɔˈvi] 'pear' and [zaˈbɔn]~[zuˈvun] 'tongue'.[11]

In Asalemi the [v] consonant can weaken to the point of disappearance: the [v] in [ov] 'water' is commonly almost inaudible, while in [zʲun] 'tongue' it has disappeared entirely (contrast Anbarani [zəˈvyn] and Masali [zaˈbɔn]~[zuˈvun]).

2.2.11 Velar Fronting

The velar fronting found in Persian before front vowels (Jahani and Paul 2008) also occurs in Taleshi, though more strongly in Asalemi than in Anbarani and Masali.[12] When the point of articulation of a velar moves further forward in the oral cavity, the size of the resonating chamber is reduced, resulting in a higher frequency. A comparison of the burst frequencies for the articulation of /k/ in different environments can thus be used to identify in which environments the plosive is fronted.[13] The figures in Table 4 below are based on acoustic analysis (using Praat v5.0.36 software) performed to ascertain the burst frequency at the moment of the articulation of /k/ in each token. Approximately five milliseconds of the burst frequency was selected; the spectral slice for this selection was viewed, and the peak frequency noted in Hertz. A margin of error of +/- 50Hz was assumed, and data rounded to the nearest 100Hz.

Table 4: Average frequencies in Hz for word-initial /k/ before front, central and back vowels

Before Vowel	Anbarani	Asalemi	Masali	Persian
_i	3100	2900	2600	2700
_a	1900	2500	1700	2500
_ə	1600	1800	1900	n/a
_ɔ	1100	900	1000	1300

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[11] Compare Persian [golɑˈbi] and [zaˈbɑn].

[12] Lazard (1978, p.253) describes /k/ and /g/ in the Masule dialect of Taleshi as "pre- or postvelar depending on the following vowel".

[13] See Guion (1996, pp.39-47) for an overview of studies investigating the predominant spectral peaks of burst frequencies as a means to establishing degree of velar fronting.

The high figures in the above table for /k/ before /i/ reflect the higher burst frequency of the plosive in this environment, demonstrating that the oral cavity is smaller and that the point of articulation is therefore further forward in the mouth. Fronting is also apparent in the environment of /a/ for Asalemi and Persian, but not for Anbarani or Masali.

2.2.12 Palatalization and Front Rounded Vowels

Both palatalization of coronal consonants and the fronting of close rounded vowel /u/ have been observed in Northwest Iranian languages. Windfuhr (1989b, p.253) notes that "… palatalisation, including the distinction between dental and palatal affricates as opposed to velars, increases towards the Northwest in Iranian (Tāti and Tāliši)…"; while for vowels, Okati, Ahangar and Jahani (2009) cite works describing vowel fronting in Mazandarani, Semnani, Sorkhei and Balochi (all Northwest Iranian), as well as Delvari (Bushehr Province) and Lari. They go on to describe how the central vowel [ʉ] may front to [ʏ] "when it is adjacent to, and especially preceded by, coronals" (2009, p.126).

In the following paragraphs we explore the realization of these phenomena in Anbarani, Asalemi and Masali respectively, before drawing some general conclusions in §2.2.12.4.

2.2.12.1 Palatalization and Front Rounded Vowels in Anbarani (northern dialect)

Mild palatalization of coronal sounds is occasionally audible in some words before front vowels [y] and [a], but this feature is not contrastive in Anbarani, and occurs only at the phonetic level. Examples include: [miˈvʲa] 'fruit', [dʲym] 'after'. In his description of Talyshi, the dialect of Taleshi spoken north of the border in Azerbaijan, Miller (1953) makes no mention of any palatalization of coronal sounds.

As for vowels, in many words the [u~y] contrast exhibits free variation in a limited environment: examples such as [ɾuz]/[ɾyz] 'day', [puɾ]/[pyɾ] 'full' abound; however, the front vowel does not occur before velar or uvular sounds. The back vowel predominates in Persian borrowings, e.g. [xəˈdu] 'God', [ɣaˈzu] 'food', but in all other contexts the front vowel is more commonly heard. Sociolinguistics may play a role here: all Anbarani speakers have at least passive contact with Azerbaijani, which makes extensive use of two front rounded vowels [y] and [ø].The average second formant (F2) value for [y] is around 1800Hz, and for [u] 900Hz.

2.2.12.2 Palatalization and Front Rounded Vowels in Asalemi (central dialect)

Historically, palatalization appears to have been a contrastive feature in Asalemi. However, the vast majority of Asalemi speakers no longer maintain palatalization as a contrastive feature. Palatalization persists at the phonetic level in coronal consonants preceded by a front vowel and followed by [a] (see examples in Table 10 below). In this section we present evidence from acoustic measurements and minimal pairs to demonstrate that respondents with a high degree of consciousness about how Asalemi 'ought to be' or 'used to be' spoken are able to preserve palatalization as a contrastive feature.

The most widely cited minimal pair in this context are distinguished by Yarshater (1996, p.85, see also Nawata 1982, p.96 for Masali) purely on the basis of their vowel sounds, causing him to transcribe them *dü* 'smoke' (Persian dud) and *du* 'buttermilk' (Persian duğ). While the vowel sounds are certainly different – /u/ represents a back closed rounded vowel [u] while /ü/ represents its central equivalent [ʉ] – an additional difference is that in the first word, the dental plosive /d/ is palatalized. The remainder of this section focuses on palatalization. Front rounded vowels will be considered in greater detail in the following two sections.

Table 5 through Table 8 below show the F2 values at vowel onset and after 2ms for a series of words in which alveolar consonants contrast for palatalization in identical or analogous environment. The acoustic evidence for palatalization is also presented: the high second formant (F2) value at vowel onset reflects the placement of the tongue towards the front of the oral cavity.[14] This placement is significantly further forward when the /d/ is palatalized, as reflected in the F2 values at vowel onset of above 2000 Hz, in the same region as the Asalemi front vowel [i]. They contrast with F2 vowel onset values for "normal" coronals, which range from 1300 to 1700 Hz depending on whether the close vowel is central (1600-1700 Hz) or back (1300-1500 Hz). In each table the tokens are listed separately. F1 and F2 values are provided at initial articulation of the coronal sound under examination, and further F2 values for a point two milliseconds after initial articulation, and for a Praat-calculated[15] average of a series of points from initial articulation to two milliseconds later. All formant values are written and plotted in Hertz.

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[14] See Jakobson, Fant and Halle (1969, p.31) for evidence that the primary acoustic manifestation of palatalization is a higher value for the second formant.

[15] Praat v5.1.37 software was used to measure all formant values.

Table 5: [ɖ]/[ɖʲ]

	F1 initial	F2 initial	F2 at 2ms	F2 avg.	
dʲʉ	246	2208	1292	1660	
dʲʉ	313	2143	1017	1409	
du	353	1852	752	1054	
du	362	1851	745	1056	

	F1 initial	F2 initial	F2 at 2ms	F2 avg.	
dʲʉm	262	2356	937	1451	
dʲʉm	288	2043	885	1318	
dum	307	1574	623	1026	
dum	225	1727	787	952	

	F1 initial	F2 initial	F2 at 2ms	F2 avg.	
dʲa	358	2163	1724	1852	
dʲa	389	2168	1695	1905	
da	503	1797	1562	1608	
da	670	1760	1532	1554	

Glosses: [dʲʉ] 'smoke', [du] 'buttermilk', [dʲa] 'father', [da] '10'. Note also [dʲaˈva] 'camel' (cf. Azeri dava) and [dʲʉz] 'straight' (cf. Azeri düz).

Table 6: [n]/[nʲ]

	F1 initial	F2 initial	F2 at 2ms	F2 avg.	
nʲa	328	2204	1687	1866	
nʲa	310	2243	1707	1839	
na	372	1690	1622	1656	
na	491	1759	1577	1659	

Glosses: [nʲa] 'mother', [na] '9'. Note also the minimal pair [nyn] 'hid.3s' and [nun] 'bread'.

Table 7: [l]/[lʲ]

	F1 initial	F2 initial	F2 at 2ms	F2 avg.	
lʲuˈma	328	2000	941	1309	
lʲuˈma	297	2037	1007	1468	
luˈna	372	1690	1622	1656	
luˈna	491	1759	1577	1659	

Glosses: [lʲuˈma] 'with a docked tail', [luˈna] 'nest'

Table 8: [ɾ]/[ɾʲ]

	F1 initial	F2 initial	F2 at 2ms	F2 avg.	
kuˈɾʲa	379	2020	1741	1837	
kuˈɾʲa	380	1892	1663	1794	
ˈpuɾa	463	1586	1604	1605	
ˈpuɾa	504	1717	1704	1692	

Glosses: [kuˈɾʲa] 'brazier', [ˈpuɾ-a] 'full-LNK'

Kishekhale (2007) provides the Asalemi minimal pair contrasts set out in Table 9, though he does not differentiate between front and back /u/ (and does not mark stress in his transcriptions). Note again that only coronal consonants may be palatalized, and that this almost always occurs in the environment of /u/ or /a/.

Table 9: Kishekhale's (2007) minimal pairs

taɾ	'sulking'	tʲaɾ	'moist'
pusta	'sheepskin'	pusʲtʲa	'rotten'
da	'10'	dʲa	'father'
du	'buttermilk'	dʲu	'smoke'
su	'marjoram'	sʲu	'wood pulp'
sur	'salty'	sʲur	'dinner'
uzun	'always'	uzʲun	'bread'[16]
bur	'twist'	burʲ	'blonde'
nun	'bread'	nʲunʲ	'hidden'
na	'9'	nʲa	'mother'
lɔ	'rug'	lʲɔ	'layer'
kəl	'short thing'	kəlʲ	'charcoal oven'

Despite the contrasts in the palatalized data presented in this section, the vast majority of Asalemi speakers today do not maintain such contrasts in normal speech. Recall that both the oral data behind the formant measurements and Kishekhale's data above were provided with a high degree of consciousness about how Asalemi used to or 'ought to' be spoken. Hence while some palatalization persists in coronal consonants preceded by a high front vowel and followed by [u] or [a], in modern speech this operates purely at the phonetic level and is not contrastive. Asalemi contains plenty of words with inter-vocal, non-palatalized coronals, e.g. [aˈdi] (man's name), [aˈni] 'also', [deˈla] 'in', [kiˈlid] 'key', [kiˈsa] 'sack', [teˈle] 'gold'.

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[16] This word refers specifically to the bread which accompanies a meal, and is often torn and sprinkled into stews.

2.2.12.3 Palatalization and Front Rounded Vowels in Masali (southern dialect)

Again, the front vowel [y] only occurs in the environment of coronal sounds.[17] The examples below are compared with cognate words in other nearby speech varieties, and contrasted with their Masali minimal pairs where these exist. The Azerbaijani and Azerbaijani Talyshi equivalents are from Miller (1953):[18]

[ɾy]	'face'	[ɾu]	'child'	
[ʃy]	'husband'	[ʃu]	'go.3s'	
[pyˈta]	'rotten'	[tʃyˈla]	'dappled'	Azerbaijani [tʃil]
[kyn]	'bottom'			Azerbaijani [kyna]
[ɔˈʃyn]	'iron'			
[zyˈmyn]	'tongue'			Azerbaijani Talyshi [ziˈvon]
[dy]	'smoke'	[du]	'buttermilk'	
[ty]	'mulberry'			Azerbaijani Talyshi [tyt]
[zy]/[zyt]	'quick'			

In the cases of [ɾy] and [ʃy] the presence of close front [j] in the Pahlavi cognate suggest that the /u/ vowel may have been fronted through coalescence with an analogous front sound in Taleshi. Examples [pyˈta] through [ɔˈʃyn] may have followed a similar pattern, in some cases via feature spreading from a front vowel in the next syllable, in others by analogy with the front vowels of cognate words in neighbouring languages. [zyˈmyn] may be explained if we suppose that the vowel in the first syllable of [ziˈvon] rounded due to its proximity to a labial consonant, and that the second vowel then assimilated by a process of vowel harmony.[19] This possibility is supported by the Tularudi form, which contains adjacent [y] and [i] vowels. Finally, the open syllable pattern in the last three words may have provided an environment

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[17] Jirdahi (2008) cites only one word containing [y] which has no coronal consonants: [gy] 'excrement'. This same form is also found in Harzandi Tati (cited in Guizzo 2003); cf. Persian equivalent [goh].

[18] Jirdahi (2008) cites the following Pahlavi equivalents: for [ɾy], [ɾoj]; for [ʃy], [ʃoj]; for [pyˈta], [puta]; and for [zy]/[zyt], [zut]. In addition, Guizzo (2003) cites Tularudi [zyin] and Karganrudi [zyn] for 'tongue', and Keringani [dy] for 'smoke' and [ty] for 'mulberry' just like Taleshi. Finally, Parthian [ɑsun] 'iron' appears to be cognate with Taleshi [ɔʃyn] (cf. Durkin-Meisternersnt 2004).

[19] Other examples cited by Jirdahi (2008) where a similar process of harmony may have occurred include [bysˈkyl] 'copper wire', [pyˈɾy] 'avalanche', [dyˈzym] 'penalty', [tʃyˈpyɾ] 'pinch' and [gylylgyˈlyl] 'curly'.

for front rounded vowels to spread to from Azerbaijani (contrast the CVC pattern and back

vowel in Persian equivalents [dud], [tut] and [zud]).

2.2.12.4 Cross-Dialectal Comparison

Average F1 and F2 vowel onset values across a range of contexts in all three dialects

are given in the following table. The Asalemi column provides acoustic evidence to back up

auditory impressions that certain coronals have a more marked degree of palatalization than is

the case in the other two dialects:

Table 10: First and second formant values for relevant words across dialects

English	Anbarani		Asalemi		Masali	
	transcription	F1/F2	transcription	F1/F2	transcription	F1/F2
straight	dʉz	300/1800	dʲʉz	350/**2200**	-	-
smoke	dʉ	450/1950	dʲʉ	400/**2050**	dʉ	250/1900
tail	dʉm	300/1900	dʲʉm	300/**1900**	dʉm	300/1850
dugh	du	300/1750	du	480/1600	du	300/1700
spider			maˈlʲarz	560/**2100**	-	-
a.CL	iˈla	400/1900	iˈlʲa	400/**2300**	iˈla	500/1900
he.saw	-	-	ˈvindʲa	400/**2300**	ˈvinda	450/1950
festival	ˈida	400/2050[20]	-	-	-	-
camel	daˈva	750/1700	ˈdʲava	550/**2400**	-	-

This data, combined with the data in previous sections, enables us to make the following

conclusions:[21]

1) Historically, palatalization was seemingly a contrastive feature in Asalemi. The data in

   the graphs above show that palatalization was not phonetically induced, and must

   have existed for some time.

2) The vast majority of Asalemi speakers no longer maintain palatalization as a

   contrastive feature, although a few do consciously preserve it as a feature of their

   natural speech. However, palatalization of coronals persists at the phonetic level in

---

[20] Although 2050 Hz is high enough to represent palatalization in the context of a back vowel (see
Asalemi [dʲʉ] in the same table), for front vowels F2 vowel onset values of 2300-2400 Hz are typical. The
/d/ in this word is not palatalized.

[21] The acoustic measurements presented were based on data from one speaker per dialect. However,
the presence of a greater degree of palatalization in Asalemi more generally was supported by spot
measurements of the same sounds in the Asalemi texts recorded by two other speakers (one man and
one woman); and by the assertion in Kishekhale (2007) that this is a general feature of Asalemi, in
contrast to grammars of other Taleshi dialects which do not mention palatalization at all.

coronal consonants which are both preceded by a syllable containing a high front vowel and followed by front vowel [a].

3) In Anbarani and Masali, vestiges of palatalization remain only at the phonetic level.

4) In both Asalemi and Masali, [y] and [u] are contrastive in a small number of words. A variety of factors contributed to the presence of the front vowel, including the presence of coronal consonants or labial consonants and, possibly, glide absorption.[22]

5) [u~y] in Anbarani are in free variation, subject to the preferences outlined above in §2.2.12.1. Speakers of this dialect are more exposed to Azerbaijani Talyshi, in which a similar state of free variation obtains.

2.2.13 Co-articulation

Alongside the palatalization of alveolar and palatal consonants described in the previous section, note also the presence of a coarticulation gradient in the transition from [u] *to* such sounds, especially prominent in Asalemi: e.g. [xuⁱn] 'blood', [guⁱʃt] 'flesh, meat', [vuⁱz] 'walnut'.

2.2.14 Affricates

Affricates in all three dialects are [t͡ʃ] and voiced counterpart [d͡ʒ]. As in Persian, there are a number of reasons for treating these as units rather than sequences: the absence of a CCV syllable type; the absence of reverse sequences [ʃt] or [ʒd] in syllable-initial position; and the absence of equivalent sequences such as [ts] and [dz].

2.2.15 Semivowels

In all three dialects, the semivowel [j] occurs in onsets and the vowel [i] in nuclei. Examples include:

<u>Anbarani</u>			<u>Asalemi</u>			<u>Masali</u>		
(1)	[jul]	'big'	(5)	[jaˈɾa]	'wound'	(9)	[jaˈɾa]	'wound'
(2)	[uˈja]	'egg'	(6)	[duɾˈje]	'harvest'	(10)	[duɾˈje]	'harvest'

---

[22] Flemming (2003) explains this latter process by setting out a series of constraints specifying preferred tongue body positions for coronals which can spread to adjacent vowels.

| (3) | [ziˈnʲa] | 'yesterday' | (7) | [viˈsʲa] | 'forest' | (11) | [viˈʃa] | 'forest' |
| (4) | [di] | 'village' | (8) | [tʰi] | 'thorn' | (12) | [tʰi] | 'thorn' |

On this basis, the sounds [aⁱ], [eⁱ], [uⁱ] and [ɔⁱ] may be treated as diphthongs (see §2.3 below), following Miller (1953) and traditional treatments of Persian (e.g. Lambton 1953, p.xiv).

[j] and [w] both occur epenthetically as glide sounds between some vowels: see §2.6.1 below.

However, [w] is not found elsewhere, while [u] occurs in nuclei and [v] in onsets and codas, the latter as a result of a process of spirantization.

2.3 Vowels

2.3.1 Northern Dialect

2.3.1.1 Previous Studies

Miller (1953) and Schulze (2000) find seven vowel phonemes (i, e, a, ə, u, o, ā), with [u] and [y] in conditioned (Miller) or free (Schulze) variation. Miller notes that [o] may contract to [u] in some dialects, though never when representing the ablative suffix; that [a] occasionally palatalizes to [æ]; and that back [ɑ] experiences varying degrees of labialization. While both Miller and Schulze argue that [u] and [y] constitute one phoneme in the Talyshi of Azerbaijan, Amirian-Budalalu (2005) finds a phonemic contrast between them in Mirzanaq, Iran. Guizzo (2003), describing the southernmost extremity of the northern dialect, distinguishes only two back phonemes, [u~y] and [ɔ], giving six phonemes in total. Hence two key questions for the phonology of Anbarani in this study are the status of the [u~y] variation, and the existence of an independent, mid-closed vowel [o].

2.3.1.2 Anbarani Vowels

Figure 2 sets out the first and second formant values (in thousands of Hertz) for a selection of stressed and unstressed vowels articulated during the Anbarani wordlist elicitation described in §1.4.

Figure 2: F1 and F2 values for Anbarani vowels
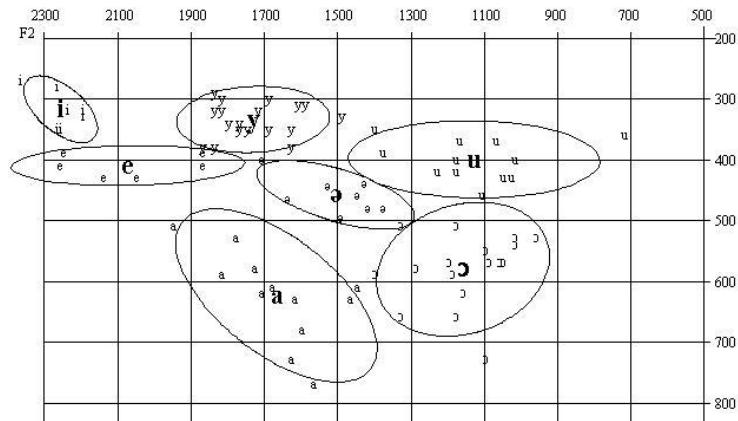
[u~y] in Anbarani are in free variation, subject to the preferences outlined above in §2.2.12.1. Speakers of this dialect are more exposed to Azerbaijani Talyshi, in which a similar state of free variation obtains.

Although [o] was occasionally found in the corpus, it is quite unstable and does not appear in contrast with [u]. Miller (1953, p.42) comments that in Talyshi this sound may be raised to [u] in some dialects, before going on to list some examples with the ablative case-marker *-o* where such contraction never occurs, e.g. *pešo* 'backwards', *pio/peo* 'from above'. Even here Anbarani uses [u]: *pešu*, *piu* and the generalized locative case clitic *=ku*. In some words [u] and [o] are both acceptable, e.g. *uv/ov* 'water', *bəru/bəro* 'brother'.

2.3.2   Central Dialect

2.3.2.1   Previous Studies

Yarshater (1996) lists eight vowel phonemes for Asalemi, finding phonemic contrast between the two close rounded vowels [u] and [y] in pairs such as *du* 'buttermilk' and *dü* 'smoke'. He notes that [o] is seen only in a relatively small number of words (many in loanwords from Persian), and always in his examples in diphthongs with the semivowel [w].

2.3.2.2   Asalemi Vowels

Figure 3 sets out the first and second formant values (in thousands of Hertz) for a selection of stressed and unstressed vowels articulated during the Asalemi wordlist elicitation described in §1.4.

Figure 3: F1 and F2 values for Asalemi vowels
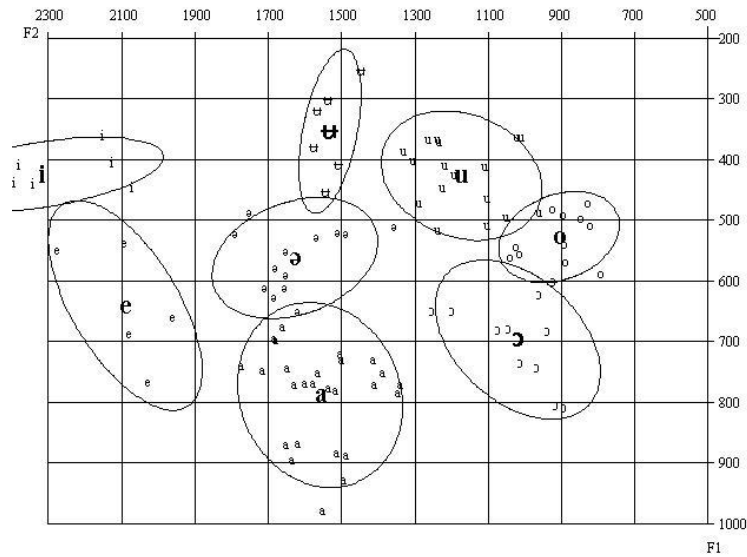
The chart shows that the mid-open and open vowels in Asalemi are considerably more open than their equivalents in Masali. In particular, note that F1 values for the mid-open back vowel [ɔ] cluster around 700Hz, over 100Hz higher than the average value for the Masali equivalent. The larger phonetic space between these two vowels available for the intermediate [o] may have assisted in preserving its phonetic distinction from [u]. Note that this [o] vowel is also generally articulated further back in the oral cavity than [u], which is often close to [ʊ].[23] It is found in open and closed syllables, and in stressed and unstressed positions. Examples include:

(13) [pʰo] 'foot'   (14) [go] 'cow'   (15) [ov] 'water'

(16) [ofˈtov] 'sun'   (17) [ogˈla] 'egg'   (18) [ʃox] 'horn'

However, Asalemi speakers report confusion about the phonemic status of this vowel, and were unable to offer any [u]/[o] minimal pairs. In all the examples just cited except (17), [o] is the result of an Asalemi phonological process acting on Persian loanwords containing [ɒ]; cf. Persian equivalents *pâ, gâ, âb, âftâb, šâx*. In the light of such data, [o] may be best treated as a lexically conditioned free variant of [u].

As discussed above (§2.2.12), [y] and [u] are contrastive in a small number of words.

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[23] Yarshater (1996, p.85) comments for the Nāvrudi dialect: "*u* is [ʊ], but has a wide range, extending from [o] to [u]."

2.3.3   Southern Dialect

2.3.3.1   Previous Studies

In the only substantial phonological sketch of southern Taleshi, Naghzguy-Kohan (2005) found six vowel phonemes in the Masali of Taskuh (i, e, a, ə, u, â), and argued that [u] was manifested as [y] in the environment of a following alveolar consonant, e.g. *dür* 'far', *vüz* 'walnut'. Nawata (1982), also working on the Masali dialect, contradicts Naghzguy-Kohan's findings for vowels only on this question: he finds minimal pairs *sü* 'corner' versus *su* 'origan' and *sür* 'dinner' versus *sur* 'salty'.

Jirdahi and Samsar (2001) calculate formant values for the eight Taleshi vowel sounds [i, e, a, ɑ, o, u, y, ə], and make brief phonological comments on vowel palatalization and nasalization phenomena.

Lazard (1978), working on the Masulei dialect in the far south of the region, finds seven vowel phonemes: three front vowels, three back (u, o and â), and the central schwa.

2.3.3.2   Masali

The influence of Persian on the southern dialect is demonstrated by the preservation of a fairly open vowel in words such as *âv* 'water' (Persian *âb*) and *âftâv* 'sun' (Persian *âftâb*), in contrast to the [o] vowel which Asalemi employs in similar environments. Data from elicitation lists and texts confirms that this [o] vowel has merged with [u] in the contemporary Masali dialect.

The front close rounded vowel [y] is less common in southern dialects than it is further north: it occurs infrequently in Masali and is not observed at all in Lazard's (1978) description of Masulei. As discussed above (§2.2.12), it contrasts with [u] in a small number of words, and occurs only in the environment of coronal consonants.

Figure 4 sets out the first and second formant values (in thousands of Hertz) for a selection of stressed and unstressed vowels articulated during the Masali wordlist elicitation described in §1.4.

Figure 4: F1 and F2 values for Masali vowels
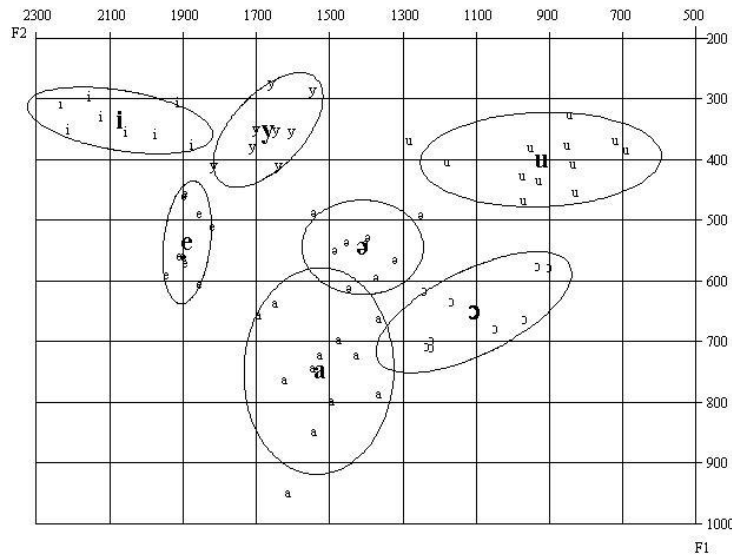
2.3.4   Vowel Assimilation

Examples of vowel assimilation in the case of prefixes are given in section 2.6.4 below.[24]

2.4   Syllable Types

The examples below are based on Asalemi data, but the syllable patterns they illustrate are equally valid for Anbarani and Masali (and Persian, see Windfuhr 1989a, p.529). The basic syllable template is (C)V(C)(C).

2.4.1   CV

Table 11: CV syllable examples

Word Initial		Word Medial		Word Final	
pʰuˈneʃ	'mosquito'	xumaˈtʰɔ	'cream'	aˈmu	'uncle'
baˈsi	'must'	bixəˈda	'helpless'	isˈbi	'white'
baˈla	'child'	əstʰaɾaˈʃi	'star'	baɾənˈgɒ	'door'

---

[24] Some suffixes are also subject to assimilation. One prevalent example is the 3ʳᵈ person singular subjunctive suffix -ə in Masali, which becomes -u after a syllable containing that same vowel.

2.4.2 CVC

Table 12: CVC syllable examples

Word Initial		Word Medial		Word Final	
mən	'me'	baɾənˈgɒ	'door'	saˈbad	'basket'
barˈkʰam	'very'	aŋgəʃtʰeˈɾi	'finger ring'	pɔˈdɔʃ	'reward'
maxˈsus	'special'	tʰovusˈtʰun	'summer'	niˈmekʰ	'salt'

2.4.3 CVCC

Table 13: CVCC syllable examples

Word Initial		Word Medial		Word Final	
pʰaɾd	'bridge'	(no examples were found)		maˈlʲaɾz	'spider'
tʰənd	'quick'			lɔˈfənd	'rope'
xəstʰ	'wet'				

The only coda consonant cluster in the corpus which violated the sonority hierarchy was Anbarani/Asalemi [lutf] 'kindness', cognate with Persian [lotf].

2.4.4 Other Possible Syllable Types

If it is posited that no glottal stop exists before word-initial vowels, the vowel-initial equivalents of the three syllable types above are also possible, in word-initial position only. These are V ([ˈagam] 'if', [iˈzəɾ] 'yesterday'), VC ([əm] 'this', [ɔɾˈda] 'flour') and VCC ([amɾ] 'life', aɾz 'remark').

2.5 Phonotactics

Sounds [m, n, ɾ, f, s, z, ʃ, ʒ, x, ɣ] occur in all syllable positions available to consonants. Sounds [b, p, tʃ, dʒ, d, t, k, g, v, j, l] occur in syllable-initial and syllable-final positions. Palatalized sounds and [h] occur only in syllable-initial position.

The velar nasal [ŋ] occurs only in syllable-medial and syllable-final positions.

All vowels may co-occur with all consonants, except for [y] which is not found before velar, pharyngeal or glottal sounds.

2.6   Other Phonological and Morphophonemic Process

2.6.1   Epenthesis

Previous work on Taleshi dialects has identified the potential of [j] (Amirian-Budalalu 2005, p.31; Yarshater 1996, p.86) and [w] (Naghzguy-Kohan 2005, p.47; Yarshater ibid) to occur between vowels to avoid hiatus, or 'glottal catch'. The examples in this section are taken from Masali, but similar examples exist in the other two dialects. [j] interposes between front vowels [i, e, a] and any following vowels across morpheme boundaries, e.g.:

(19)   */a-yi/*   DEMD-OB   'that one'

(20)   */xuw(a)=i=a/*[25]   bear=IND=COP.3S   'it is a bear'

(21)   */vâ-yam/*   say-1P   'we shall say'

The interposition of [w], on the other hand, is not limited to morpheme boundaries: it joins all rounded vowels to following vowels, e.g.:

(22)   */vi-du-wa/*   PVB-fall-PTC   'has fallen'

(23)   */zuwa/*   boy   'boy'

(24)   */zuw(a)-en/*   boy-P   'boys'

(25)   */gâ-wun/*   COW-OB.P   'cows'

In Asalemi [m] sometimes replaces [w] before the oblique plural morpheme *-un*, e.g. *kisa-mun* 'bags', *miva-mun* 'fruits'.

Finally, again in Asalemi, [ɾ] is inserted before the vowel [a] across morpheme boundaries in verbs (see also Yarshater 1996, pp.86f), e.g.:

(26)   */per-a-nâ/*   PVB-AUG-put.3S   'he puts on'

(27)   */per-a-gat/*   PVB-AUG-get.3S   'he chooses'

See also Masali /piranana/ versus /piyanana/ 'grandmother' (both from the same informant).

---

[25] Vowels in parentheses are elided.

2.6.2 Metathesis

Metathesis is sometimes employed to avoid s-clusters, e.g. Asalemi /baxšav/ 'plate' for Persian /bâšğâb/, Anbarani /səpa/ 'dog' for Asalemi and Masali /əspa/.

Other examples of metathesis in Asalemi include /jodɾa/ 'chadoor' for Persian /cadâr/ and /nalati/ 'snake', cognate with Persian /lanat/ 'curse'.

Within Asalemi, free variation is found between some metathesized forms, e.g. /bi-vrij-əm/~/bi-virj-əm/ 'SBJ-run-1S' and /bi-vrij-u/~/bi-viɾj-u/ 'SBJ-run-3S'.

2.6.3 Elision

In some cases, vowels elide across morpheme boundaries. The most common instances are where vowels of the same quality are juxtaposed, or where an unstressed personal agreement marker is encliticised to a vowel-final word. Asalemi examples of vowels of the same quality eliding include /b-â-m/ < */bâ-â-m/ SBJ-come-1S and /dəzdi-a/ < */dəzdi-a＝a/ stole-PTC=TR. Examples of unstressed clitic vowels eliding include /hani=š/ < */hani=əš/ again=3s,[26] /aval-i＝kâ＝m/ < */aval-i＝kâ＝əm/ first-OB=LOC=1S, and /cai＝râ＝r/ < */cai＝râ＝ər/ 3s.IOD=for=2s. The same principles apply in Anbarani and Masali.

2.6.4 Vowel Assimilation

The vocal components of the negative prefix /nə/ (Anbarani, Asalemi) or /ne/ (Masali) and the TAM prefix /bə/ both display partial assimilation to the first vowel of the following syllable, as shown in the following informal representations.

2.6.4.1 Negative Prefix Vowel Assimilation

<u>Anbarani</u>

Default negative prefix: /ni/ in future tense verbs, /nə/ in all other cases.

/ə/ → /â/ / _ C /â/

---

[26] Contrast the alternative sentences hani＝š mən ža and hani mən＝əš ža. Both mean 'He hit me again', but in the first sentence the enclitic =əš has moved leftwards from the verb to attach to hani, while in the second sentence it has moved to the pronoun mən which, ending in a consonant, does not suppress the ə vowel.

/ə/ → ∅ / _ V

Examples:

(28) /nə-b-in/   NEG-was-3P   'they were not'

(29) /nə-bam-u/   NEG.SBJ-cry-3S   'should he not cry'

(30) /nâ-hâšt = e/ NEG-wanted=TR   '(he) did not want'

(31) /n-a-zün-im/ NEG-AUG-can-IMPF.1S 'I was not able'

(32) /ni-ba-d = əm/ NEG-FUT-give=1S   'I will not give'

<u>Asalemi</u>

Default negative prefix: /ni/ in present tense verbs, /nə/ in all other cases.

[ə] → ∅ / _ V

Examples:

(33) /nə-xət-a/   NEG-slept-3S   'he did not sleep'

(34) /nə-šâst = əš = a/ NEG-could=3S=TR   'he could not'

(35) /n-a-dar-im/   NEG-AUG-give-IMPF.1S 'I was not giving'

(36) /n-â-n/   NEG.SBJ-come-3P   'should they not come'

(37) /ni-a-šâ/   NEG-AUG-can.3S   'he is not able'

(38) /ni-in-ard/   NEG-3P-eat   'they do not eat'

<u>Masali</u>

Default negative prefix: /nɛ/

/e/ → /â/ / _ /â/,/u/

/e/ → /i/ / _ /a/

Examples:

(39) /nɛ-dâr-am/   NEG-have-1P   'we do not have'

(40) /nɛ-xət-a/   NEG-slept-3S   'he did not sleep'

(41) /nâ-â-kar-ə/   NEG-PVB-open-3S   'he does not open'

(42) /nâ-uma/   NEG-came.3S   'he did not come'

(43) /ni-ar-ən/   NEG-dare-3P   'they do not dare'

(44) /ni = a/   NEG=COP.3S   'is not'

2.6.4.2   Modal Prefix Vowel Assimilation

<u>Anbarani</u>

Default modal prefix: /bə/

/ə/ → /â/ / _ C /â/

/ə/ → Ø / _ V

Examples:

(45)   */bə-bam-u/*   SBJ-be-3S   'he would cry'

(46)   */bə-vut-e/*   SBJ-say-3S   'he would say'

(47)   */bâ-hând-ə/*   SBJ-sing-3S   'he should sing'

(48)   */b-u-əm/*   SBJ-come-1S   'I should come'

<u>Asalemi</u>

Default modal prefix: /bə/

/ə/ → /i/ / _ C /i/,/e/

/ə/ → /u/ / _ C /u/

/ə/ → Ø / _ V

Examples:

(49)   */bə-kəš-u/*   SBJ-kill-3S   'he would kill'

(50)   */bə-vâj-i/*   SBJ-say-2S   'you would say'

(51)   */bi-vin-u/*   SBJ-see-3S   'he would see'

(52)   */bi-pej-u/*   SBJ-cook-3S   'he would cook'

(53)   */bi-rvij-u/ or /bi-vrij-u/*   SBJ-run-3S   'he would run'

(54)   */bu-mun-am/*   SBJ-stay-1S   'we should stay'

(55)   */bi-vin-u/*   SBJ-see-3S   'he would see'

(56)   */b-â-m/*   SBJ-come-1S   'I should come'

<u>Masali</u>

Default modal prefix: /bə/

/ə/ → /i/ / _ C /i/,/e/

/ə/ → /u/ / _ C /u/

/ə/ → Ø / _ V

Examples:

(57)	/bə-sâz-u/	SBJ-build-3S	'he would build'
(58)	/bi-vin-i/	SBJ-see-2S	'you would see'
(59)	/bi-ger-ə/	SBJ-get-3S	'he would get'
(60)	/bu-šu/	SBJ-go.3S	'he would go'
(61)	/bu-šur-u/	SBJ-wash-3S	'he should wash'
(62)	/b-ar-am/	SBJ-eat-1P	'we should eat'

2.7   Suprasegmental Features

2.7.1   Length

Vowels [i, ɔ, u] (and [ʉ],[y]) are long, [e, a, ə, o] short (this is also the case in Persian). Compensatory lengthening occurs in loanwords from Arabic containing a glottal stop, e.g. [maʕˈlum] > [maːˈlum] 'certain', [daʕˈvat] > [daːˈvat] 'invitation', and also in some loanwords from Persian containing [h], e.g. [ʃahɾ] > [ʃaːr] 'city'. Lengthening does not typically occur, however, when an equivalent Persian consonant is deleted in word-final position, e.g. [duˈru] 'lie' (Persian [duˈruʁ]), [go] 'cow' (Persian [gɔv]).

Geminate consonants in Persian borrowings are retained, e.g. *hattâ* 'even', *hicci* 'nothing' (a Persian contraction of *hic ciz* 'no thing').

2.7.2   Word Stress

Word stress is predictable in all three dialects, usually falling on the last (non-enclitic) syllable. Examples: [raˈis] 'chief'; [rais-ˈi lutfina] 'because of the kindness of the chief'; [bəzˈun] 'the goats'; [ɔkarˈən] 'they open'; [dagənəstˈa] 'having fallen in love'.

Enclitic elements such as case clitics and enclitic person agreement markers do not receive stress: [bəˈzun＝na] 'the goats=with'; [paˈsun＝na＝ʃun] 'the sheep=with=3P'

2.7.3   Phrasal Stress

2.7.3.1   General Principles

There must be at least one accent per clause.

The unmarked phrasal accent comes on a normally stress-bearing syllable of some word. In general, this means accenting the final syllable (excluding enclitic elements such as those expressing pronominal agreement, indefiniteness, and location).

2.7.3.2 Morpho-Syntactic Principles for Accent Placement

The examples in this section all have a topic-comment sentence articulation structure (see the pragmatic considerations set out in §6.9.2 below) except for example (78) which illustrates narrow (argument) focus. In each example cited, the syllable carrying the phrasal accent is capitalized. For ease of reading, where the syllable contains a morpheme break, only those characters representing the morpheme containing the nucleus of the syllable are capitalized.

If the clause consists solely of a non-modal verb, accent the final syllable (excluding enclitic elements and person/agreement marking). For example:

(63) *daiVÂRD-in*   [ANP38]

passed.by-3P

'They passed by.'

(64) *im-e   š(i)-IN   âm(a)-IN   [ASM]*[27]

3-P   go-3P.PST   come-3P.PST

'They went, (the others) came.'

(65) *pat-A=mun=a   hard-A=mun=a   [ASM]*

cook-PTC=1P=TR   eat-PTC=1P=TR

'We have cooked, we have eaten.'

(66) *VÂT=əš=a   [ASM]*

said=3P=TR

'She said...'

If any constituents precede the verb in the clause, accent the immediately preverbal word.*[28] ***The accent falls on that part of the word which receives most stress.***

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[27] In this example, the accent on each verb does not fall on the person/agreement suffixes, but on the final stem of the verb, which is suppressed by the person/agreement suffix: *ši-in* > *ši-n*, and *âma-in* > *âm-in*. Further evidence for this is provided by the stress on the penultimate syllable of the verb in the previous example.

(67) *i-la   pârca=š=ani əštan   gardan-I=kâ   da-bast=a*

     a-CL   cloth=3s=also   self   neck-OB=LOC   PVB-tied=TR

     əm   xəj-UN kâr=a   ci-e   [ASP3-4]

     DEMP pear-P PROG=3s   pick-INF

     'He had tied a cloth around his neck too, and was picking these pears.'

(68) *BÂR=əš   â-bast-a=b-a   [ASB12]*

     load=3s   PVB-tied-PTC=AUX-3s

     'He'd bound the load onto the horse.'

(69) *xaili   ba hisâb   taMA=š   hes   b-a*

     very   to extent greed=3s exist   was-3s

     ki   pulDÂR   â-b-u   [ASB38]

     COMP   rich   PVB.SBJ-become-3s

     'He was extremely greedy to get rich.'

This rule also applies to clauses with copula verbs:

(70) *xeili   pulDÂR=â   [MCB]*

     very   rich=COP.PST.3s

     'He was very rich.'

Elements in the pre-core slot[29] do not receive an accent (e.g. bad 'after' in the following example):

(71) *bad   oMA   [ASB51]*

     after   came.3s

     'Later he came.'

In contrast, elements in the left periphery are followed by an intonational break and hence always receive some degree of accentuation. Hence in the following example, peripheral 'if not' is accented; while the core accent falls on the subjunctive prefix, which has elided with the vowel-initial stem of the verb:

---

[28] Elements such as the progressive particle (e.g. *kâra* in ex. (67)) and non-verbal parts of complex predicates (e.g. *hes* in ex. (69)) do not usually carry the phrasal accent and so are excluded from this rule.

[29] The pre-core slot is defined in §6.9.6.

(72)   *ELlâ,*   *tə*   *basi*   *B-Â-i*   *[ASB58]*

        if.not   2S   must   SBJ-come-2S

        'In any case, you must come.'

Post-verbal goals do not receive an accent unless they are in narrow (argument) focus (see examples (847) and (848)). This and other such pragmatic considerations are taken up in the syntax chapter in §6.9.3 and following.

The subjunctive/imperative prefix bə-***, prohibitive prefix*** ma- ***and negative prefix*** na- ***all usually[30] take the accent***:

(73)   *ama*   *de*   *BƏ-š-am*   *[ASA]*

        1P   anyway   IMP-go-1P

        'So let's go!'

(74)   *š-A*   *golâbi* *BƏ-dəzd-ə*   *[MPS15]*

        go-3S.PST   pear   SBJ-steal-3S

        'He went to steal a pear.'[31]

(75)   *ba*   *üw-ân* *dâst*   *MA-žan*   *[ANR21]*

        to   egg-P   hand   PHB-hit

        'Don't touch the eggs!'

(76)   *NA-zün-im*   *bavün*   *ras-e* *[ANR26]*

        NEG.AUG-could-IMPF.1S   3P.IOD   reach-INF

        'I couldn't reach them.'

(77)   *əm*   *merdak-a*   *NƏ-vind=əš=a*   *[MPS12]*

        DEMP   man-DISC   NEG-saw=3S=TR

        'This man did not see.'

The main exception to this rule is where an element in the clause is in narrow focus, as shown in the second clause of the following example where the accent in the second clause falls on the non-verbal element of the complex predicate (see §4.2.3 below for further discussion):

---

[30] But see example (78) below.

[31] Note this sentence contains two clauses.

(78) *âr＝in*   *zen＝na*   *ba-štân*

shame=3P know=LOC   to-self

ki   *əštan*   *zəvün＝anda*   *GAP*   *bə-žan-ən*   *[ANR43]*

COMP   self   tongue=LOC   speech SBJ-hit-3P

'They are ashamed to even speak in their own language.'

Where a preverb blocks the affixation of the subjunctive/imperative prefix, the preverb carries the accent instead. This is shown in the second clause of example (79) for the subjunctive, and in example (80) for the imperative:

(79) *ki*   *BƏ-bar-u*   *əm-i*   *viša＝kâ*   *VAR-â-dar-u*   *[ASB47]*

COMP   SBJ-carry-3S   3S-OB   forest=LOC   PVB.SBJ-PVB-dispose-3S

'... that he might take him and get rid of him in the forest.'

(80) *tə*   *mən*   *DAR-afan*   *ce-i*   *dela＝kâ*   *[ASB62]*

2S   1S.OB   PVB-throw!   POSSD.3S-OB   in=LOC

'You throw me inside it!'

2.7.4   Intonation

There are two basic intonation patterns in Iranian Taleshi: falling, and falling-rising.[32] Both patterns are further influenced by phrase-level stress, although pitch and intensity do not correlate precisely across intonation contours. We discuss each pattern in turn below.

2.7.4.1   Falling

A falling intonation prevails in declarative and imperative sentences, as demonstrated in the following figures. In Anbarani and Masali this pattern is also used for content questions; see below. For each figure, the syllable(s) carrying the phrasal accent are capitalized; and the beginning of each word is aligned to the beginning of its intonation contour.

---

[32] Anonby (2002, pp.124f) describes similar patterns for Southern Luri, while Mahootian (1997, p.320) notes how in Persian "the peak of intonation overlaps with the stress of the most prominent word in terms of focus."

Figure 5: First Asalemi declarative sentence with falling intonation
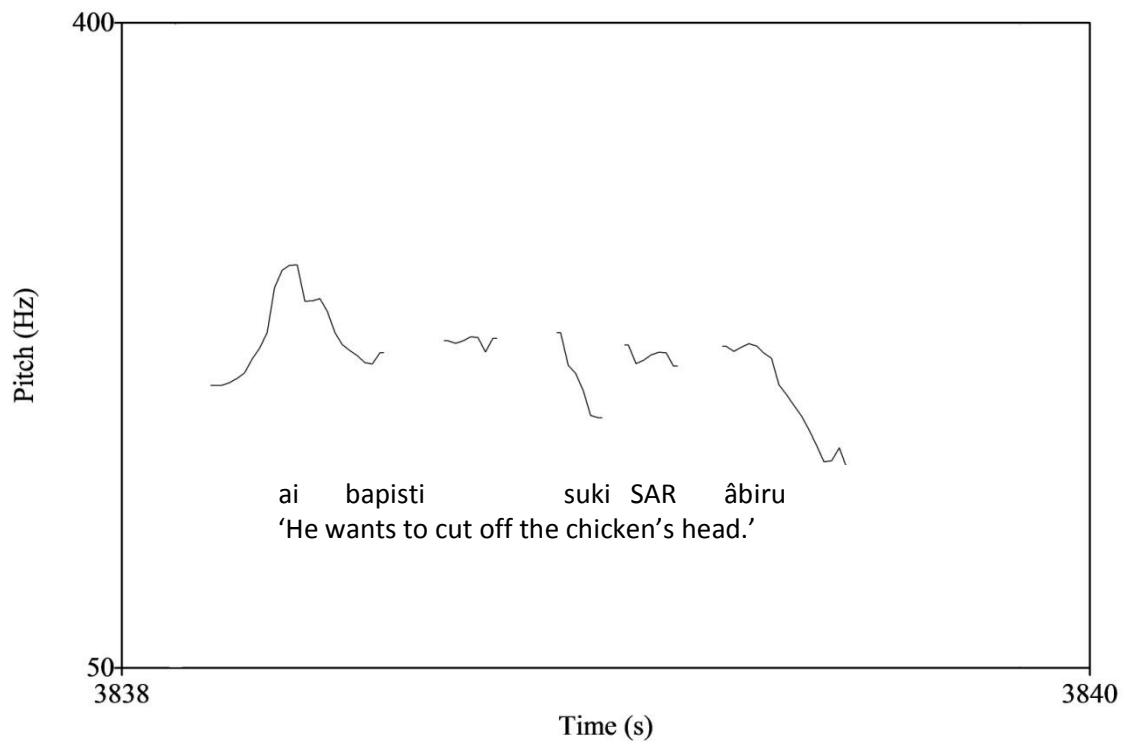
Note how the general pattern of the intonation contour for the sentence in Figure 5 is falling, but that this pattern is briefly disrupted by the phrasal accent on sar 'head'. This phrasal accent raises the pitch again, but only to the level of the beginning of the preceding word.

**Figure 6: Second Asalemi declarative sentence with falling intonation**

kâ   bim   KA   BUNI   šâi   âkarde
'I was repairing the roof of the house.'
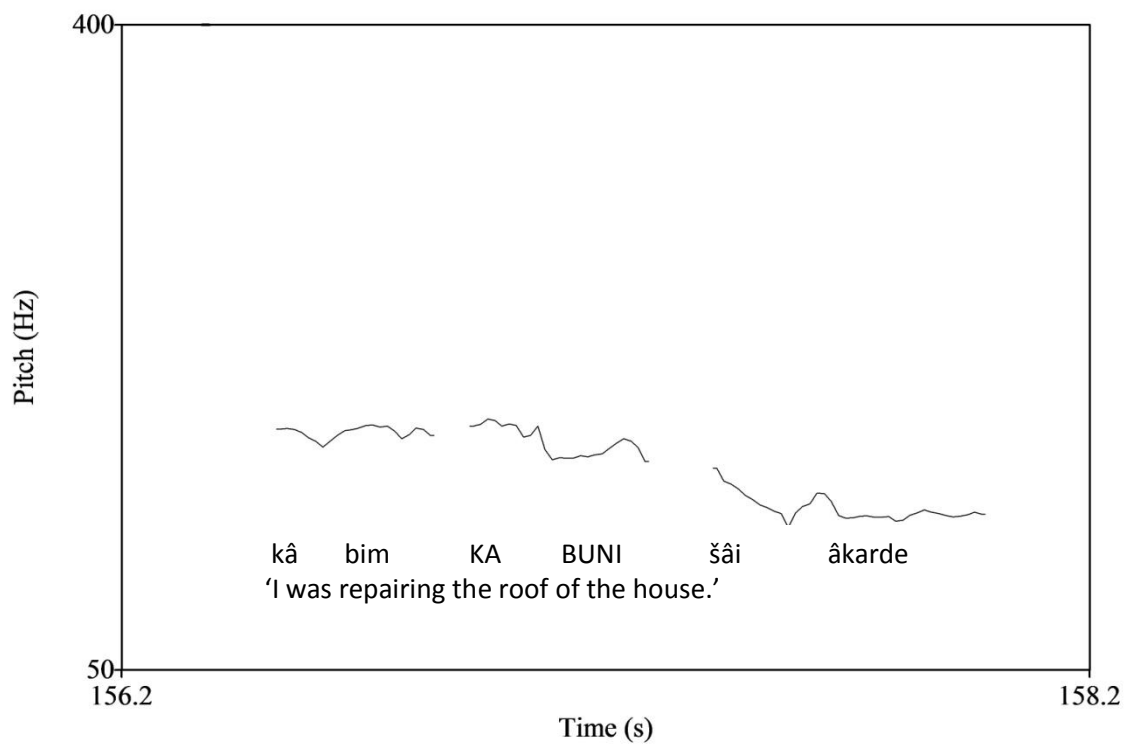
Figure 7: First Asalemi imperative sentence with falling intonation

ZU   bəš
'Go quickly.'
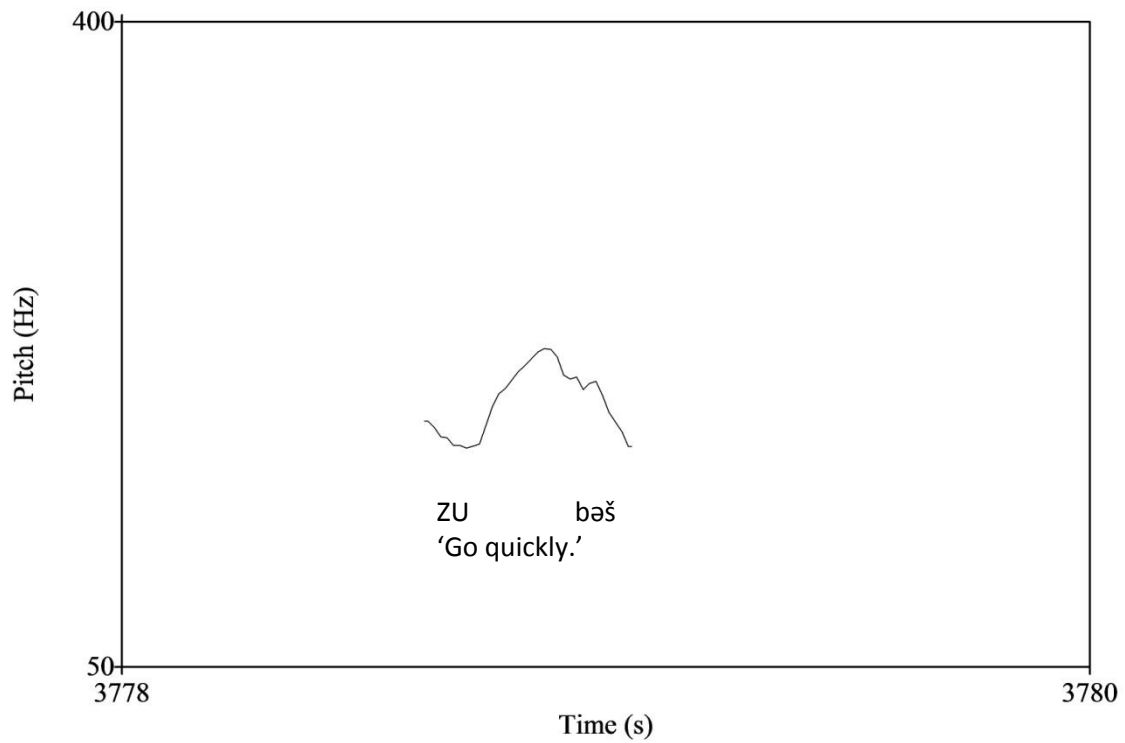
Figure 8: Second Asalemi imperative sentence with falling intonation

amr   dəRÂZ   bəbu
'May (your) life be long!
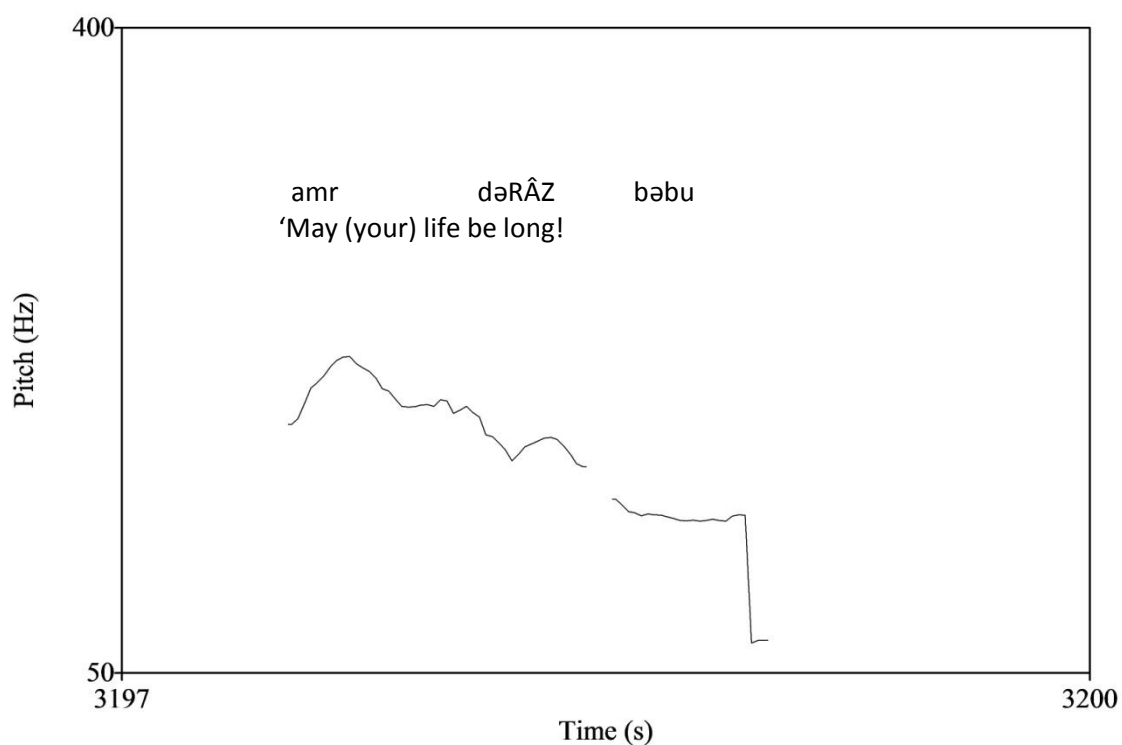
2.7.4.2 Falling-rising

In polar questions the general pattern is one of falling intonation with a rise on the verb. In addition, higher intonation is manifested on the syllable carrying the phrasal accent. This means that in the first example (Figure 9) the word ɾuž 'day' carries an intonation peak; whereas in the second example (Figure 10), the fact that the phrasal stress is on the verb means that the intonation contour continues to fall until that point.

Figure 9: First Asalemi polar question with falling-rising intonation

pamba   əm   RUŽiš   baxrat?
'Will you buy the wool today?'
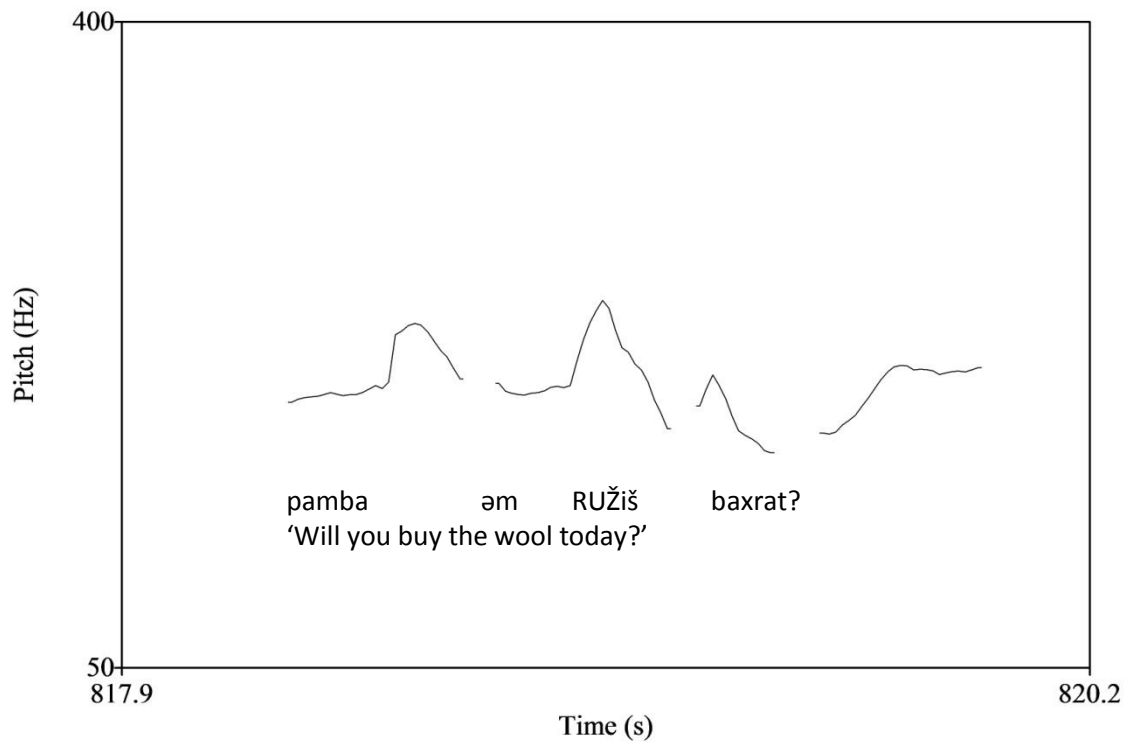
Figure 10: Second Asalemi polar question with falling-rising intonation

izerər   cəmən   gezə   VINDA?
Did you see my broom yesterday?
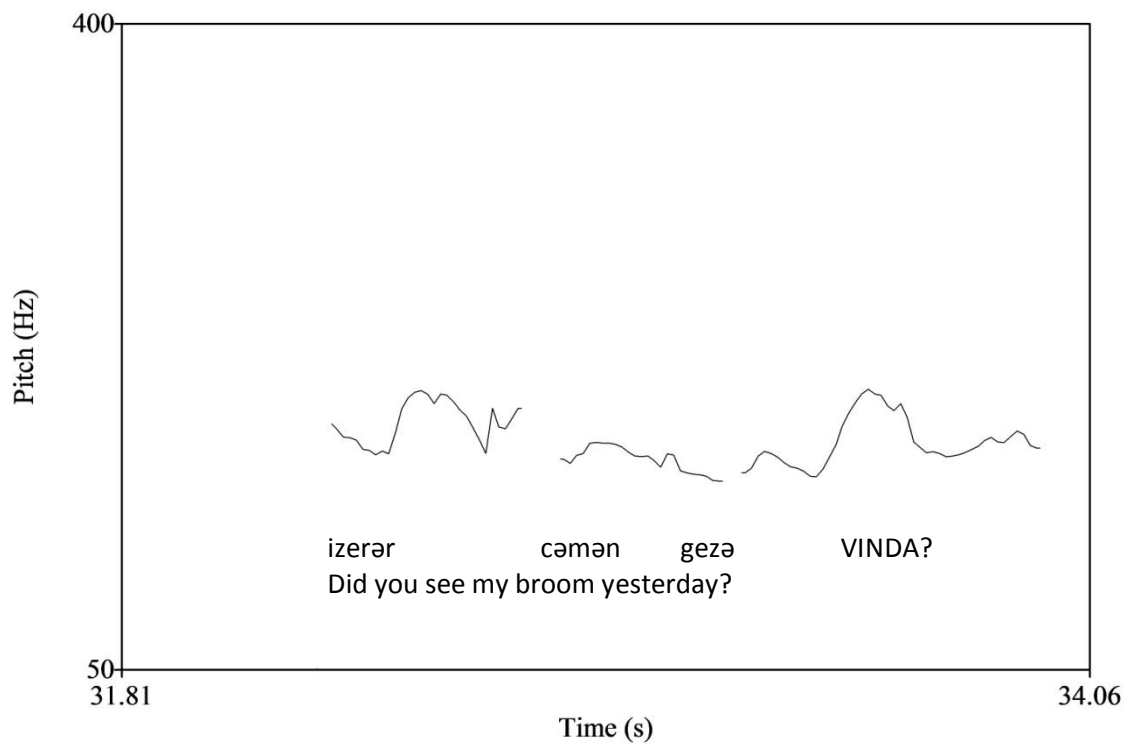
     In Asalemi, content questions follow a similar falling-rising intonation pattern to that observed above in polar questions, except that there is an intonation peak on the wh-word (*ki*

'who' in the example in Figure 11, *cici* 'what' in Figure 13). In Anbarani and Masali, on the other hand, content questions resemble declarative sentences and manifest falling intonation (except for the intonation peak on the wh-word). Anbarani and Masali examples are shown in Figure 12 and Figure 14.

**Figure 11: First Asalemi content question with falling-rising intonation**

KI   tə   vinda ki   kâbiš   mala   še?
'Who saw that you were going to the village?'
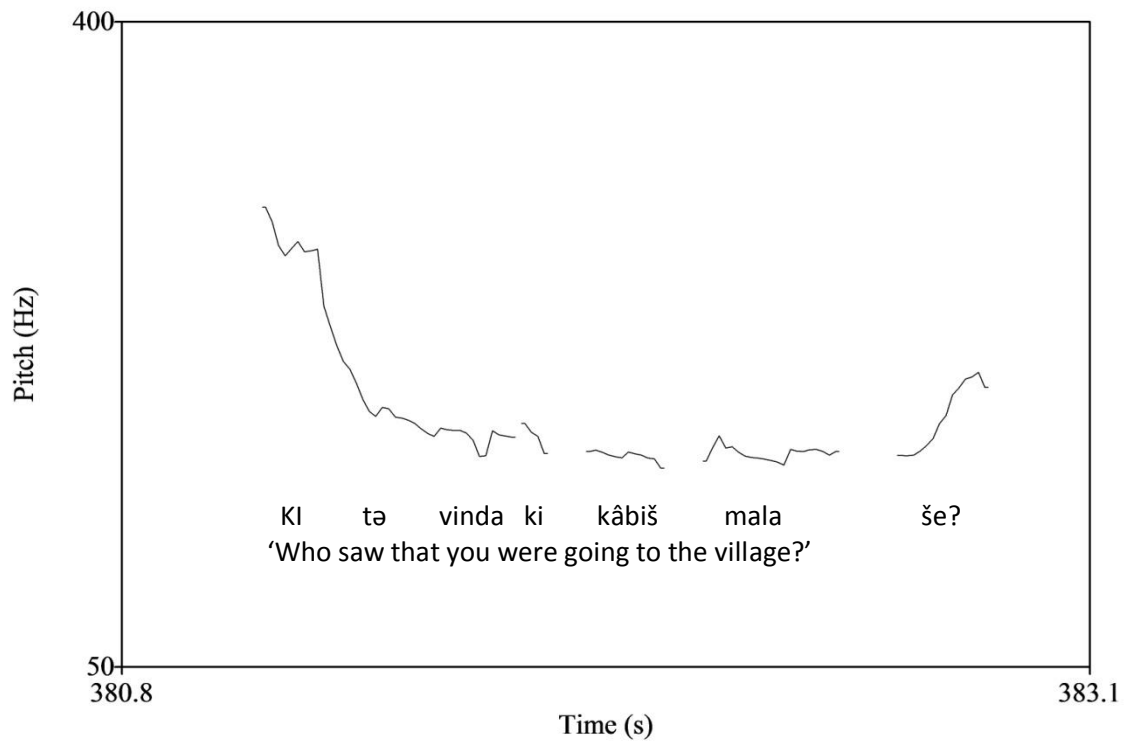
Figure 12: Anbarani and Masali content questions equivalent to first Asalemi example

Anbarani   Masali

KI   vinde   ki   ba   di   šina?
'Who saw you were going to the village?'

KI vinda   kə bə de širi?
'Who saw you were going to the village?'
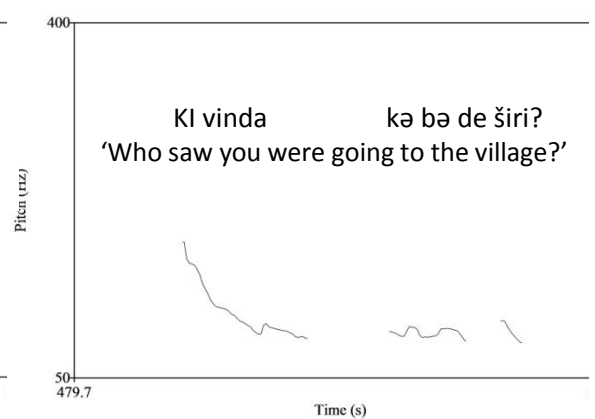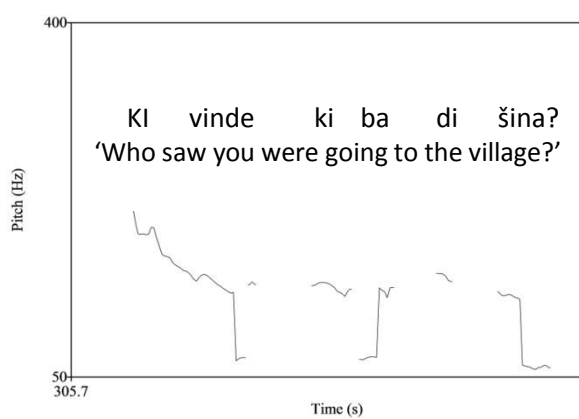
**Figure 13: Second Asalemi content question with falling-rising intonation**

əm ruž səbirâ   CICI   kâbiš   sâi   âkarde?
'This morning what were you repairing?'
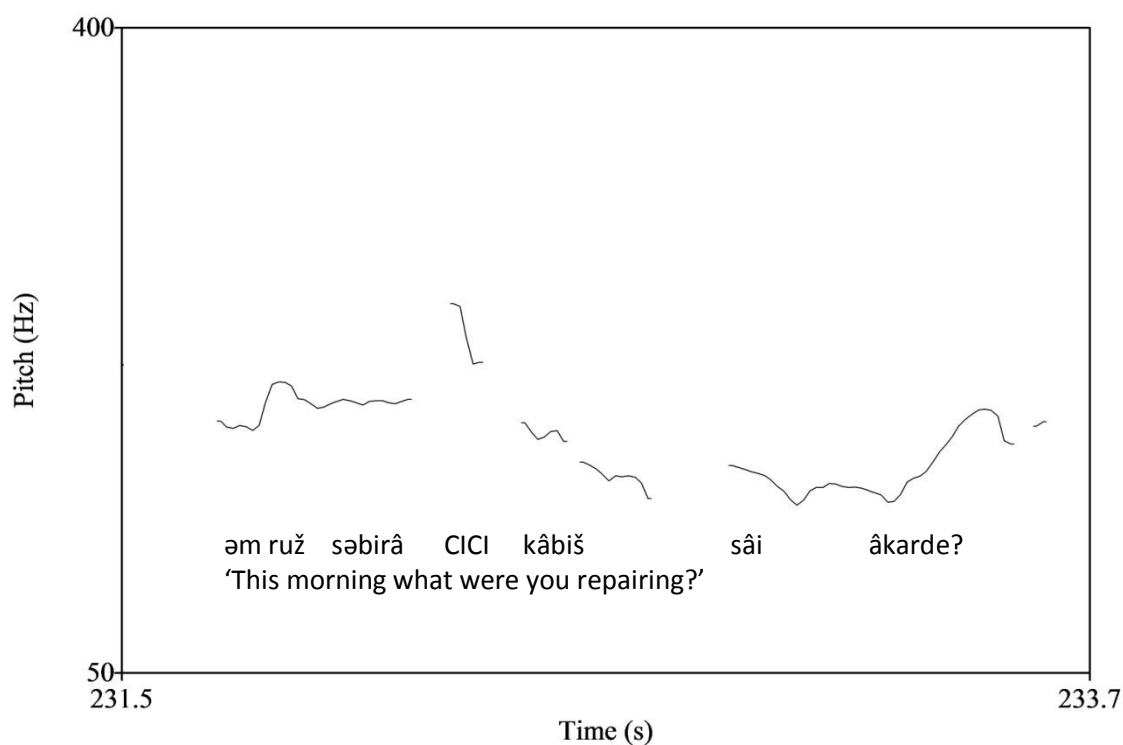
Figure 14: Second Anbarani and Masali content question examples

Anbarani   Masali

əm ruž səb   CIC biš kâna?
'What were you doing this morning?'

uri   səbi   CƏ kâr   kariri?
'What were you doing this morning?'
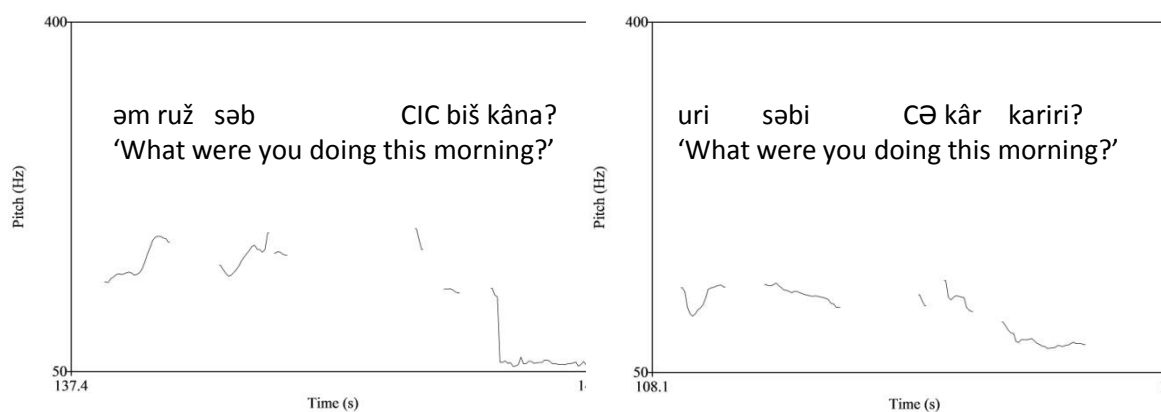
2.8   Orthography

Linguistic treatments of Taleshi written in Persian generally use a modified Roman script for Taleshi words. The following table sets out the correspondences most commonly adopted:

Table 14: Orthographic conventions

Roman	Arabic	Main Phonetic Value(s)
i	ى	[i]
e	ـِ	[e]
a	ـَ	[a]
ə	ئ	[ə]
â	آ	[ɑ, ɔ, ɒ]
ü	ۆ	[y, ʉ]
p	پ	[p]
b	ب	[b]
t	ت	[t]
d	د	[d]
k	ک	[k]
g	گ	[g]
c / č	چ	[tʃ]
j	ج	[dʒ]
m	م	[m]
n	ن	[n]
r	ر	[ɾ]/[r]
f	ف	[f]
v / u	و	[v]/[u]
s	س	[s]
z	ز	[z]
š / ş	ش	[ʃ]
ž / zh	ژ	[ʒ]
x	خ	[x]
ğ	ق,غ	[ʁ]/[ɣ]
h	ه	[h]

l	ل	[l]
y	ی	[j]
w[33]		[ʷ]

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[33] No Arabic letter is commonly used to represent this Taleshi sound.

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3 Nouns and nominal morphology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explores nouns and pronouns (including pronominal clitics) in Taleshi. §3.2 comments on the structure of the noun word, and §3.3 explores the number and case systems. §§3.4, 3.5 and 3.6 overview gender, possession and relative clauses. §3.7 sets out some examples of nominal compounding and §3.8 describes various kinds of pronoun, while §3.9 is a special section considering how the Direct/Oblique case-marking system functions in nominative-accusative and ergative-absolutive environments, with some reference to the use of clitics which is also developed in the other morphology chapters. Meanwhile, morphological aspects of various grammatical phenomena in Taleshi which are described in the following three chapters have their equivalent syntactic aspects described in parallel in the syntax chapter (§6).

3.2 Structure of the Noun

The basic structure of the noun is as follows:

stem - Oblique/Plural - Relative Clause Marker = Enclitic

The enclitic forms which may attach to a noun are the indefinite marker, case clitics mostly expressing direction or location (§5.1) and, in Masali, the ezafe (§5.2.1).

3.3 Number and Case

Number is intertwined with a morphological case-marking system which, in common with many Iranian languages, manifests a distinction between direct and oblique case.[34] For plural nouns in Anbarani the plural oblique ending has extended into the direct case (Windfuhr 1992, p.29), resulting in a single suffix which does not distinguish between direct and oblique case.[35] The basic system across the three dialects is as follows:

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[34] Stilo (2008a, p.370) comments: "The two-term nominal case system of Talyshi and other modern NWI languages, where the Oblique case (marked by *-i* in Talyshi) is derived from a syncretization of most of the oblique cases (Genitive, Dative, Instrumental, Ablative, and Locative) of Old Iranian into one case (Stilo, 2008b) and the Direct case (Ø-marked in Talyshi) is derived from a syncretization of the old Nominative, Accusative and Vocative."

[35] Schulze (2000, p.17) speculates that this is "probably due to the fact that *-ón* [the Talyshi plural noun suffix] itself stems from an older oblique case that later on was extended to *rectus* functions."

Table 15: Basic case and number system

	Dialect	Direct	Oblique
Singular	Anbarani	*zero*	*-ə*
	Asalemi	*zero*	*-i*
	Masali	*zero*	*-i*
Plural	Anbarani	*-un/-ün/-ân*	
	Asalemi	*-e*	*-un/-mun*[36]
	Masali	*-e*	*-ân*

Both Miller (1953, p.74) and Schulze (2000, p.17) derive the Anbarani plural marker, like the Persian equivalent *-ân*, from the Old Persian genitive plural marker *-ânâm*, which became an oblique form in all Taleshi dialects before extending in Anbarani to the direct case too. Similarly, Schulze (ibid) derives the singular oblique case suffix from Old Persian *-ahyâ* (genitive singular). Hence it is unsurprising that among its other functions, the oblique case serves to mark possessors (see §3.3.2 below).

Mahootian (1997, p.191) notes the existence in Persian of a number of Arabic nouns which form irregular, discontinuous plurals based on a consonantal root, into which are inserted vowels and consonants. Only one such borrowed form was found in the Taleshi corpus. The Arabic plural of *šaxs* 'person', is *ašxâs* 'people'. When this word was supplied in an elicitation prompt, an Asalemi speaker gave a response in Taleshi containing the word *ašxâs-un*: the Arabic plural with an added Taleshi oblique plural ending.

3.3.1   Direct Case

The semantic notions of identifiability and specificity in many Iranian languages are expressed through the grammatical concepts of definiteness and individuation.[37] An entity is considered identifiable if it can be identified by both the speaker and the hearer (e.g. Heim 1988). It is specific if the speaker has some pre-existing or independent mental contact with it (Langacker 1991, p.104).

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[36] Kishekhale (2007, p.34) describes this transitional consonant -m- as occurring "when the singular form ends in a vowel".

[37] See Paul (2003) and (2008) for discussion of this in Persian.

Generic entities may be expressed by bare nominals, without any specification for number or definiteness. Hence generic *nağl* 'story' in (81) contrasts with its oblique-marked non-generic counterpart in (82), while a similar contrast obtains for 'money' in (83) and (84).[38]

(81) *a   bə   xâsus-a   ašxâs-un=râ   kâr=a   nağl   vât-e*   [AsNP]

3s to   particular-LNK   people-OB.P=for   PROG=3s   story   say-INF

'He is telling stories for particular people.'

(82) *a   maxsus-a   nağl-un   câk=a   ba-vât*   [AsNP]

3s   particular-LNK   story-OB.P   good=3s   PRS-say

'He tells particular stories well.'

(83) *a   bamun   pul   ba-dâ=y*   [AsNP] &AN/M

3s   3P.IOP   money   PRS-give=3s

'He gives money to them.'

(84) *a.   av   pül-ə   du=na=yə*   [AnNP]

he   money-OB   give=LOC=3s

b.   a   kâr=a   pul-i   â-du-e   [AsNP]

he   PROG=3s   money-OB   PVB-hand.over-INF

c.   a   kərâ   pul-i   â-da   [MaNP]

he   PROG   money-OB   PVB-hand.over.3s

'He is handing over the money.'

Occasionally, however, countable generic entities may be expressed with plural marking; for example, *luna-e* nest-P 'nests' in example (85) below, and 'men' in (86):

(85) *luna-e   i   maxsus-a   dâr-i=kâ   paidâ   ba-b=in* [AsNP] &AN/M

nest-P   a   particular-LNK   tree-OB=LOC   found   PRS-be-3P

'Nests are found in certain trees.'

(86) *a.   tâləš-a   merd-un   cic=in   kâ=na*   [AnVP]

Talesh-LNK   man-P   what?=3P   do=LOC

b.   tâleš-a   merd-e   ci=n   ba-kard   [AsVP]

Talesh-LNK   man-P   what?=3P   PRS-do

---

[38] See also §3.3.2.2 and the comment there about Differential Object Marking.

c.   *tâleš-a*   *merdak-en*   *cə*   *kar-ən*   *[MaVP]*

       Talesh-LNK   man-P   what?   do-3P

'What do Talesh men do?'

Specific, identifiable entities in subject position are expressed in the direct case in Taleshi, so also receive zero-marking in the singular whether the clause is intransitive or transitive (except in past perfective clauses where split ergative marking obtains; see §3.9 below):

(87)   *rais*   *âma*   *[AsNP] & AN/M*

      chief   came.3S

      'The chief came.'

(88)   *xərdan* *kâr=a*   *š-e*   *[AsNP] & AN/M*

      child   PROG=3S   go-INF

      'The child is going.'

(89)   a.   *av*   *ângivin=e*   *hâ=na*   *[AnVP]*

            3S   honey=3S   eat=LOC

      b.   *a*   *kâr=a*   *asal*   *hard-e* *[AsVP]*

            3S   PROG=3S   honey eat-INF

      c.   *a*   *kərâ*   *asal*   *har-ə*   *[MaVP]*

            3S   PROG   honey eat-3S

      'He is eating honey.'

In the plural, nouns in subject position receive direct plural marking if they are specific, identifiable and countable:

(90)   a.   *guv-un* *cul-ə* *gərd=u*   *uv=in*   *hâ=na*   *[AnNP]*

            cow-P   well-OB around=LOC   water=3P   drink=LOC

      b.   *gâ-ye* *câl-i* *dâvra=kâ*   *kâ=n*   *âv*   *hent-e* *[AsNP]*

            cow-P   well-OB around=LOC   PROG=3P   water drink-INF

      c.   *gâ-en* *câ*   *dâr-i=ku*   *âv*   *har-ən*   *[MaNP]*

            cow-P   well   around-OB=LOC water drink-3P

      'The cows are drinking water around the well.'

Where an indefinite entity is not generic but is to be individuated, various grammaticalized forms of the numeral 'one' may be used to mark it.[39] First, *i* 'one, a' or *i-la* one-CL 'one, a' may precede the nominal expression.[40] This strategy is common in all three dialects:[41]

(91) *i-la   karg   bamən bə-da*   [AsNP] & AN/M

a-CL   chicken 1S.IO   IMP-give

'Give me a (any) chicken.'

(92) *i rüž i-la   buğavün   du   sa=ku   pe-š-a=bə*   [ANP2]

a day a-CL   gardener   tree   top=LOC ...   PVB-go.up-PTC=AUX.3S

'One day a gardener had gone up (his pear) tree.'

(93) *i-la   tandur ua   kâr=a   sut-e*   [ASA]

a-CL   oven   there   PROG=3S   burn-INF

'An oven is burning there.'

(94) *əm   i   ceka xun   bu   i-la   ğašang-a   dâr*   [MSS40]

DEMP   one drop blood   become.3S a-CL   beautiful-LNK   tree

'This one drop of blood becomes a beautiful tree.'

An alternative strategy involves placing a grammaticalized form of the numeral 'one' at the end of the indefinite noun phrase to be individuated: unstressed =i, the so-called 'indefinite' marker[42] (discussed for Persian in Paul 2008). In Anbarani this marker is extremely rare:[43] no examples arose in texts, and the only example in elicited sentences was in response to a Persian prompt which itself contained the same NP with the same marker:

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[39] Givón (1981, p.5) notes that the development of the numeral 'one' into a marker for singular-indefinite nouns is attested independently in Germanic, Romance, Mandarin, Sherpa, Hungarian, Neo-Aramaic, Turkish, and various Amerindian and Austronesian languages, and is a hallmark of all Creole languages.

[40] Where the relevant NP consists of or begins with a classifier such as *nafar* 'person', *i* is always used rather than *i-la* because *-la* (short for *gəla*) is itself a classifier; see §5.3.2.

[41] Compare Persian equivalent *ye(k), yek-i*, described in Mahootian (1999, p.203).

[42] A homophonous morpheme serves to mark relative clause heads; see discussion in §3.6.

[43] Miller (1953, p.71) also notes its existence in Azerbaijani Talyshi.

(95) *kas=i*   *av*   *vind-a=y?*   [AnVP]

person=IND   3S   saw-PTC=3S

'Has anyone seen him?'

In Asalemi use of this marker alone is similarly rare, except for its occasional appearance in combination with quantifiers such as *har* 'any' and *hic* 'none' and indefinite pronouns such as, for example, sentences (105) and (106) below:

(96) *a-i*   *diar*   *kija=i*   *vind=a*   [AsNP]

3S-OB   other   sparrow=IND   saw=TR

'He saw another sparrow.'

(97) *pis-i*   *har*   *jur=i*   *naxša*   *kašt=a*   [ASB8]

baldy-OB   any   way=IND   plan   made=TR

'In whatever way he planned…'

(98) *hiš*   *kas=i*   *mən*   *nə-vind=a*   [AsVP]

no   person=IND   1S.OB   NEG-saw=TR

'Nobody saw me.'

In Masali the use of this indefinite marker to individuate new entities in both subject and object position is a little more common:

(99) *bu-bu*   *âdam=i*   *əm*   *guš-a*   *kanâr*   [MCB]

SBJ-be.3S   man=IND   DEMP   corner-LNK   next.to

'Would that there were a man in the corner.'

(100) *əspa=i*   *atia*   *davendi=a*   [MBB]

dog=IND   just.there   tied=COP.3S

'A dog is tied up there.'

(101) *əm*   *əšta=râ*   *ka=i*   *sâz-ə*   [MSG]

DEMP   self=for   house=IND   build-3S

'This one builds a house for herself.'

The third strategy is to combine these pre- and post-NP markers, either framing the noun phrase or with *(i) gəla* and *=i* together as a single word (see below). The first of these two possibilities is not available in Anbarani, but is used quite extensively in Asalemi and Masali, especially for NPs in subject position:

(102) *i-la*   *merd=i*   *b-uma=y*   [ASP1]

       a-CL   man=IND   PRS-come=3S

       'A man is coming.'

(103) *i*   *nafar=i …*   *kâr=a*   *takân* *takân* *hard-e* [ASB51]

       a   person=IND   PROG=3S   shake shake eat-INF

       'Somebody is shaking about.'

(104) *i*   *piranana=i=â,*   *i*   *zua-te=i*   *dâr-i*   [MBB]

       a   grandmother=IND=COP.PST.3S a   boy-DIM=IND had-IMPF.3S

       'There was a grandmother who had a little boy.'

(105) *da-rast-in*   *i*   *jǝgâ=i*   [ASA]

       PVB-arrived-3P a   place=IND

       'They arrived somewhere.'

(106) *i*   *ci=i*   *cǝmǝn* *bǝrâ*   *gašt=a*   [AsVP]

       a   thing=IND   POSS.1S brother   bit=TR

       'A certain something bit my brother.'

The second possibility – combining *(i) gǝla* (an independent noun phrase head) and *=i* in a single word – only occurs with any frequency in Asalemi. Examples are provided in (107) and (108) below. In Anbarani it was found only in the storytelling formula 'once upon a time' (109),[44] and in Masali the only two occurrences involved the relative clause head marker *-i,* not the indefinite marker (110).

(107) *can*   *gǝla=i du=a*   *bamun* [ASP22]

       some   CL=IND gave=TR   3P.IOD

       'He gave some to them.'

(108) *camun*   *hic*   *gla=imi*   *nǝ-vind=a*   [AsNP]

       POSSD.3P   none   CL=1S.IND   NEG-saw=TR

       'I did not see a single one of them.'

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[44] Compare Persian *yek=i bud, yek=i na-bud.* Note that *i-la merd=i* 'a man' and *i-la zua=i* 'a boy' were found in Pear Story texts recorded in Vizne and Jokandan respectively.

(109) *i-le=i*   *hes*   *bə,*   *i-le=i*   *nə-bə*   *[ANP1]*

one-CL=IND   exist   was.3S   one-CL=IND   NEG-was.3S

'Once upon a time (lit: One was, one wasn't).'

(110) *az*   *ruk-a*   *gəla=i*   *ke*   *sabz=â*   *xəri=m=a* *[MaNP]*

1S   small-LNK   CL=RCH   REL   green=COP.PST.3S   bought=1S=TR

'I bought the small one which was green.'

The relative frequencies of occurrence of *i* and *i-la* in the corpus for each of the three dialects is shown in the following table; note how the frequency of -*i* increases from north to south, and *i-la* vice versa:

Table 16: Proportions of i and i-la in the three dialects

	Anbarani	**Asalemi**	**Masali**
i	11 (22%)	44 (37%)	113 (69%)
i-la	39 (78%)	75 (63%)	50 (31%)

One final option for the expression of the individuation marker is the unusual =*iši* ending found in Asalemi.[45] This ending only marks indefinite entities, and only entities in positions where they might be expected to host pronominal agent clitics (cf. §3.8.2). We therefore take it to be a combination of the individuation marker =*i* followed by a special form of the agentive third person singular pronominal clitic =*əš*.[46] This form provides a mechanism for rendering the individuation marker audible in contexts where it would otherwise elide with the vowel of the pronominal clitic. The five examples below illustrate the use of this ending in Asalemi. In the first clause of (111), the phrasal accent is on the quantifier *har* 'any'. In the remaining examples, the phrasal accent is on the syllable immediately preceding the =*iši* ending. Example (114) was a response to the Persian elicitation prompt *âb-e bištar=i xord*

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[45] This marker also occurs in Shandermani, south of Masal. For example: *i tambalxâna-hâ=iši sâxta ba* a resthome-P=IND=3s built-3s=AUX 'He had built a group of rest homes' [Tambal Ibrahim story]. Note also one instance of a 1st person singular version in example (108) above.

[46] Dench and Evans (1988) invoke a principle of "concentric constituent scoping": "a suffix X will be outside a suffix Y if it originates in a higher constituent than Y." On this basis the ordering nominal clitic > sentential clitic is preferred, although an alternative explanation positing =3S=IND with raising of the first vowel to [i] is also possible.

water=EZ more=IND drank.3S 'He drank some more water', which itself contains an explicit indefinite marker on the phrase 'more water'. The fifth example (115) is the only non-ergative clause containing this ending in the corpus, and reflects a borrowing from Persian colloquial use, whereby a third person clitic attaches to the word 'problem' (cf. Persian *eškâl nadâre* 'It's no problem': a 'have' construction, discussed further in §§3.5 and 6.11.6).

(111) *har   dukundâr=iši   vât=a,*

    any   shopkeeper=3S.IND   said=TR

    mardum   damand=a bana   xurust-e [ASB40]

    people   PROG=3S   at.him   laugh-INF

    'Whichever shopkeeper he spoke to, everyone was laughing at him.'

(112) *i-la   fuza=iši   ža   [ASS]*

    a-CL   whistle=3S.IND   struck.TR

    'He whistled once.'

(113) *agam   tiká=iši   pul   babe   a-v-i   [AsVP]*

    if   little=3S.IND   money   IRR.3S   AUG-come-IMPF.3S

    'If he'd had a little money, he would have come.'

(114) *barka   âv=iši   hent=a.   [AsNP]*

    much   water=3S.IND   drank=TR

    'He had some more water. (Lit: he drank a lot of a certain amount of water.)'

(115) *vât=əš=a   xob   iškâl=iši   ni=a.   [ASB63]*

    'said=3S=TR   well   problem=3S.IND   NEG-COP.3S

    'He said, "Well, it's not a problem." '

3.3.1.1   Discourse marker -*a*

Mahootian (1997, p.201) describes what she calls the postposition -*e* in Persian as "a discourse device to indicate that both speaker and hearer have mutual knowledge of the marked NP through recent mention". While this marker does not appear to be indigenous to Taleshi, an equivalent form -*a* does appear in one Masali text: the narrator of the Masali Pear Story used it consistently to mark the pear-picker and the boy who takes his pears. Two examples are provided below. Example (116) comes near the beginning of the text, and contains the first mention of the pear-picker. However, because the narrator is addressing an

audience who have just watched the film with him, he treats this referent as an entity already known to both him and his hearers as a prominent participant in the story and marks the noun as definite with -*a*:

(116) *albata*   *vind = əmun = a merdak-a*   *kərâ*   *golâbi*   *cin-ə*   *[MPS3]*

of.course   saw=1P=TR   man-DISC   PROG   pear   pick-3S

'Of course, we saw the man was picking pears.'

Later in the story the young boy who will steal the pears arrives. By this point the narrator is no longer self-consciously describing events he knows his audience are already aware of, but is telling the film as a story. After introducing the boy, he consistently marks both him and the pear-picker with -*a* wherever they appear in subject position (in other positions the oblique marker is present, and any -*a* suffix becomes inaudible):

(117) *i*   *xərdan = i*   *a*   *sar = dəre*   *kə*   *uma*

a   child=IND   DEMD   direction=SRCE   COMP   came.3S

carx   *da-nəšt = â.*

bicycle   PVB-sat.astride=COP.PST.3S

əm   *xərdan-a*   *uma*   *u*

DEMP   child-DISC   came.3S   and

əm   *merdak-a*   *ne-vind = əš = a*   *[MPS11-12]*

DEMP   man-DISC   NEG-saw=3S=TR

'A boy came from that direction, sat on a bicycle. This child came and this man did not see.'

3.3.2   Oblique case

We noted above (footnote 34) that the oblique case is derived from a syncretization of the genitive, dative, instrumental, ablative and locative cases of Old Iranian into one case. These various possibilities are itemized below with illustrative examples.

3.3.2.1   Possession and complements

All dialects put the *possessor* in the oblique case, followed by the *possessum* in the direct case, e.g.:

(118) **maamud-i(/-ə)**   žen   (-i in Asalemi and Masali dialects; -ə in Anbarani)

Mahmud-OB   wife

'Mahmud's wife.'

Masali may also use the Persian ezafe (cf. §5.2.1) to express this kind of possessive

relationship:

(119) a. **žen-ə**   dândun   [AnNP] & AS

    woman-OB   tooth

  b. gâz=e   žen / **žen-i**   gâz   [MaNP]

    tooth=EZ   woman**(/-OB)**   tooth

    'A woman's tooth.'

Possession is discussed in more detail in §3.5 below.

The oblique case is also used to express complementation in examples such as the

following, the first of which expresses purpose:

(120) agar   **gardeš-i**   pul-i   bə-dâr-i   â-i   [MaVP]

    if   **trip-OB**   money-OB   IRR-had-IMPF.3S   come-IMPF.3S

    'If he'd had money for the trip, he would have come.'

(121) **sif-un**   kisa   [AsNP]

apple-OB.P   sack

'The sack of apples.'

3.3.2.2   Definite direct object

The definite direct object is in the oblique case in accusative constructions (which

include constructions in the perfective past tense in Masali – see §3.9):

(122) a.   av   **pül-ə**   ba   i   kas-ə   du=na=yə   [AnNP]

      3S   **money-OB**   to   a   person-OB   give=LOC=3S

    b.   a   kâr=a   **pul-i**   i   nafar-i   â-du-e   [AsNP]

      3S   PROG=3S   **money-OB**   a   person-OB   PVB-give-INF

    'He is giving the money to someone.'

In contrast, indefinite and generic direct objects are bare nouns:[47]

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[47] Differential Object Marking is a feature of many Iranian languages. See Bossong 1985 for further details.

(123) a.   *a*   *bamən* **pul**   *ba-dâ=yə*   [AsNP]

             3s   1s.IO   **money** PRS-give= 3s

    b.   *a*   *mən*   **pul**   *â-da*   [MaNP]

             3s   1s.OB   **money** PVB-give.3s

'He gives money to me.'

3.3.2.3 Agent in ergative constructions

Both nouns and pronouns in ergative constructions are generally in the oblique case in Anbarani and Asalemi. The situation is complicated, and differs slightly in each dialect; see §3.9 below for further discussion.

3.3.2.4 Indirect objects

Nouns in all three dialects take the oblique case in indirect object position, as shown in the Asalemi example below. Anbarani and Asalemi pronouns have special indirect object forms, which are set out in Table 18.

(124) *a-i*   *har*   **kas-i**   *i-tka*   *xərâk* *du=a* [AsNP]

     3s-OB each   **person-OB**   a-little food   gave=TR

'He gave a little food to each person.'

Additionally, the oblique case may itself express the locative in sentences such as the following (note the marking on *var* 'direction', and see §5.1.2.1 for more on directionals):

(125) *a*   *rais-i*   *var-i*   *mand-a*   [MaNP]

     DEMD chief-OB   direction-OB   stayed-3s

'He stayed near the chief.'

3.3.2.5 With most postpositions

Nouns take the oblique case when followed by most postpositions (these are set out in §5.1):

(126) a.   *av-un*   **žen-un**   *bâra=nda*   *gap*   *ža*   [AnNP]

             3P-P   **women-OB.P** about=LOC   speech hit.TR

    b.   *a-mun* **žen-un**   *bâra=kâ*   *gaf*   *ža*   [AsNP]

             3-OB.P **woman-OB.P** about=LOC   speech hit.TR

    c.   *av-en*   **ženak-un**   *xunerâ lua*   *kard=əšun=a*   [MaNP]

             3-P   **woman-OB.P**   about talk   did=3P=TR

'They spoke about the women.'

(127) a-i   i-la   ambəlu əštan   **jif-i**   (dela)=kâ nu=a [AsNP]

3S-OB   a-CL   pear   self   **pocket-OB**   in=LOC   put=TR

'He put a pear in his pocket.'

(128) *paranda*   **dâr-i**   *sar-i*   *mand-a*   *[MaNP]*

bird   **tree- OB**   top-OB   stayed-3S

'The bird stayed in the tree.'

(129) *a*   *žen-i*   *narm-i＝na*   *gaf*   *ža*   *[AsNP]*

that   woman-OB   soft-OB=with   speech hit.TR

'That woman spoke gently.'

In some cases nouns may chain together to form compound nouns; in such cases there is no oblique marking, e.g. Anbarani *ru uv sâ* way water level 'river level'.

3.4   Gender

The historical, grammatical gender distinction between masculine and feminine, which Windfuhr (1989b, p.258) notes in most of the northwestern Iranian dialects, has disappeared in modern Taleshi. It is not mentioned in any of the modern descriptions cited here. Miller (1953, p.71) likewise notes its disappearance from Talyshi "as a result of decomposition". Windfuhr (ibid) also notes the development of kinship gender across the north of Iran, "marked by *-r* in non-direct cases." Lazard (1978, p.255) appears to identify an instance of this in Masulei in his comment that "Quelques noms de parenté ont une déclinaison irrégulière", citing direct and oblique examples such as *pə* versus *par* 'father' and *mâ* versus *moar* 'mother'. However, Anbarani, Asalemi and Masali all prefer the roots *dada* and *nana*, which retain the same form in both direct and oblique case.[48]

Classifiers are set out in §5.3.2

3.5   Possession

Where the possessor is a full NP, possession is expressed with oblique case (examples (118) and (119)). Otherwise, possession may be expressed by a reflexive (§3.8.3) or

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[48] The word *mâdar* does appear in some Shandermani texts, but the forms are *mâdar* (direct) and *mâdar-i* (oblique).

possessive pronoun (§3.8.4); by an External Possessor Construction with the case clitic =*râ*

(=*ru* in Anbarani)(§5.1.1.4); and, rarely, with a pronominal clitic (see below).

The central semantic relationships which may be indicated by a possessive

construction are ownership (130); whole-part relationship (119); blood kinship (131); and

affinal kinship (118).

(130) *žen-i*   *sər-a*   *kafš*   [AsNP]

woman-OB   red-LNK shoe

'The woman's red shoe.'

(131) *a-pi=š=b-a*   *ki*   *əštan*   *amu*[49] *kəla*   *bə-bar-u*   [ASB3]

IMP-wanted=3S=AUX-3S COMP   self   uncle   daughter   SBJ-take-3S

'He was wanting to carry off his uncle's daughter.'

Note also an innovation borrowed from Persian, which occurred a small number of

times in the corpus: the use of pronominal clitics in possessive function (see Mahootian 1997,

pp.149f for their use in Persian):[50]

(132) *caš=əš ba*   *vaca*   *hamu=anda*   *a-gini*   [AnNP]

eye=3S to   kid   field=LOC   PVB-fell.3S

'His eye fell on a kid goat in the field.'

(133) *mâsin=əš*   *hic-a*   *vaz-i=kâ*   *b-a*   [AsNP] & AN

car=3S   nothing-LNK   situation-OB=LOC   was-3S

'His car was in a bad condition.'

(134) *mən*   *zua=m majbur kard=a*   *tika=i*   *âv*   *be-nj-u*   [AsVP]

1S.OB   boy=1S force   did=TR   little=IND water SBJ-drink-3S

'I forced my son to drink a little water.'

And the only example in a text:

(135) *havâs=əš*   *part*   *bə*   [ANP24]

concentration=3S   thrown was.3S

'His concentration was thrown.'

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[49] The genitive suffix on *amu-i* has coalesced with the final vowel to become *amu*.

[50] Stilo (2008a, p.369) finds this use in the Azerbaijani Talyshi of the Astara zone too, though only rarely, and only "with kinship terms and body parts" where it is still not the preferred form.

3.6 Relative Clause

The basic construction of relative clauses parallels that of their Persian equivalents (cf. Mahootian 1997, pp.32ff). In restrictive relative clauses an unstressed -*i* acts as relative clause head marker, and is affixed to the head noun as in example (136):

(136) **merd-i**   ki   zina   um-a=bə   vind=əm=e   [AnNP]

  man-RCH   REL   yesterday   came-PTC=AUX.3S   saw=1S=TR

  'I saw the man who came yesterday.'

In non-restrictive relative clauses the head marker is absent:

(137) *havuš-a*   *bâl-ân ki*   *təla=na=b-in*   *saati=na=b-im*   [ANR25]

  rabbit-LNK   child-P REL   run=LOC=AUX-3P   chase=LOC=AUX-1S

  'Lit: The baby rabbits, which were running, I was chasing.'

Relative clauses are discussed in greater detail in §6.3.

3.7 Nominal Compounding

Taleshi has a small number of nouns which refer to groups of an entity: words such as *jam* 'crowd' and *mardum* 'people' are found in all three dialects. Other examples include Asalemi *davâr* 'flock', and Masali *dastak* 'large amount' (cf. Persian *daste* 'group').

Various types of nominal compounding are possible but not productive. They include straightforward juxtaposition in Taleshi examples with noun-noun combinations such as Asalemi *pâ-ğab* foot-pot 'shoe'; adjective-noun combinations such as Anbarani *pi-a-dada* old-LNK-father 'grandfather' (and equivalents in Asalemi/Masali) and Masali *viv-a-ženak* widowed-LNK-woman; Anbarani noun-verb combination *gəi-za* neck-hit 'necklace' (contrast Persian and Masali *gardan-band* neck-band) and Asalemi *âš-pej-giri* stew-cook-taking 'cooking' (cf. Masali *âš-pazi* 'stew-preparing' (from Persian)); and derivational examples modelled on Persian, such as Anbarani *buğ-a-vün* garden-LNK-person.responsible 'gardener' (cf. Persian, Asalemi and Masali *bâğbân*) and *ham-ru* same-road 'companion' and Asalemi *xar-a-guša* donkey-LNK-ear 'rabbit' (cf. Persian *xarguš*). That these kinds of derivational process are more productive in Persian than in Taleshi may be illustrated by frozen Persian forms which have been borrowed, such as *gul-dân* in Anbarani, Persian for 'flower-container' or 'flower pot', although the Anbarani for flower is *vəl*.

In addition to such onomatopoeic words as Anbarani *jəkjək* 'chirping' and *təktək* 'pecking',[51] all three dialects also make use of similative reduplication.[52] This is particularly common in Masali. Examples encountered in texts include: *diyâra-ciyâra* 'drum', *əštan jib-mib-i=ku* self pocket-[reduplicated element]-OB=LOC 'in his pocket', *daruf-âruf* 'sweeping', and *mərs-pərs* 'crockery'. Masali also provides *dâr-u-ducun* 'forestation', where *dâr* means tree (cf. Persian *deraxt* and Anbarani/Asalemi *du*).

Nouns may also combine with light verbs to form compound verbs; see discussion in §4.2.3.

3.8   Pronouns

3.8.1   Direct and Oblique

In general terms, the direct/oblique case-marking distinction functions in the same way for pronouns as for nouns. The most significant exception is where alignment variation occurs in transitive perfective clauses, for which see §3.9 below. There is also some dialect variation in the use of pronouns to express indirect objects; this is discussed in §3.3.2.4. Direct and oblique pronominal forms in the three dialects are set out in the following table:

Table 17: Direct and Oblique Personal Pronouns

	Direct			Oblique		
	Anbarani	**Asalemi**	**Masali**	**Anbarani**	**Asalemi**	**Masali**
1S	*âz*	*az*	*az*	*mâ(n)/mânə*[53]	*mən*	*mə(n)*
2S	*tə*	*tə*	*tə*	*tə*	*tə*	*tə*
3S[54]	*av*	*a*	*a*	*avə*	*ai*	*ai*
1P	*ama*	*ama*	*ama*	*ama*	*ama*	*ama*
2P	*šəma*	*šəma*	*šəma*	*šəma*	*šəma*	*šəma*
3P	*avun/avün*	*ae*	*aven*	*avun/avün*	*amun*	*avun*

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[51] Kishekhale (2007, p.36) lists a selection of onomatopoeic words in Asalemi.

[52] A number of Iranian languages manifest this feature. See, for example, Axenov (2006, p.61) for an account of its use in the Balochi of Turkmenistan.

[53] *mân* is used for O in ergative environments, and for the indirect object. *mânə* is used for A in ergative environments, and O in nominative-accusative environments. See Table 21 and surrounding text for more details. Other forms marked with a slash in this table are optional alternatives; letters in brackets may be omitted.

[54] The 3rd person forms, based on *av* or *a*, are actually distal demonstratives (cf. Table 19 below). As Haig (2008, p.135) observes, this is a common feature of Iranian languages generally.

3.8.2 Enclitic

Enclitic pronominal forms are used to express verbal agents in certain environments (cf. §4.3.1). In Masali they may also be used, like Persian, to express possession (§3.5 above). Additionally, Yarshater (1996, fn.21) notes the existence of impersonal enclitic constructions such as *gâ-un vang=a* cow-OB.P moo=COP.3S 'The cattle are (busy) mooing', *xərdan-un jər=a* child-OB.P cry=COP.3S 'The children are crying' and *veši=m=a* hunger=1S=COP.3S 'I am hungry'. As Yarshater points out, the logical subject in each of these examples is in the oblique case.

3.8.3 Reflexive

The reflexive pronoun *əštan* derives from Middle Persian *xwēš* 'self' and *tan* 'body' (see e.g. Miller 1953, p.127). It has both intensive and coreferential functions, the latter including expressions of possession which are listed separately below.[55]

Intensive:

(138) *əštan*   *a-i*   *dəzdi-a=š=a*   [MaVP]

     self   3S-OB   stole-PTC=3S=TR

     'She has stolen it *herself*.'

Coreferential:

(139) *ama*   *i-tka*   *uv=e*   *pia=na ki*   *əštân*   *bə-šəšt-amun*   [AnVP]

     1P   a-little   water=COP.3S   want=LOC COMP   self   SBJ-wash-1P

     'We want a little water to wash ourselves.'

(140) *a*   *merd-i*   *əštan kəšt=a.*

     that   man-OB   self   killed=TR

     a   *də-gla*   *merd-i*   *əštan=əšun*   *kəšt=a*   [AsVP]

     those   two-CL   man-OB   self=3P   killed=TR

     'That man killed himself. Those two men killed themselves.'

(141) *ama*   *əštan*   *ǧovat*   *da-yam*   [MaVP]

     1P   self   strength   give-1P

     'We shall feed ourselves.'

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[55] Similarly Borjian (2004) finds that the Mazandarani reflexive pronoun *še* may be "an emphatic", "a reflexive when it is the object of a verb and a proposition", and "a possessive adjective".

In Masali, this coreferential usage has developed into a construction with a set of intransitive verbs, especially *še* 'go', *daxəte/vixəte* 'hide' and *mânde* 'remain'. It commonly expresses the idea that the participant(s) involved is acting in isolation, or in contrast to the action of others. For example:

(142) da-š-u   əm   cətaxəl-i=ku   əšta=râ yâ   da-xəs-ə   [MCB]

PVB-go.in-3S   DEMP   cave-OB=LOC   self=for   here   PVB-hide-3S

'He goes into this cave and hides there.'

(143) əm   əm   geša   pi-ger-ə,   əšta=râ   šu.   šu…   [MBB]

DEMP   DEMP   bride   PVB-take-3S   self=for   go.3S   go.3S

'He takes this bride and goes. He goes…'

The same construction is also found in Koluri Tati. The explicit presence of the noun *râ* 'way' in the example below clearly shows that the *râ* attaching to *əštan* is the clitic 'for':

(144) dəcarxa   pi-gir-ə   əšta=râ râ   da-gən-ə   bə-š-u [KOP45]

bicycle.OB   PVB-pick.up-3S   self=for   way   PVB.SBJ-fall-3S   SBJ-go-3S

'He picks up the bicycle in order to set off and go.'

The prevalence of this construction in Masali, with only an occasional instance in Asalemi and none in Anbarani, suggests that it may have developed through contact with the analogous Gilaki construction *xu-re* 'self-for', illustrated in the following two Pear Story examples:

(145) xu-re   fikr   kun-e   [GPS]

self-for thought do-3s

'He thinks to himself'

(146) un-am xu-re   xu   asbâbbâzi-amra   bâzi   kud-i   [GPS]

he-too self-for self   toy-with   play   do-3S.IMPF

'As for him, he went on playing with his toy.'

<u>Possessive:</u>

(147) əštân   šua=ru   ci   pât=e?   [AnVP]

self   husband-for   what?   cooked=TR

'What did you cook for your husband?'

(148) əm   pis-i   əštan   kis-e   iâ   nâ=n   [ASB31]

this   baldy-OB   self   bag-P   here   put=TR.P

'This baldy put his bags here.'

(149)	*a*	*fağat*	*əštan*	*sar-i*	*šâst=əš=a*	*[MaNP]*
	3s	only	self	head-OB	washed=3s=TR	

'He washed only his head.'

3.8.4 Possessive and indirect object pronouns

Table 18 sets out the possessive pronominal forms for all three dialects, and the indirect object recipient forms in Anbarani and Asalemi. The alternate third person forms present default/distal and proximal forms respectively; see also §3.8.5 below, and the further discussion of deixis in §8.8.2. Miller (1953, p.115) derives the possessive forms from "a combination of the preposition *çi* 'from, of' with the personal pronouns." Similarly, the indirect object forms represent a combination of the preposition *ba-* 'to' with these same oblique personal pronouns. Since *ba-* and *c-* are not used in Asalemi and Masali other than in these pronominal forms (and in a few frozen expressions borrowed from Persian, cf. §5.1.3.1) we list the forms as single words here for ease of reading.

Table 18: Possessive[56] and Indirect Object Pronouns

	Anbarani		Asalemi		Masali
	possessive	indirect	possessive	indirect	possessive
1S	*cəmân*	*bamân*	*cəmən*	*bamən*	*cəmə(n)*
2S	*əštə*	*batə*	*əštə*	*batə*	*əštə(n)*
3S	*ca(və)/cəmə*	*bavə/bəmə*	*ca(i)/cimi*	*bai/bimi*	*ce/cimi*
1P	*cama*	*bama*	*cama*	*bama*	*cama*
2P	*šəma*	*bašəma*	*šəma*	*bašəma*	*šəma*
3P	*cavun/cəmun*	*bavun*	*camun/cumun*	*bamun/bumun*	*ca(v)un*

Some sentential examples of the indirect object forms are given below, including an illustration of the distinction between proximal and distal pronouns in the contrast between the third person indirect pronouns in examples (152) and (153). Discussion of this distinction for possessive pronouns begins with example (162) below.

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[56] Stilo (2008a, p.369) comments: "This pronominal possessive case formed with the prefix *ci- ~ iš-* (< **haca* "from") is a typical feature of Tatic languages and one of the most important diagnostics used to identify members of the family."

(150)   *av*   *bə*   *ki*   *səfta=š*   *bamân* *vut=e* [AnVP]

        3s   was.3s   REL   first=3s   1s.IO   said=TR

        'It was he who told me first.'

(151)   *ki*   *əm*   *du*   *batə*   *du=a?*   [AsVP]

        who?   DEMP   buttermilk   2s.IO   gave=TR

        'Who gave this buttermilk to you?'

(152)   *əm*   *kəla*   *bimi*   *vât=a* *kə*

        DEMP   girl   3s.IOP   said=TR COMP

        nana   *tə*   *iâ*   *bu-mun*   [ASC]

        mother 2s   here   IMP-stay

        'This girl said to her, "Mother, you stay here."'

(153)   *kâ=n*   *bai*   *i*   *rama*   *pas*   *du-e*   [ASB71]

        PROG=3P   3s.IOD   a   flock   sheep give-INF

        'They are giving that person a flock of sheep.'

Masali uses a different strategy to express pronominal indirect object forms. This may be a simple oblique like nouns as shown in §3.8.1; with verbs of saying, an oblique pronoun followed by the case clitic =*na* (§5.1.1.2); or a clitic such as the third person example in (154):

(154)   *ama*   *ši-mna*   *bar=əš*   *â-kar-am*   [MSG]

        1P   went-1P   door=3s   PVB.SBJ-open-1P

        'We went to open the door for him.'

The examples below illustrate how the possessive pronouns are used attributively, preceding the noun they modify. The three Masali examples (157) to (159) further show how they can be used to express inalienable and alienable possession (ownership), and also association.

(155)   *cəmân* *yud=anda=y*   *əštân* *piadada=nda*   *ba*   *kâfšan*

        POSS.1s memory=LOC=COP.3s   self   grandfather=LOC to   desert

        a-š-im   [ANR9]

        AUG-go-IMPF.1s

        'It is in my memory: I would go to the desert with my grandfather.'

(156) əštə   sar-i   bu-šur-əm   [ASA]

your   head-OB   SBJ-wash-1S

'Let me wash your head.'

(157) səng-ə   siâ   cavun   sar,

stone-OB   black   POSSD.3P   head

ramat-ə   xudâ   cama   sar   [MSS108]

mercy-OB   God   POSS.1P   head

'May the black stone be on their head, the mercy of God on our head.'

(158) cama   se   câr   ruz-i   xarj=a   [MBB]

POSS.1P   three   four   day-OB   expense=COP.3S

'It is three or four days' expense for us.'

(159) ma-šən, cama   var-i   bu-mun   [MBB]

PHB-go   POSS.1P   side-OB   IMP-stay

'Don't go, stay with us!'

Note that in Anbarani, the demonstrative combines with *c-* to make a possessive form when it agrees with a possessive noun in the oblique case. For example:

(160) c-a   merd-ə   i-la   žen   [AnNP]

POSS-DEMD   man-OB   a-CL   woman

'A wife of that man.'

(161) c-a   žen-ə   dândun   [AnNP]

POSS-DEMD   woman-OB   tooth

'That woman's tooth.'

Table 18 above also set out a contrast between proximate and distal possessive pronouns. Note that the proximity or distance in question relates to the *possessor*, not the *possessum*. We explore the contrast below by setting out contrasting examples from a single Masali text, before briefly illustrating the same contrast between two Asalemi examples.

In examples (162) and (163), the distal possessive pronoun *ce* refers to an entity referred to by *a* in the previous clause. In example (164) a contrast is drawn between the mouse, on "this side", and the fox and the bear on the other. Hence the bear is removed from

the deictic centre, and referred to by *ce* and *a*. Example (165) again sets up a contrast between *az*, "I", and "my brother-in-law", who is absent from the scene. Again, the brother is therefore referred to with *ce*.

(162)   *a*   *əspa*   *bə-kəšə*   *ce*   *kalla*   *mağz-i*   *pi-ger-ə*   [MCB]

         DEMD   horse   SBJ-kill-3S   POSSD.3S   skull   brain-OB   PVB.SBJ-take-3S

         'He should kill that horse (and take its brains).'

(163)   *a*   *kəšt-a=m=a*   *ce*   *kalla*   *vin-i*   *â*   *nu-a=m=a*   [MCB]

         DEMD   killed-PTC=1S=TR   POSSD.3S   skull   see-2S   there   put-PTC=1S=TR

         'I have killed him – you see his skull, I have put (it) there.'

(164)   *əm*   *var-i*   *muša*   *gəla*   *xumâr.*   *libâs*   *xumâr,*

         DEMP   side-OB   mouse   CL   depressed   fox   depressed

         xərs   *badbaxt.*   *ce*   *asp-i=š*   *a-i=ku*   *ji-get=a*   [MCB]

         bear   wretched   POSSD.3S   horse-OB=3S   3S-OB=LOC   PVB-stole=TR

         'On this side is the mouse, depressed. The fox is depressed, the bear wretched. He stole the horse from him.'

(165)   *az*   *n=imâ*   *cəmən*   *bərvarazâ=yâ,*

         1S   NEG=COP.1S.PST   POSS.1S   brother-in-law=COP.3S.PST

         xodâ   *ce*   *ka*   *xarâba*   *bə-kar-u*   [MCB]

         God   POSSD.3S   house   destroyed   SBJ-do-3S

         'It was not me, it was my brother-in-law! May God destroy his house.'

In the following three examples, proximate *cimi* is used instead of distal *ce*. In example (166) the nephew arrives at his own house, and his physical presence is witnessed by his uncle. Meanwhile in examples (167) and (168), the same participant referred to with *əm* is then referred to with *cimi* shortly afterwards:

(166)   *vaxt-i*   *kə*   *əštan*   *ka=ku*   *â-ras-ə,*

         when-RCH   REL   self   house=LOC   PVB-arrive-3S

         cimi   *amu*   *vin-ə*   [MCB]

         POSSP.3S   uncle   see-3S

         'When he arrives at his own house, his uncle sees.'

(167)　*əm*　　*pisakula*　　*az*　　*gir*　　　　*bu-war-əm* …

DEMP　baldy　　　　1S　　involve　　SBJ-bring-1S

az=ni　　　*bə-šu-m*　　*cimi*　　　*dumla*　[MCB]

1S=also　　　SBJ-go-1S　　POSSP.3S　　after

'I should get hold of this baldy … and also go after him.'

(168)　*vâ*　　*əm-i*　　　*ger-ən* …

say.3S　DEMP-OB　　get-2P

muš　　*cimi*　　　*i-la*　　*cem=i*　*kan-ə*　　　[MCB]

mouse　POSSP.3S　　a-CL　　eye=IND　dig-3S

'He says, 'Get him!' … The mouse gouges out one of his eyes.'

In a couple of instances in Masali texts, *cimi* and *ce* are used consecutively for the same referent. We take this to be an alternation for stylistic purposes. For example:

(169)　*cimi*　　　*izəm-i*　　　*bar-ə,*　*ce*　　*xâl-i*　　*bar-ə*　[MSG]

POSSP.3S　　　timber-OB　　take-3S　POSSD.3S　branch-OB　take-3S

'He takes its timber, he takes its branches.'

Finally in this regard, the last two examples illustrate the same proximate-distal distinction in Asalemi, this time with plural possessive pronouns. In example (170) the bandits guard their own sacks so that other thieves will not come and take them. Proximate *cumun* is used to refer to them, as subjects in the immediately preceding clause. In example (171), the thief leaves his own sacks behind and steals theirs – that is, the bandits'. In this case distal *camun* is used to refer to the bandits, who are no longer at the deictic centre.

(170)　*əm-e*　*damand=in*　　*negahbâni*　　*du-e*　*ki*　　*dəzd-e*　*n-â-n*

DEMP-P　PROG=3P　　　guard　　　　do-INF　COMP　thief-P　NEG-SBJ.come-3S

cumun　　　*kisa-mun*　　*nə-bar-un*　　　　　[ASB27]

POSSP.3P　　　sack-OB.P　　NEG-SBJ.carry-3P

'They were standing guard so that thieves would not come and take their sacks.'

(171)　*əm*　　*pis-i*　　　*əštan*　*kis-e*　*iâ*　　*nâ=n*

DEMP　baldy-OB　　self　　sack-P　here　　put=TR.P

camun　　　*kis-e=yəš*　　*ž=in*　　　*əštan*　*asb-i*　[ASB31]

POSSD.3P　　　sack-P=3S　　put=TR.P　　self　　horse-OB

'This baldy put his own sacks here; he loaded their sacks onto his horse.'

Possessive pronouns are always either adjectival, modifying a noun, or form part of a prepositional phrase. Where a noun is not explicit, Anbarani and Asalemi use a classifier instead. For example:

(172) *av-ə*   *əštə*   *bâl-ân*   *nə-vind=e;*

3S-OB   POSS.2S   child-P   NEG-saw=TR

fağat   *cəmân*   *gəl-ân=əš*   *vind=e*   [AnNP]

only   POSS.1S   CL-P=3S   saw=TR

'He did not see your children; he only saw mine.'

(173) *rafeğ=əm*   *əštan*   *zen-i=na*   *âma;*

friend=1S   self   wife-OB=with   came.3S

az=ani   *əštan*   *gəla=na*   [AsNP]

1S=also   self   CL=with

'My friend came with his wife; I too with mine.'

In Masali, by contrast, the suffix *-šin* attaches to the possessive pronoun to perform this function.[57] The Masali equivalents of the two examples shown above are as follows:

(174) *a*   *əštə*   *xərdan-un*   *ne-vind=əš=a,*

3S   POSS.2S   child-OB.P   NEG-was=3S=TR

fağat   *cəmən-šin-i*   *vind=əš=a*   [MaNP]

only   POSS.1S-CL-OB   saw=3S=TR

'He did not see your children; he only saw mine.'

(175) *cəmə*   *dust*   *əštan*   *žen-i=na*   *uma;*

POSS.1S friend   self   wife-OB=with   came.3S

az=am   *cəmə-šin-i=na*   [MaNP]

1S=also   POSS.1S-CL-OB=with

'My friend came with his wife; I too with mine.'

3.8.5   Demonstrative

Taleshi demonstratives differentiate proximate and remote referents (see §8.8 for a full discussion of the deixis of determiners). The demonstrative singular paradigm is set out in

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[57] Note the equivalent suffix *-šene* in Mazandarani (Borjian 2004, p.10).

Table 19 below, and the plural paradigm in Table 20. The alternate forms are for Anbarani, Asalemi and Masali respectively.

Table 19: The demonstrative singular paradigm in Anbarani, Asalemi and Masali

	Proximate		Distal	
	Direct	*Oblique*	*Direct*	*Oblique*
3S	*əm*	*əm-ə/əm-i/əm-i*	*a*	*a-və/a-i/a-i*

Table 20: The demonstrative plural paradigm in Asalemi and Masali

	Proximate		Distal	
	Direct	*Oblique*	*Direct*	*Oblique*
3P	*əm-e*	*əm-un*	*a-e/a-ven*	*a-mun/a-vun*

In Asalemi and Masali, nominal demonstratives can occur in a noun phrase with a noun, or make up a complete noun phrase in their own right. In Anbarani, however, *əm* 'this' is always used to modify a noun.[58] The oblique singular *əm-ə* only occurs twice in the corpus, both times in response to the equivalent Persian elicitation prompt *in=râ* (e.g. (176) below) and there are no plural demonstrative forms in the corpus.

(176)   *hiški*   *əm-ə*   *vu=na=ni*   *[AnNP]*

no.one   this-OB   say=PTC=NEG

'No one will say so.'

Variant forms are *ə* and *ən* for *əm* in Anbarani, and *im, im-i, im-e* for *əm, əm-i, əm-e* in Asalemi.[59]

3.8.6   Interrogative

Question words, intonation and – in Masali – the Persian particle *âyâ* all play a part in expressing interrogative mood. Content and polar questions are discussed in §6.11.2 (where common *wh*-words are also presented), and intonation in §2.7.4.

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[58] Note (§3.8.1 above) that the distal forms in each dialect also serve as third person pronouns.

[59] Schulze (2000, p.20) cites *ə, ən, i* and *im* as variants of the proximal demonstrative in Azerbaijani Talyshi.

3.8.7   Reciprocal

Each of the three dialects has a fixed reciprocal pronoun which does not inflect for person or number: *yadə* (Anbarani), *yandə* (Asalemi) and *bəndi* (Masali). Their use is illustrated in the following examples:

(177) a.   *də*   *gla*   *merd-ə*   *yadə*   *ža*   *[AnVP]*

            2   CL   man-OB   RCPR   hit.TR

       b.   *a*   *də*   *gla*   *merd-i*   *yandə*   *ža*   *[AsVP]*

            that   2   CL   man-OB   RCPR   hit.TR

       c.   *a*   *də*   *gəla*   *merdak-un*   *bəndi*   *žand=a*   *[MaVP]*

            that   2   CL   man-OB.P   RCPR   hit=TR

       'The two men struck each other.'

(178) *ama*   *bəndi*   *žan-am [MaVP]*

       1P   RCPR   hit-1P

       'We shall hit each other.'

The pronoun may combine with adpositions, e.g.:

(179) *bâl-ân*   *yad=anda*   *pecxa=na=n*   *[AnVP]*

       child-P   RCPR=LOC   fight=LOC=3P

       'The children are fighting against one another.'

(180) *merd-un*   *yadə*   *gərd=u*   *jam*   *b-en*   *[AnNP]*

       man-P   RCPR   around=LOC   gather   be-3P.PST

       'The men assembled together.'

3.9   Case in Nominative-Accusative and Ergative-Absolutive Constructions

Recent studies of Azerbaijani Talyshi (Schulze 2000, De Caro 2004) have examined its morphological split ergativity: ergative alignment is triggered by perfective forms (simple past, past perfective and remote past perfective) of transitive verbs, while an accusative alignment prevails for all other forms. The split continues to run through Iranian dialects of Taleshi. This section explores how it patterns across Anbarani, Asalemi and Masali.

It will be useful to identity three basic semantic-syntactic roles termed S, A and P (described in Payne (1997, pp.121ff) on the basis of Comrie (1978). The S is defined as the only nominal argument of a single argument, or intransitive clause; the A as the most agent-like

argument of a multi-argument, or transitive clause; and P as the most patient-like argument of a multi-argument clause. Payne (ibid) notes that "The grammatical relation of SUBJECT can be defined as S together with A, while DIRECT OBJECT, or simply "object," can be defined as P alone." Hence we may describe accusative alignment as a situation where S and A arguments are marked in the same way (or 'align') in contrast to P arguments; and ergative alignment as a situation where S and P arguments align in contrast to A arguments.

The accusative alignment which corresponds to all imperfective forms and to intransitive perfective forms is the same in all three dialects, and may be summarized quite briefly. A and S are both marked with the direct case, P with the oblique case when specific (known to the hearer – see §§3.3.1 and 3.3.2 above) and with the direct case elsewhere. Examples (87) and (88) above show subjects with direct case-marking in intransitive clauses. For transitive clauses, example (84) is repeated below as (181) to illustrate the present tense. Without the oblique marking, the meaning would be 'He is handing over (some) money.'

(181) a.   av   pül-ə   du=na=y   [AnNP]

            he   money-OB   give=LOC-3S

       b.   a   kâr=a   pul-i   â-du-e   [AsNP]

            he   PROG=3S   money-OB   PVB-hand.over-INF

       c.   a   kərâ   pul-i   â-da   [MaNP]

            he   PROG   money-OB   PVB-hand.over.3S

       'He is handing over the money.'

A present tense example with two pronominal arguments:

(182) a   a-i   ba-vind=i   [AsVP] & AN/M

       3S   3S-OB   PRS-see=3S

       'He sees him.'

And a past tense imperfective clause:

(183) a.   az   bun-ə=b-im   timü   kâ=na   [AnVP]

            1S   roof-OB=AUX-1S   repair do=LOC

       b.   az   bun-i   kâ=b-im   sây   â-kard-e   [AsVP]

            1S   roof-OB   PROG=AUX-1S   repair PVB-cause-INF

       c.   az   bumapešt-i   rec   â-kar-imi   [MaVP]

            1S   roof-OB   repair PVB-cause-IMPF.1S

'I was repairing the roof.'

In transitive perfective environments, the situation is more complicated due to different behaviour both amongst the three dialects and between speech act participant (SAP) pronominal arguments and other kinds of argument (i.e. nominal arguments and third person pronominal arguments). We therefore discuss these two different types of argument separately, in the following two sections.

3.9.1 Nominal and non-SAP pronominal arguments in transitive perfective clauses

In Anbarani and Asalemi, ergative alignment is triggered for nominal arguments in transitive perfective clauses. Hence for each of the three examples below, A is in the oblique case and P, where explicit, is in the direct case:

(184) *bəz-ə*   *suib-ə*   *nâ-hâšt=e*   *[ANP12]*

       goat-OB   owner-OB   NEG-permitted=TR

       'The goat owner did not permit (it).'

(185) *pis-i*   *ca*   *sar*   *da-bast=a*   *[ASB66]*

       baldy-OB   POSSD.3S   top   PVB-closed=TR

       'The baldy closed its top.'

(186) *əm*   *pis-i*   *əštan*   *kis-e*   *iâ*   *nâ=n*

       DEMP   baldy-OB   self   bag-P   here   put=TR.P

       camun   *kis-e=əš*   *ž=in*   *əštan*   *asb-i*   *[ASB31]*

       POSSD.3P   bag-P=3S   put=TR.P   self   horse-OB

       'This baldy put his own bags here and loaded their bags onto his horse.'

Similarly, perfective transitive clauses involving third person pronominal arguments align ergatively; A in oblique case, P (specific or non specific – see example (192)) in direct case:

(187) *gužd=əš*   *dəzdi-a-ni,*   *rəvus-ə* *av*   *bard=a*   *[AnVP] & AS*

       meat=3S   stole-PTC-NEG   fox-OB   3S   took=TR

       'He has not stolen the meat, the fox has taken it.'

(188) *səpa*   *užnan* *av*   *gat=e* *[AnNP] & AS*

       dog   again 3S   bit=TR

       'The dog bit him again.'

(189) *av-ə   əštân   pârc   gin   kâ*   [AnNP] & AS

      3S-OB   self   jug   loss   did.TR

      'He lost his jug.'

(190) *av-ə   i-la   səǧ   ba   cul   având=e*   [AnNP] & AS

      3S-OB   a-CL   stone   to   well   dropped=TR

      'He dropped a stone down the well.'

(191) *kas=i   av   vind-a=y?*   [AnVP] & AS

      someone=IND   3S   saw-PTC=COP.3S

      'Has anyone seen him/her?'

(192) *av-ə   faǧat   bəz   vind=e*   [AnNP] & AS

      3S-OB   only   goat   saw=TR

      'He saw only (a/the goat)/(goats).'

(193) *a-mun   ci-yi   xunai   jalasa   nu=a*   [AsNP]

      3-P.OB   something-OB   about   meeting   put=TR

      'They arranged a meeting about something.'

Recall also that in Asalemi, the transitive particle which attaches to the verb inflects for singular and plural, as demonstrated in the first clause of each of the two examples below:

(194) *a-i   əštan   tung-e   žyn   â-kard=**in***

      3S-OB   self   jug-P   loss   PVB-caused=TR.P

      ha=ni   cəmən   gla=kâ=š   istəfâda   kard=a   [AsNP]

      SAMED=also   POSS.1S   CL=LOC=3S   use   did=TR

      'He lost his jugs. He used mine again.'

(195) *a-i   əštan   mâhi-a geri-a   rəšta-e pe-gat=**in**;*

      3S-OB   self   fish-LNK catch-LNK   line-P   PVB-picked.up=TR.P

      camun   âxər-i=kâ=š   can   gəla   ǧərmaǧ   âckavnəst=a   [AsNP]

      POSSD.3P   end-OB=LOC=3S   some   CL   hook   hung=TR

      'He took his fishing lines; he put some hooks on the end of them all.'

In Masali two basic strategies are available. Where both subject and (specific) object are explicit, a double oblique construction is possible; both A and P are marked with oblique case and no clitic is necessary, as in examples (196) (the second clause) and (197):

(196) *gušt-i*   *dəzdi-a-ni=š=a,*

meat-OB   stole-PTC-NEG=3S=TR

balke   šal-i   a-i   bard=a   [MaVP]

rather jackal-OB   3S-OB   took=TR

'(My brother) has not stolen the meat; rather, the jackal took it.'

(197) *âyâ   hicki   a-i   vind=a?*   [MaVP]

QU   no.one 3S-OB   saw=TR

'Did anyone see him?'

Where an agent clitic attaches to the verb, an accusative alignment prevails. A is in the direct case, and (specific) P in the oblique case. This is shown in the following four examples. Note that in the third and fourth, omission of the oblique suffix would give nonspecific meanings 'a stone' and 'a goat':

(198) *əspa   aznu   a-i   vi-jard=əš=a* [MaNP]

dog   again   3S-OB   PVB-bit=3S=TR

'The dog bit him again.'

(199) *a   əštan   tüng-i avi   â-kard=əš=a* [MaNP]

3S   self   jug-OB loss   PVB-caused=3S=TR

'He lost his jug.'

(200) *a   səng-i   câ=dila   tâv   â-du=š=a*   [MaNP]

3S   stone-OB[60]   well=in   drop   PVB-gave=3S=TR

'He dropped the stone in the well.'

(201) *a   fağat   bəz-i   vind=əš=a*   [MaNP]

3S   only   goat-OB   saw=3S=TR

'He only saw the goat.'

On the rare occasions when the agent clitic floats forward in Masali, the oblique suffix is again used only with specific entities. Hence the nonspecific *xun* 'blood' is left bare in (202), while specific *asp* 'horse' is marked in (203):[61]

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[60] This suffix is stressed, in contrast to the indefinite clitic which would be unstressed.

(202) *mən   hard-a=š=a,   i   ceka   xun=əš   pasašt=a*   [MSS103]

OB.1S   ate-PTC=3S=TR   a   drop   blood=3S   left=TR

'He ate me, and left a drop of blood behind.'

(203) *ce   asp-i=š   a-i=ku   ji-get=a*   [MCB]

POSSD.3S   horse-OB=3S   3S-OB=LOC   PVB-stole=TR

'He stole his horse from him.'

3.9.2   SAP pronominal arguments in transitive perfective clauses

Recall that in intransitive environments, the direct case is used for the S-argument. The examples below are with the first person singular, the only pronoun with morphologically distinct forms for direct and oblique case:

(204) *az   ba-š=im*   [AsVP] & AN/M

1S   PRS-go=1S

'I am going.'

(205) *az   xurust-im*   [AsVP] & AN/M

1s   laughed-1s

'I laughed'

(206) *az   hanuz   cək=im*   [AsVP] & AN/M

1s   still   well=COP.3S

'I am still well'

The situation for transitive perfective environments is more complex, and is discussed in the following paragraphs for Asalemi, Anbarani and Masali respectively.

In Asalemi, SAP pronouns take the oblique case in all transitive perfective environments, whatever their semantic role. Again, examples will be with first person singular pronouns, which have distinct direct and oblique forms. The following clauses illustrate oblique *mən* 'me' as a subject in perfective clauses with (207) and without (208) a clitic, and as an object in both imperfective (209) and perfective clauses (210) to (212):

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[61] In Shandermani text 'The Wise Sons' examples were found of specific objects both with and without oblique case-marking. With marking: *əm-i=š ijâza du=a* 3S-OB=3S permission gave=TR 'He gave permission.' Without marking: *mâr=əš kəšt=a* snake=3S killed=TR 'He killed the snake.'

(207) mən əštan ka gili=m bard=a šar-i=kâ=m xərat=a [ASB33]

1S.OB self house rubble=1S took=TR town-OB=LOC=1S sold=TR

'I took my house rubble (and) sold it in town.'

(208) mən tə darafand-a=b-a kisa=kâ [ASB70]

1S.OB 2S threw-PTC=AUX-3S sack=LOC

'I threw you into a sack.'

(209) tə mən darafan cai dela=kâ, mən bə-bar-un

2S 1S.OB throw POSSD.3S in=LOC 1S.OB SBJ-take-3P

az šâ kəla bə-bar-am [ASB62]

1S king girl SBJ-take-1S

'You throw me inside it, (so that) they take me (and) I marry the king's daughter.'

(210) hiškas=i mən nə-vind=a [AsVP]

no.one=IND 1S.OB NEG-saw=TR

'No one saw me.'

(211) mən a davat kard=a ki b-â [AsVP]

1S.OB 3S invitation did=TR COMP SBJ-come.3S

'I invited him to come.'

(212) ha=râ darafand-a=šun=a mən əm kisa dela=kâ [ASB58]

SAMED=for threw-PTC=3P=TR 1S.OB DEMP sack in=LOC

'For that same reason, they have thrown me into this sack.'

(213) mən sər vind=a [AsNP]

1S.OB red saw=TR

'I saw the red one.' OR 'I saw a red one.'

Anbarani has three first person singular forms: direct *âz*, oblique *mân* and accusative *mânə* (see Table 17 above). These forms are in almost complete complementary distribution with each other, as shown by the figures in the table below:

Table 21: Distribution of 1S pronominal forms in the Anbarani corpus by argument role

	S	A$_{imperfective}$	A$_{perfective}$	O$_{imperfective}$	O$_{perfective}$	Indirect Object	Total
âz	12	2	-	-	-	-	14
mân	-	-	1	-	5	4	9
mânə	-	-	15	2	-	-	17

The direct form *âz* represents all S arguments, and A-arguments in imperfective clauses. The accusative form *mânə* is used for A-arguments in perfective clauses (e.g. (214) to (216)), and for P-arguments in imperfective clauses, such as (217) and (218):

(214) *mânə   cân   gəla   ba=m   vind=e,   gada   gəla=m   sa*   [AnNP]

1S.ACC some CL   door=1S saw=TR   small CL=1S   bought.TR

'I saw some doors, (and) bought the small one.'

(215) *mânə   vut=e   b-uma=m*   [AnVP]

1S.ACC said=TR   FUT-come=1S

'I said I shall come.'

(216) *mânə   hasir   tu   kârd=e*   [AnVP]

1S.ACC mat   fold   did=TR

'I folded the mat.'

(217) *cəmân dust-ə   nâ-hâšt=e   mur   mânə   bə-təkən-u*   [AnVP]

POSS.1S friend-OB   NEG-allowed=TR   snake 1S.ACC SBJ-bite-3S

'My friend did not allow the snake to bite me.'

(218) *xədu   mânə   bə-bâxš-u*   [AnVP]

God   1S.ACC   SBJ-forgive-3S

'May God forgive me.'

Finally, the oblique form *mân* is used for P in perfective clauses, e.g. (219) to (222), and in indirect object position, e.g. (223):

(219) *užna=š=an   mân   ža*   [AnNP]

again=3S=also   1S.OB   hit.TR

'He struck me again.'

(220) *hicki*   *mân*   *nə-vind=e*

     no.one   1S.OB   NEG-saw=3S

     fağat   *i-la*   *gada*   *bâla*   *mân*   *vind=e*   *[AnVP]*

     only   a-CL   small   child   1S.OB   saw=TR

     'No one saw me. Only a small child saw me.'

(221) *av-ə*   *mân*   *nəfin*   *kârd=e*   *ki*   *bə-ma-m*   *[AnVP]*

     3S-OB   1S.OB   curse   did=TR   COMP   SBJ-die-1S

     'He cursed me so that I would die.'

(222) *nəci*   *mân*   *câng*   *ža*   *[AnVP]*

     wolf   1S.OB   claw   hit.TR

     'A wolf clawed me.'

(223) *i-la*   *bamân*   *kâg*   *bə-da*   *[AnNP]*

     one-CL   1S.IO   chicken   IMP-give

     'Give me one chicken.'

The oblique form is also used once for an A-argument in a perfective clause – the second of the three clauses in the sentence below. Given that *daavat kâ* is a Persian light verb construction, we take this to be an exception based on a Persian calque.

(224) *agarce*   *ka=š*   *xali*   *du-a*   *râ=yə*

     although   house=3S   very   far-LNK   road=COP.3S

     vali   *mân*   *daavat*   *kâ*   *ki*   *b-u-ə*   *[AnVP]*

     but   1S.OB   invitation   did.TR   COMP   SBJ-come-3S

     'Although his house is very distant, nonetheless I invited (him) to come.'

In Masali perfective clauses, *az* and *mən* may both be used in different situations: *az* requires a pronominal agent clitic, whereas *mən* never does. The only exception to this latter rule is alongside verbs with past perfect aspect, suggesting that this aspect still preserves some archaic features:

(225) *az*   *hikas=i*   *ne-vind=əm=a*   *[MaNP]*

     1S   noone=IND   NEG-saw=1S=TR

     'I did not see anybody.'

(226)   *az*   *can*   *nafar*   *a-vun=ku*   *vind=əm=a*   [MaNP]

           1s   some   person   3-P.OB=LOC   saw=1S=TR

           'I saw some of them.'

(227)   *az*   *sər-i*   *vind=əm=a*   [MaNP]

           1s   red-OB   saw=1S=TR

           'I saw the red (one).'

(228)   *az*   *sabz-a*   *bar-i*   *ne-xəri=m=a,*

           1s   green-LNK   door-OB   NEG-bought=1S=TR

           (əm)   *sər-i*   *xəri=m=a*   [MaNP]

           DEMP   red-OB   bought=1S=TR

           'I did not buy the green door, I bought (this) red (one).'

(229)   *az*   *pil-a*   *gəla*   *ke*   *sər=â*   *xəri=m=a*   [MaNP]

           1s   big-LNK   CL   REL   red=COP.PST.3S   bought=1S=TR

           'I bought the big one that was red.'

(230)   *az*   *merdak-i*   *ke*   *ziri*   *uma*   *vind=əm=a*   [MaNP]

           1s   man-RCH   REL   yesterday   came.3s   saw=1S=TR

           'I saw the man who came yesterday.'

(231)   *az*   *a*   *gušt-i*   *ke*   *sist-a*   *hard=əm=a*   [MaNP]

           1s   DEMD   meat-RCH   REL   burnt-3s   ate=1S=TR

           'I ate that meat that burnt.'

(232)   *az*   *gâ-i*   *ke*   *nâxuš=â*   *ğam*   *hard=əm=a*   [MaNP]

           1s   cow-RCH   REL   sick=COP.PST.3S   pain   ate=1S=TR

           'I comforted the cow that was sick.'

(233)   *az*   *xanda*   *kard=əm=a*   [MaVP]

           1s   laughter   did=1S=TR

           'I laughed.'

(234)   *az*   *vât=əm=a*   *ke*   *â-m*   [MaVP]

           1s   said=1S=TR   COMP   come-1s

           'I said that I am coming.'

(235) az   kuf-i   tâ   kard=əm=a   [MaVP]

1S   felt-OB   fold   did=1S=TR

'I folded the felt.'

(236) mə   âb-i   vi-kard=a   [MaVP]

1S.OB   water-OB   PVB-spilt=TR

'I spilt the water.'

(237) mə   a-i=na   vât=a   mən   ma-davər   [MSS104]

1S.OB   3S-OB=with   said=TR 1S.OB   PHB-chop

'I said to him, "Don't chop me down!"'

(238) mə   zua   majbur kard=a   kam=i   âb   b-ar-ə [MaVP]

1S.OB   boy   force   did=TR   little=IND   water   SBJ-eat-3S

'I made the boy drink a little water.'

(239) mə   cəmə   asp-i   majbur kard=a   bə-dav-u   [MaVP]

1S.OB   POSS.1S horse-OB   force   did=TR   SBJ-run-3S

'I made my horse run and go.'

(240) mən   əm   pul-i   tɘlaft=a   [MCB]

1S.OB   DEMP   money-OB   found=TR

'I found this money.'

(241) mə   a-i   davat   kard=a   ke   b-â   [MaVP]

1S.OB   3S-OB   invite did=TR   COMP   SBJ-come.3S

'I invited him to come.'

(242) mə   kâr-i   tamun   kard-a=m=a [MaVP]

1S.OB   work-OB   finish did-PTC=1S=TR

'I have finished the work.'

(243) mə   arus-i   vuward-a=m=a   [MBB]

1S.OB   bride-OB   brought-PTC=1S=TR

'I have brought the bride.'

In object position, the SAP pronoun is in the oblique case. The A-argument is also marked oblique ((244) and (245)), unless a pronominal agent clitic is present in which case the A-argument is in the direct case ((246) to (248)):

(244) *a-vun*   *mə*   *bard=a*   *jangal-i=ku*   [MSS102]

     3-P.OB   1S.OB   took=TR   forest-OB=LOC

     'They took me to the forest.'

(245) *hicki*   *mən*   *ne-vind=a*   [MaVP]

     no.one   1S.OB   NEG-saw=TR

     'No one saw me.'

(246) *tə*   *mə*   *vâzi*   *du-a=r=a*   [MSG]

     2S   1S.OB   trick   gave-PTC=2S=TR

     'You tricked me.'

(247) *a*   *mə*   *nefrin*   *kard=əš=a*   [MaVP]

     3S   1S.OB   curse   did=3S=TR

     'He cursed me.'

(248) *i*   *div=i*   *uma*   *mən*   *hard-a=š=a*   [MSS103]

     a   monster=IND   came.3S   1S.OB   ate-PTC=3S=TR

     'A monster came (and) ate me.'

3.9.3 Ergative alignment: summary and conclusion

In transitive perfective environments, ergative alignment is possible. For nominal and non-SAP pronominal arguments, A is always in the oblique case and P in the direct case in Anbarani and Asalemi, neutralizing differential object marking (P is unmarked whether specific or nonspecific). In the equivalent Masali contexts, two basic strategies are available: double oblique marking (both A and P), or accusative alignment with a pronominal agent clitic (A direct, P oblique). In either case differential object marking is preserved: P is oblique-marked when specific, and bare when nonspecific.

SAP pronominal arguments in transitive perfective environments behave differently in each dialect. In Asalemi, the SAP pronoun is always oblique, resulting in the preservation of ergative alignment when the pronoun is in subject position, and accusative alignment when the pronoun is in object position. In Anbarani, the use of three forms of the first person singular pronoun was examined: direct, oblique and accusative. In transitive perfective environments, the accusative form is used for A and the oblique form for P, and for A when there is no explicit object. Finally, in Masali, double oblique marking (both A and P) is used unless a pronominal agent clitic is present, in which case alignment is accusative (A direct, P oblique).

4   Verbs and verbal morphology

4.1   Introduction

Salient characteristics of Taleshi verbal morphology include the contrastive roles of suffixes and floating clitics, and tense-sensitive alignment. §4.2 discusses simple, preverbal and compound verbs; §4.3 sets out key morphological elements; while §§4.4 to 4.9 present the verbal paradigms as set out in the table below. §4.10 explores the simple past paradigm and the respective patterns of clitic floating in Anbarani and Asalemi on the one hand and Masali on the other. The remaining sections discuss non-finite verb forms (§4.11), other modal forms (§4.12), and some features of verbal morphology in other Iranian Taleshi dialects (§4.13).

Table 22 sets out the verbal paradigms discussed below by section number. The mood is indicative unless otherwise stated. The third column sets out whether the person and number agreement markers on the verb are affixes (set 1a) or clitics (either set 1b or set 2), and in which dialects the paradigm is available (all of them unless otherwise stated). The affix and clitic paradigms themselves are set out in §4.3.1. The fourth column states whether the alignment is nominative-accusative or ergative-absolutive.

Table 22: Verbal paradigms

Section	Tense/Aspect/Mood	Affix/Clitic set (subject)	Alignment
4.4.1	present	Anbarani/Asaemi 1b, Masali 1a	Nominative
	future	Anbarani 1b	Nominative
4.4.2	past imperfective	Anbarani 1b	Nominative
	present progressive	Asalemi/Masali 1a	Nominative
	past progressive	Asalemi/Masali 1a	Nominative
4.5	past imperfective	Asalemi/Masali 1a	Nominative
4.6	present subjunctive	1a	Nominative
	perfect subjunctive	1a	Nominative
4.7	imperative	1a	Nominative
4.8	present perfect (intransitive)	Anbarani/Asalemi 1b, Masali 1a	Nominative
	past perfect (intransitive)	Anbarani/Asalemi 1b, Masali 1a	Nominative
	present perfect (transitive)	2	Ergative
	past perfect (transitive)	2	Ergative
4.9	simple past (intransitive)	1a	Nominative
4.10	simple past (transitive)	2	Ergative
4.11.1	infinitive	n/a	n/a
4.11.2	present participle	n/a	n/a
	past participle	n/a	n/a
4.12.1	counterfactual conditional	Anbarani/Asalemi 1a, Masali n/a	Nominative

4.2   Structural Types

Verbs in Taleshi fall into one of three morphological types: simple verbs; verbs which accept a preverbal element; and frozen complement-verb idioms borrowed from compound verbs in Persian. We discuss each of these types in turn.

4.2.1   Simple verbs and verb stems

The verbal system is based on two stems, corresponding roughly to the "present" and "past" stems common to Western-Iranian languages which we term here stem I and stem II.[62] Stilo (2008a, p.372) observes that in all but a small number of common verbs, these stems have fallen together in Northern Talyshi (including Anbarani), but not so in Central and Southern varieties. This difference is illustrated in Table 23:

Table 23: Some common verb stems in the three dialects

English	Anbarani		Asalemi		Masali	
	Stem I	*Stem II*	*Stem I*	*Stem II*	*Stem I*	*Stem II*
'do'	*kâ*	*kârd*	*kar*	*kard*	*kar*	*kard*
'say'	*vut*	*vât*	*vâj*	*vât*	*vâ*	*vât*
'see'	*vin*	*vind*	*vin*	*vind*	*vin*	*vind*
'bring'	*vâ*	*vârd*	*bar*	*bard*	*bar*	*bard*
'die'	*ma*	*mârd*	*mer*	*mard*	*mer*	*mard*
'eat'	*ha*	*hâ(rd)*	*ar*	*hard*	*har*	*hard*
'give'	*da*	*du*	*da*	*du*	*da*	*du*
'come'	*um*		*â*	*âm*	*â*	*um*
'hit'	*ža*		*žan*	*ža*	*žan*	*žand*
'arrive'	*ras*		*da-ras*	*da-rast*	*â-ras*	
'rain'	*vua*		*vâr*	*vârəst*	*vâr*	
'cook'	*pât*		*pej*	*pat*	*pe*	*pat*
'put'	*nu*		*nâ or nu*		*na*	*nu*
'kill'	*kəšt*		*kəš*	*kəšt*	*kəš*	*kəšt*
'sleep'	*hət*		*xəs*	*xət*	*xəs*	*xəs*
'sing', 'read'	*hând*		*xun*	*xand*	*xun*	*xund*
'get', 'take'	*gat*		*ger*	*gat*	*ger*	*gat*

The usage of the two different stems is explored for each tense-aspect-mood combination in the sections that follow. As a broad generalization, stem I is used in present and future tenses

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[62] Mahootian (1997, p.232) observes that for Persian, there is no consistent transparent morphological relationship between the two stems. This is also true of Taleshi, although some partial rules are evident.

(except in Asalemi indicative forms) and also in the past imperfective; and stem II in other past tense formations.

4.2.2 Preverbal verbs

A limited set of function verbs in Iranian Taleshi may accept one or more of five preverbs, listed here with their core meanings: *pe-* 'up', *vi-* 'down' (*a-* in Anbarani)*,* *da-* 'across', *â-* 'cause' (*u-* in Anbarani) and *ji-* 'down/bad'.

Taleshi preverbs tend to be quite tightly contiguous with their host verbs. They always precede them, and suppress the affixation of most inflectional prefixes, arrogating any word stress a prefix carried. For example, contrast *âbiru* (preverb *â,* so no subjunctive prefix) with *bəkəšu* in (249); and *darafan* (preverb *da,* so no imperative prefix) with *bəbar* in (250):

(249)   *a-i*   *ba-pist=i*   *suk-i*   *{sar*   *â-bir-u / bə-kəš-u}*   *[AsVP]*

        3S-OB   PRS-want=3s   cockerel-OB   {head   PVB.SBJ-chop.off-3s / SBJ-kill-3s}

        'He wants to {decapitate/kill} the cockerel.'

(250)   *tə*   *be*   *mən*   *dara-fan*   *kisa*   *dela=kâ,*

        2s   come!   1S.OB   PVB.IMP-put.in   sack   in=LOC

        mən   *bə-bar*   *viša=kâ*   *[ASB74]*

        1S.OB   IMP-carry   forest=LOC

        'Come on, throw me in the sack and carry me to the forest!'

Two prefixes do co-occur with preverbs: the negative prefix ((251) and (252)); and the progressive/future prefix *a-* in Asalemi ((252) and (253)). Note that in both cases these prefixes are positioned between the preverb and its host verb:[63]

(251)   *a-i*   *miva*   *pust*   *â-nə-kard=a*   *[AsVP]*

        3S-OB   fruit   skin   PVB-NEG-peeled=TR

        'He did not peel the fruit.'

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[63] These syntactic features are also found with preverbs in Gilaki. Rastorgueva (1971) notes:
     1. in the aorist and the past neutral tense they do not take the form-building prefix *bə-/bi-/bu-*;
     compare *usadə* 'he raised'; *duxadə* 'he called'; and *bubostə* 'it became', *bigiftə* 'he took';
     2. the negative particle is placed not at the beginning, but between the prefix and the main
     verb: *u-nə-sadəm* 'I did not raise' *fo-naə-kəšəm*: 'I am not taking out'; *va-nə-vərsəm* 'I am not
     asking', etc.

(252) *saxsa*   *da-ni-a-rast.*   *pašrâ*   *dar-a-rast*   [AsVP]

      tomorrow   PVB-NEG-AUG-arrive.3S   next.day   PVB-AUG-arrive.3S

      'He will not arrive tomorrow. He will arrive the next day.'

(253) *zua-e*   *per-a-p-in*   [ASM]

      boy-P   PVB-AUG-get.up-IMPF.3P

      'The boys used to get up.'

In addition, one prefixal anomaly in the Anbarani dialect is the word *ru* 'road'. This commonly occurs in the post-verbal, goal slot with preposition *ba* 'to'; but it can occur pre-verbally, and even grammaticalize to become a verbal element between the preverb and its host verb. These three possibilities are illustrated with the verb *dagəni* in examples (254)-(255), where *ru* is still an independent word, and in (256) where it grammaticalizes:

(254) *av=an*   *da-gəni*   *b-aštân*   *ru*   [ANP34]

      he=also   PVB-set.off.3S   to-self   road

      'He too went on his way.'

(255) *tâ*   *haši*   *a-šü*   *ru*   *da-a-gəni-mün*   [ANR33]

      until   sun   PVB.SBJ-go.down.3S   road   PVB-AUG-set.off-1P

      'We were on our way by sunset.'

(256) *av*   *ba*   *di*   *taraf*   *da-ru-gəni*   [AnVP]

      3S   to   village   direction   PVB-road-set.off.3S

      'He set off towards the village.'

There are also a few instances of 'preverb stacking', though they are unusual and tightly lexically specified. These include *per-â-karde* 'roll up sleeves' and *vir-â-karde* 'flow down'.

The semantics of preverbs are discussed in §7.

One additional feature of Masali is the use of verbs meaning 'to fall' to express inception. For example:

(257) *se*   *câr*   *ruz*   *da-lak-ən*   *nun-i*   *har-ən* [MBB]

      3   4   day   PVB-fall-3P   bread-OB   eat-3P

      'For three or four days they set to eating bread.'

(258) *carx-i*   *da-nəšt-a*   *râ*   *da-lak-a*   *š-a*   [MPS20]

bicycle-OB   PVB-sat-3S   road   PVB-fell-3S   went-3S

'He sat on the bicycle, set off and went.'

(259) *əšta=râ*   *šu,*   *gin-ə*   *šu*   [MCB]

self=for   go.3S   fall-3S   go.3S

'He goes on his way, sets off and goes.'

(260) *səb-i*   *ruz*   *â-b-u,*   *əm-en yâ=ku*   *gin-ən*

morning-OB   day   PVB-become-3S   DEMP-P there=LOC   fall-3P

šu-n   [MCB]

go-3P

'Morning comes, and they set out from there.'

4.2.3 Compound verbs

This section considers the apparent presence of complex predicates in Taleshi. In Persian, a non-verbal element (NV) may combine with a semantically bleached light verb (LV) to form a complex predicate (CPr). Karimi-Doostan (1997) suggests that the number of verbs which form complex predicates in this way is in excess of thirty, but that about sixteen are the most frequently used. He lists the thirteen most frequent in order as follows:

Table 24: Frequently occuring complex predicates in Persian

kardan[64]	'TO DO'
zadan	'TO BEAT, TO HIT'
da:dan	'TO GIVE'
gereftan	'TO HOLD, TO TAKE'
da:štan	'TO HAVE'
?a:madan	'TO COME'
?a:vardan	'TO BRING'
xordan	'TO COLLIDE'
kešidan	'TO PULL, TO TOLERATE'
ya:ftan	'TO FIND, TO OBTAIN'
šodan	'TO BECOME'
bordan	'TO TAKE, TO CARRY'
raftan	'TO GO' (Karimi-Doostan 1997, p.91)

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[64] The symbols [?] and [a:] here represent glottalic onset and back *â* respectively.

The occurrence of verbs in the Taleshi corpus which function in a way analogous to these Persian LVs is set out in Table 25 below:

Table 25: Incidence of complex-predicate-like constructions by verb in Taleshi corpus:

		Anbarani	Asalemi	Masali
âbe	become	0	3	3
âdue	hand over	0	2	1
âkarde	open	0	14	8
âše	go	0	0	2
be	be	8	3	0
dagǝnǝste	fall (across)	1	1	1
davârde	bring (across)	1	0	0
due	give	2	4	2
gate	get	1	0	3
harde	eat	0	2	2
karde	do	20	12	15
kaše	drag	1	0	0
mânde	remain	0	0	1
nue	set	1	1	1
pekarde	do (up)	1	0	1
še	go	3	1	1
vârde	bring	0	0	1
vârǝste	rain	1	1	1
že	hit	5	4	2
zunuste	know	1	0	0

Only three LVs are attested more than once in all three dialects: *due* 'give' (2 in Anbarani, 4 in Asalemi, 2 in Masali), *karde* 'do' (20,12,15) and *že* 'hit' (5,4,2). These correspond to the three most common LVs in Persian, as shown above; and in many cases, they combine with the identical NVs to their Persian counterparts, indicating that such combinations are loans from that language. The default transitive LV *karde* (along with *âkarde*, which registered 8 occurences in Asalemi and 14 in Masali) occurred with by far the greatest frequency in texts; in addition, 60% of Taleshi forms are apparently innovated in response to equivalent CPr prompts in Persian using *karde* as their LV.

4.2.3.1   Types of constituent in the non-verbal element

Folli, Harley and Karimi (2004, p.106) identify nouns, adjectives, particles, prepositional phrases and phrasal elements as potential NV elements in Persian CPrs, citing respective examples (slightly adapted here) such as:

Table 26: Persian constituents in the non-verbal element of complex predicates

Noun:	*kotak zadan/xordan*	'to beat/get beaten' (beating hit/eat)
Adjective:	*sabok kardan/šodan*	'to degrade *v.t./v.i.*' (light do/become)
Particle:	*bâlâ âvârdan*	'to vomit' (up bring)
PP:	*be bâd dâdan*	'to waste' (to wind give)
Phrase:	*dast o pâ kardan*	'to try (hard)' (hand and foot do)

In the Taleshi corpus, only nouns, adjectives and prepositional phrases were found in parallel contexts, as illustrated in the examples below:

Table 27: Taleshi consituents in the non-verbal element of complex predicates

Noun:	*ru dagənie*	(road fall.across)	'set off' [Anbarani]
	guš âkarde	(ear open)	'listen' [Asalemi & Masali]
Adjective:	*xâli âbe*	(empty become)	'empty *v.i.*' [Asalemi]
	tai âkarde	(empty do)	'empty *v.t.*' [Asalemi]
	rušun âkarde	(alight do)	'kindle' [Asalemi & Masali]
PP:	*yud=u še*	(memory=from go)	'be forgotten' [Anbarani]

The absence of particles in this list is at least partly explained by the existence of preverbs in Taleshi (cf. §4.2.2 above), which provide the directional semantics for which Persian relies on such particles.[65] Compare e.g. 'pick up', expressed in Persian by *bar dâštan* (up have) and Taleshi by *pe-gate* (up-take); or 'return', rendered by Persian *bâz gaštan* (back/away turn) and Taleshi *â-gardəste* (back go). Significantly, the Persian particle-verb combination may be separated not only by inflectional elements but also by the auxiliary verb for future tense and by various emphatic elements (Folli, Harley & Karimi 2004, p.105). The Taleshi preverb-verb combination, on the other hand, may be separated only by a very limited set of affixes (cf. §4.2.3.3).

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[65] Note that preverbs in Taleshi are much more productive than particles are in Persian.

4.2.3.2   LVs and their simple alternatives

In Persian, complex verbs have gradually been replacing their simple counterparts for several centuries. The result is that two forms – a simple verb, and a complex predicate – may represent many verbal concepts. The simple form is often restricted to literary language. The Persian examples below are adapted from Folli, Harley and Karimi (2004):

<u>simple</u>   <u>complex</u>

(261) *lasidan*   'to flirt'   *las zadan*   'flirtation strike.INF'

(262) *raǧsidan*   'to dance'   *raǧs kardan*   'dance do.INF'

Among Taleshi speakers bilingual in Persian, the same process is incipient: complex verbs borrowed from Persian are replacing their simple Taleshi equivalents. During sentence elicitation, consultants provided the following simple and complex verb responses, indicating that for most of them the complex verb was more commonly used:

Table 28: Simple and complex verb equivalents

Dialect	Simple Verb	Complex Verb	Gloss
Anbarani	*pevəžəniste*	*intəxâb karde*	'choose'
Asalemi	*pesəste*	*ǧat karde*	'stop'
	parəste	*parvâz karde*	'fly'
	viriste	*âsib vinde*	'be damaged'
	darəte (Masali *darufte)*	*gezə že*	'sweep'
Masali	*vijarde*	*gâz gate*	'bite'
	izâvəniste	*bidâr âkarde*	'wake up'

During elicitation sessions there were also various examples of Masali using a complex verb where Anbarani and Asalemi used simple equivalents. These included *xanda kardəra* 'you laughed' (compare Anbarani *səreš* and Asalemi *xurustiš*); *farâr bəkarə* 'he was to escape' (compare Anbarani *bətələ* and Asalemi *bivriju*); and *balad nima* 'I don't know' (compare Anbarani *zənanim* and Asalemi *nəmamust*).

4.2.3.3   Interposing Elements and Other Syntactic Issues

Mahootian (1997, p.283) notes that in Persian pronominal clitics may attach to either NV or LV. This is also the case in Taleshi, although the preference of Set 1 clitics for attachment to the focal element and of Set 2 clitics for Wackernagel position in the clause (cf. §§4.10.1ff) means that they generally float further leftward of the NV element to attach to an object if available. As a result, CPr-like constructions almost always consist of a juxtaposed NV and LV element. However, the corpus does contain a few examples of a clitic attaching to the NV

element. The first two examples below are from Anbarani: in one case the agent clitic attaches to the NV in a *hapax legomenon* CPr-like form; in the second, a Set 1 enclitic (see §4.3.1) floats forward to the NV (borrowed from the Persian CPr *entexâb kardan* 'to choose'). The third example is from Asalemi:

(263) *dəzdi=š=bə*   *kârd-a*   *[ANP30]*

      steal=3s=AUX.3s   do-PTC

      'He had stolen (them).'

(264) *av*   *i-tka*   *ba*   *pešta*   *intexâb=ə*   *ba-kâ*   *[AnVP]*

      3s   a-little to   later   choose=3s   FUT-do

      'He is choosing a little later.'

(265) *fəkr=əš*   *â-kard=a*   *[ASP27]*

      thought=3s   PVB-did=TR

      'He thought.'

On the basis of this evidence, together with the very limited set of non-Persian innovations, we conclude that the CPr-like constructions in Taleshi discussed in this section are best treated as frozen complement-verb idioms rather than true complex predicates.

4.3   Key Morphological Elements

4.3.1   The role of clitics and suffixes

Finite verb forms are built with the help of various sets of endings which express the person and number of the subject. Stilo (2008a) presents the equivalent endings in two dialect zones of Northern Talyshi in Azerbaijan: the Central Mountain zone ("Lerik") and southern zone ("Astara"). He also notes that some Northern Talyshi dialects spoken in Iran may turn out to belong to the Astara subgroup. Following the general pattern of his analysis, we divide these endings into two sets: Set 1, dividing into a widely used suffixal set (Set 1a) and a similar-looking clitic set (Set 1b), used for the present, future and past progressive in Anbarani (and partially in Asalemi); and a second clitic set, "Set 2", used in perfective transitive enviroments.

The three sets of markers are set out in Table 29 and Table 30 below, where "IrNT" represents Iranian Northern Taleshi, and "AzNT" Azerbaijani Talyshi (as presented in Stilo 2008a). Note that whereas AzNT manifests only one set of Set 1a forms, IrNT has three different sets for imperfect, subjunctive and intransitive past forms respectively. The equivalent Persian and Central Kurdish enclitic forms are also shown.

Note that for Anbarani and Asalemi, the Set1b forms are also used for the copula. In Masali, the Set1a forms listed under "Past" are used.

Table 29: Set 1 Forms

	Set 1a (suffix)				Set 1b (enclitic)			
	Imperfect	Sbj.	Past[66]	AzNT	IrNT	AzNT	Kurdish	Persian
1S	*-im*	*-əm*	*-im/em*	*-əm*	*=im*	*=im*	*-im*	*-am*
2S	*-iš*	*-i*	*-iš/eš*	*-əš*	*=iš*	*=iš*	*-ī(t)*	*-i*
3S	*-i*	*-ə*	*-e*	*-ə/Ø*	*=e/y(ə)[67]*	*=e/Ø*	*-ē(t) ~ =Ø*	*-ē ~ =Ø*
1P	*-imun*	*-amun*	*-emun*	*-amân*	*=amun*	*=imân*	*-īm*	*-im*
2P[68]	*-in*	*-ân*	*-en*	*-ân*	*=ân*	*=(i)ân*	*-in*	*-in*
3P	*-in*	*-ən*	*-en*	*-ən*	*=in*	*=in*	*-in*	*-an(d)*

Table 30: Set 2 Forms

	Set 2 (enclitic)			
	IrNT	AzNT	Kurdish	Persian
1S	*=əm*	*=əm*	*=im*	*=am*
2S	*=ə*	*=e/ə*	*=it*	*=et*
3S	*=əš*	*=əš*	*=ī*	*=eš*
1P	*=əmun*	*=əmân*	*=mān*	*=emun*
2P	*=ən*	*=iân*	*=tān*	*=etun*
3P	*=əšun*	*=əšân*	*=yān*	*=ešun*

Table 31: Set 1 and Set 2 endings in Asalemi and Masali

	Asalemi					Masali			
	Set 1a			Set 1b	Set 2	Set 1a			Set 2
	Impf	Sbj	Pst	Prs		Impf	Sbj/Prs	Pst	
1S	*-im*	*-um*	*-im*	*=im*	*=əm*	*-im*	*-əm*	*-ima*	*=əm*
2S	*-iš*	*-i*	*-iš*	*=iš*	*=ər*	*-ir(i)*	*-i*	*-ira*	*=ər*
3S	*-i*	*-u*	*-a*	*=a*	*=əš*	*-i*	*-ə*	*-a*	*=əš*
1P	*-imun*	*-am*	*-imun*	*=imun*	*=əmun*	*-imun*	*-am*	*-imuna*	*=əmun*
2P	*-irun*	*-an*	*-irun*	*=irun*	*=ərun*	*-irun*	*-an*	*-i(ru)na*	*=ərun*
3P	*-in*	*-un*	*-in*	*=in*	*=əšun*	*-in*	*-ən*	*-ina*	*=əšun*

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[66] The past tense suffixes in this table and Table 31 are only used with intransitive verbs. For transitive verb morphology, see §4.10.

[67] Following a vowel, the form is *=yə* in careful speech. Usually, however, it is re-syllabified to an i-offglide on the vowel.

[68] 2nd person plural forms for the imperfect and subjunctive are based on Amirian-Budalalu 2005, since none occurred in the corpus. All other "IrNT" forms are extant in corpus texts or elicitation lists.

Stilo observes that Set 1 markers "encode 'Direct' functions, i.e. they co-reference Subject/Agent arguments in the Direct case in the clause." He suggests that Set 1 markers are suffixal in imperfect, subjunctive and past paradigms and never mobile or detachable in any environment. Set 1b markers, on the other hand, are enclitic. Stilo's criteria for this include their attachment to independent words (set 1a markers attach to verb stems which are bound morphemes); their attachment to various types of hosts; and their high mobility. Note that none of these personal agreement markers ever bear stress, which is hence not an issue for distinguishing between clitics and suffixes.

Set 2 markers, on the other hand, "encode 'Oblique' functions, i.e. they co-index Agent of Ergative clauses in the Oblique case in the verb." They are again treated as enclitic, for the same reasons as the enclitic Set 1b markers.

These set 1/2 and suffix/enclitic distinctions are useful in categorizing the various tense-aspect-mood (henceforth 'TAM') paradigms into groups. Each TAM paradigm considered below will therefore include a description of which markers are involved and, if they are clitics, whether or not their fronting is permitted within that paradigm.

4.3.2 Key morphological affixes

The suffix -*i* forms the first part of the personal endings added to stem I of the verb to create past imperfective verb forms (see §4.5 below). Windfuhr (1987, p.393), commenting on Azerbaijani Talyshi, suggests that this affix "which also functions as irrealis and optativus, derives from an earlier Iranian optative marked by the clitic *ē* (ultimately Old Iranian *hait* 3rd singular optative of 'to be'), which still retains its counterfactual function" (see similarly Schulze 2000, p.27). This counterfactual function persists in Iranian Taleshi too; see §4.12.1 for more details.

The prefix *a-* is labelled 'augment' by Schulze (2000, p.27) and Windfuhr (1987, p.393). It prefixes the verb stem, in combination with the personal endings mentioned in the previous paragraph, to create past imperfect verb forms. Windfuhr (ibid), again commenting on Azerbaijani Talyshi, suggests the following derivational processes for *a-* and *ba-* : " 'Augment' *a-* (possibly from Old Iranian *aiwa-da*) in imperfectum and negative forms of future I: action frequently occurring, or likely to occur (rather than general or progressive). This resulted in morphological innovation in *positive* of future I: infinitival construction *ba-PT-e* with *ba-* 'in, to'

possibly conflated with subjunctive prefix *by-* and "augment" *a-* as found optionally in the use as optativus of this form, *(b-)a-PR-i-m*."[69]

The prefix *ba-* is used to form the future tense in Anbarani and the present tense (also used in future senses) in Asalemi. These paradigms are presented in §4.4.1. The prefix appears to be derived from the allative prefix 'to' (*ba-* in Anbarani and Asalemi, *bə-* in Masali – cf. §5.1.3.1),[70] possibly in combination with the augment *a-* according to Windfuhr's proposal above.

The Anbarani imperfective ending =*na* seems to have arisen in parallel with =*da* in Azerbaijani Talyshi (the suffix =*da* is also used in this function in the Taleshi of Vizne and Anbaran Mahalle). Both forms are originally locative suffixes deriving from =*anda*,[71] but have now also developed an additional function as imperfective markers. The present and progressive paradigms in Anbarani are set out in §4.4, while the role of the locative =*na* is discussed in §5.1.1.2. We consistently gloss this marker as =LOC.

The 'transitivity suffix' =*a* derives from the intransitive simple past ending -*a*. It occurs with transitive verbs in the simple past and present and past perfect, and marks agreement with the object. This is demonstrated by its inflection for number in Asalemi (but not in Anbarani or Masali): =*a* with singular objects, and =*in* with plural ones. The simple past intransitive is discussed in §4.10.

4.3.3 Causative

The causative is formed in Anbarani, Asalemi and Masali by adding the suffixes *-uvən*, *-âvən* and *-ân* respectively to the first syllable of the verb stem.[72] This is illustrated in

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[69] Windfuhr's abbreviations PR and PT refer to present (stem I) and past (stem II) stems of the verb respectively.

[70] MacKinnon (1977) makes a similar derivation for the modal prefix *bi-* in New Persian, arguing that it had a directional sense (and aspectually delimiting force) before developing into a marker of the subjunctive and imperative.

[71] Stilo (to appear).

[72] Compare Persian causative suffix *-ân(d)* (Mahootian 1997, p.225). In rapid speech the shwas of the Anbarani and Asalemi suffixes may be elided; cf. Schulze's (2000, p.22) citation of the Azerbaijani Talyshi causative suffix as "*ovn-ie*".

examples (266) and (267) below (see also (298) for Masali). Additionally, example (267)(c) demonstrates an alternative Masali construction for 'to make someone laugh': person-laugh-give.

(266) a.   *av*   *šə*   *ki*   *i-tka*   *uv*   *bə-gəl-uvən-ə*   [AnVP]

              3S   went.3S   COMP   a-little   water   SBJ-boil-CAUS-3S

        b.   *a*   *š-a*   *ki*   *tike=i*   *âv*   *bə-gəl-âvən-u*   [AsVP]

              3S   went-3S   COMP   little=IND   water   SBJ-boil-CAUS-3S

        c.   *a*   *š-a*   *ke*   *kam=i*   *âb*   *bə-juš-ân-ə*   [MaVP]

              3S   went-3S   COMP   little=IND   water   SBJ-boil-CAUS-3S

        'He went to boil some water.'

(267) a.   *kas=i*   *sər-uvən-e*   *cuk=e*   [AnVP]

              person=IND   laugh-CAUS-INF   good=COP.3S

        b.   *i*   *nafar=i*   *xur-âvən-əst-e*   *câk=a*   [AsVP]

              a   person=IND   laugh-CAUS-laugh-INF   good=COP.3S

        c.   *a-vun*   *xanda* *du-e*   *xub=a*   [MaVP]

              3-OB.P   laugh   give-INF   good=COP.3S

        'To make someone laugh is good.'

4.3.4 Passive

Two devices exist in Iranian Taleshi for expression of passive voice. The first, an essentially lexical device, is used in Anbarani, Asalemi and Masali. The second, a true morphological passive, is used in Asalemi and Masali but not found in Anbarani.

Lexical passivization exploits the interchangeability of transitive and intransitive verbal stems within verbs with preverbal elements. For example, the verb *â-kard-e* 'open *v.t.*' consists of a preverbal element *â*; the verbal stem *kard*, which has the prototypical meaning 'do'; and an infinitive suffix. The stem *kard* 'do' is interchangeable with the stem *b* 'be, become', giving the verb *â-b-e* which may mean either 'open *v.i.*' or 'be opened'.[73] Hence responses to the elicitation prompts "The rope was untied by a boy" and "I spilt the water" legitimately included the following passive (Asalemi) and active (Masali) alternatives:

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[73] This mirrors a process in Persian utilizing oppositions such as *kardan/šodan* and *zadan/xordan* (cf. Mahootian 1997, p.143).

(268) *âv* *cəmən* *dast-i=na* *vi-b-a.*

water POSS.1S hand-OB=with PVB-spilt-3S

lâfund-i *angəl* *i* *zua=i* *dast-i=na* *â-b-a* *[AsVP]*

rope-OB knot a boy=IND hand-OB=with PVB-opened-3S

'The water spilt by my hand. The knot of the rope opened at the hands of a boy.'

(269) *mə* *âb-i* *vi-kard=a.*

1S.OB water-OB PVB-spilt=TR

zua=i *lâfənd-i* *angəl-i* *â-kard=a* *[MaVP]*

boy=IND rope-OB knot-OB PVB-opened=TR

'I spilt the water. A boy untied the knot of the rope.'

Meanwhile, the examples below demonstrate how 'was punished' can be expressed by a participle and auxiliary verb combination, or with the verb *hârde* 'to eat' (example (270)c), which often has a passive force in Persian (cf. the first line of Table 26 above):

(270) *a.* *bâla-i* *ki* *əštân* *bəva* *pul=əš* *dəzdi-a=bə*

child-RCH REL self brother money=3S stole-PTC=AUX.3S

tânbe=bə *[AnNP]*

punished=AUX.3S

b. *xərdan-i* *ki* *əštan* *bərâ* *puleš* *dəzdi-a=b-a,*

child-RCH REL self brother money=3S stole-PTC=AUX-3S

tanbi=b-a(-ya) *[AsNP]*

punished=AUX-3S(-PTC)

c. *xərdan-i* *ke* *əštan* *bərâ* *pul-i* *dəzdi-a=š=â*

child-RCH REL self brother money-OB stole-PTC=3S=PST.TR

ləs *hard-a=š=a* *[MaNP]*

stick ate-PTC=3S=TR

'The child who stole his brother's money has been punished.'

In Asalemi and Masali, a morphological device for passivization also exists. The stressed passive marker -*ist* may be suffixed to stem I of the verb,[74] and followed by the participial marker -*a* to give a passive meaning:

(271) *kisa=kâ*   *dast*   *u*   *pâ*   *da-bend-ist-a=b-a*   [ASB78]
       sack=LOC   hand   and   foot   PVB-tie.up-PASS-PTC=AUX-3S
       'He was tied up hand and foot in the sack.'

(272) *a*   *kâ=b-a*   *iâ*   *âm-e*   *ki*   *ger-ist-a*   [AsVP]
       3S   PROG=AUX-3S here   come-INF   COMP   take-PASS-PTC
       'He was coming here when he was caught.'

(273) *cumun*   *cuna-e*   *ji-vaj-ist-a*   [ASA]
       POSSP.3P   jaw-P   PVB-rip.out-PASS-PTC
       'Their jaws are ripped out.'

(274) *vin-ə*   *au,*   *ha=ni*   *ce*   *mâl-en* *varâ-du-ist-a,*
       see-3S   oh!   same=also   POSSD.3S   flock-P   PVB-loose-PASS-PTC

       gâ   *u*   *šət*   *duš-ist-a,*   *hama*   *kâr=i*   *âguzâr-ist-a*   [MSS86]
       cow   and   milk   milk-PASS-PTC   every   deed=IND   accomplish-PASS-PTC
       'She sees, wow, her flocks have been let out, the cows milked, everything accomplished.'

(275) *cənta*   *ner-i*   *tə*   *â-da-yam,*
       how   ram-OB   2S   PVB.SBJ-give-1P

       ner   *de*   *har-ist-a*   *ku*   [MBB]
       ram   anyway   eat-PASS-PTC COMP
       'How can we give you the ram – the ram was eaten, wasn't it!'

Passive and causative morphemes may combine, as illustrated in the passive participle *gəlâvənəsta* 'boiled' [ASA text]. This is constructed from the verbal root *gəl* 'to boil', causative morpheme *âvən*, passive morpheme *əst* (the vowel harmonizing with the shwa vowel in the previous syllable) and participial suffix -*a*.

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[74] Yarshater (1996, p.107) found in his Asalemi data that a stressed -*i* may be added to stem I to form a present passive, and the consonants -*st* to this stressed vowel to form stem II (past passive).

For verbs where neither of the two devices described is available, the agent must be explicit in the clause. During elicitation sessions a passive rendering of 'My brother was stung' was unacceptable; Taleshi speakers preferred 'Something stung my brother' as in the following Asalemi example:

(276) *i*　　*ci = i*　　　　*cəmən bərâ*　　　*gašt = a*　　　*[AsVP]*

　　　 a　　　thing=IND　　POSS.1S brother　　stung=TR

　　　'Something stung my brother.'

4.3.5　Negative and prohibitive

The negative particle is *ni-/nə-* in Anbarani and Asalemi, and *ne-* in Masali.[75] The prohibitive particle is *ma-*, used with the imperative form of the verb in all three dialects and also with the subjunctive in Masali.[76] Both particles suppress the subjunctive/imperative prefix *bə-*. Generally the negative particle is placed immediately before the verb stem in non-periphrastic constructions and where no auxiliary is involved, as shown in the first set of indicative and subjunctive examples in §4.3.5.1. Constructions where the negative particle follows the verb stem include the Anbarani present and past progressive (formed with participial =*na*); and perfect forms (present and past) in all three dialects. Examples of these follow in the second set, set out in §4.3.5.2. Note that in Asalemi, preverbal elements precede the negative particle when it prefixes to the verb stem ((282) and (286)(a)), but not in Masali ((286)(b)).

4.3.5.1　Negative particle precedes verb stem

Present indicative (Masali only):

(277) *hic = i*　　　　　*ne-dâr-ə*　　　*[MBB]*

　　　nothing=IND　　　NEG-have-3S

　　　'He has nothing.'

Present (Asalemi):

In the present tense of Asalemi, the placement of the stressed negative prefix before the verb stem attracts the Set1b personal agreement marker, which tends to attach to the

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[75] See §2.3.4 for an outline of the vowel assimilation rules which apply in each of the three dialects, and §6.12.1 for the syntax of sentence negation.

[76] The prohibitive particle *ma-* is similarly used with both imperative and subjunctive moods in Turkmen Balochi, another North-Western Iranian language (cf. Axenov 2006, p.172).

word carrying the phrasal accent (§4.10.1). These two elements are followed by the *a*-augment; and verb stem I:

(278) *cimi=kâ   səvâi   de   šəma=râ=ni   nə-m-a-must*   [ASA]

POSSP.3S=LOC   more   anyway   2P=for=also   NEG-1S-AUG-know

'Anyway, I do not know any more than that to tell you.'

(279) *bai   šət   n-iš-a-dâ*   [AsVP]

3S.IOD   milk   NEG-2S-AUG-give

'You will not give him milk.'

Present subjunctive:

(280) *ki   dəzd-e   n-â-n*   *cumun*   *kisa-mun   nə-bar-un*   [ASB27]

COMP   thief-P   NEG.SBJ-come-3P   POSSP.3P   sack-OB.P   NEG.SBJ-take-3P

'So that thieves would not come and take their sacks.'

(281) *bard=əš=a   a   vata,   kə   ce   golâbi   ma-r-ə*   [MPS7]

took=3S=TR   DEMR   direction   COMP   POSSD.3S   pear   PHB-eat-3S

'He took it in that direction, so that it would not eat his pears.'

(282) *ke   diar-i=râ   itəfâǧ   da-nə-gən-u*   [ASP23]

COMP   other-OB=for   occurrence   PVB-NEG-happen-3S.SBJ

'So that it would not happen to someone else.'

Future (Anbarani only):

(283) *agar   kuluk   bə-vu-u   av   ni-b-uma=yə*   [AnVP]

if   rain   SBJ-rain-3S   3S   NEG-FUT-come=3S

'If it rains, he will not come.'

Past imperfective:

(284) *n-a-zun-in*   *cimi   ka   kiâ=ra*   [ASB32]

NEG-AUG-know-IMPF.3P   POSSP.3S   house   where=COP.3S

'They did not know where his house was.'

Simple past (intransitive):

(285) *sarusadu   sab-i=na   nə-hət-e*   [AnNP]

commotion   reason-OB=with   NEG-slept-3S

'He did not sleep because of the commotion.'

Simple past (transitive):

(286) a.   *a-i*   *miva*   *pust*   *â-nə-kard=a*   *[AsVP]*

          3S-OB   fruit   skin   PVB-NEG-opened=TR

       b.   *a*   *miva*   *pust*   *nâ-â-kard=əš=a*   *[MaVP]*

          3S   fruit   skin   NEG-PVB-opened=3S=TR

       'He did not peel the fruit.'

Progressive (with infinitive):

(287) *ama*   *vanje*   *kâ-n-imun*   *ju-e*   *[ASA]*

       1P   gum   PROG-NEG-1P   chew-INF

       'We are not chewing gum.'

4.3.5.2   Negative particle follows verb stem

Present participial (Anbarani):

(288) *ši=na*   *ni=š*   *[AnVP]*

       go=LOC   NEG=2S

       'Aren't you going?

Past participial (Anbarani):

(289) *zen=na*   *na=bə*   *pül*   *be-vârd-e*   *[ANR5]*

       able=LOC   NEG=AUX.3S   money   SBJ-bring-3S

       'He was not able to earn money.'

Present perfect (intransitive):

(290) *ama*   *əštən*   *dumla*   *âm-a-ni=muna*   *[MBB]*

       1P   yourself   after   came-PTC-NEG=1P

       'We have not come after you!'

Present perfect (transitive) (contrast with example (286) above):

(291) a.   *a-və*   *hala*   *mui*   *hârd=a*   *ni*   *[AnVP]*

          3S-OB   still   fish   ate=PTC.TR   NEG

b.   *a*   *hanuz*   *mâi*   *hard-a-ni=š=a*   [MaVP]

         3s   still   fish   ate-PTC-NEG=3S=TR

    'He still has not eaten the fish.'

Past perfect:

(292) *a.*   *i-la*   *dâr=ani*   *sut-a*   *na=b-a*   [AsNP]

          one-CL tree=also   burned-PTC   NEG=AUX-3S

     b.   *i-la*   *dâr*   *ham*   *sist-a*   *ni=â*   [MaNP]

          one-CL tree   also   burned-PTC   NEG=AUX.3S

    'Not one tree was burnt.'

4.3.5.3   Prohibitive

The prohibitive particle also attaches to the front of the imperative verb stem, as shown in the following examples:

(293) *bâ-hâšt*   *bâ-hând-ə.*   *mâ-hâšt*   *bâ-hând-ə*   [AnVP]

      IMP-allow   SBJ-sing-3S   PHB-allow   SBJ-sing-3S

    'Let him sing! Don't let him sing!'

(294) *ba*   *ü-wân* *dâst*   *ma-žan* [ANR21]

      to   egg-P   hand   PHB-hit

    'Don't lay your hands on the eggs!'

(295) *šəma*   *ma-š-irun*   *a-i*   *pe-ma-ger-un*   *m-ar-irun*   [ASA]

      2P   PHB-go-2P   3S-OB   PVB-PHB-pick.up-2P   PHB-eat-2P

    'You don't go and pick it up and eat it!'

(296) *xədâ*   *ma-nəmâ*   [MSS31]

      god   PHB-do.3S

    'God forbid!'

(297) *agar*   *xərdan* *ma-bəram-ə*   *a-i*   *šət*   *ma-da* [MaVP]

      if   child   PHB-cry-3S   3S-OB milk   PHB-give

    'If the child does not cry, do not give him milk.'

(298) *m-arz-ən*   *əspa*   *rama*   *bə-mus-ân-ə* [MaVP]

      PHB-allow-2P   dog   flock   SBJ-flee-CAUS-3S

    'Don't allow the dog to make the flock stampede.'

4.3.6 Predicative copula

The predicative copula has two forms: present indicative and past indicative. The paradigms are set out in §4.3.1 above. The affirmative present tense copula is enclitic, whereas the past copula and negative forms of the present copula are affixal (Stilo 2008a, p.368). Some examples:[77]

Present Tense, Affirmative

(299) *av=an*   *ǧarur=e*   *b-u-ə*   *[AnVP]*

      3s=also   appointed=COP.3s   SBJ-come-3s

      'He is due to come too.'

(300) *alân*   *câk=a*   *[AsVP]*

      now   good=COP.3s

      'Now he is well.'

Present Tense, Negative

(301) *motavaje*   *ni-a*   *[APS11]*

      understanding   NEG-COP.3s

      'He does not notice.'

(302) *az*   *xund-e* *balad* *n-ima*   *[MaVP]*

      1s   sing-INF skilled NEG-COP.1s

      'I do not know how to sing.'

Past Tense

(303) *nav*   *sura*[78] *b-im*   *[ANR3]*

      nine   year   COP.PST-1s

      'I was nine years old.'

(304) *az*   *n-imâ*   *cəmən* *bərvarazâ=yâ* *[MCB]*

      1s   NEG-COP.1s.PST POSS.1s nephew=COP.3s.PST

      'It was not me, it was my nephew.'

---

[77] Copular sentence constructions are discussed in §6.10.

[78] 'Year' is *sur* in Anbarani. The *a* ending on this word appears to be a Persian calque based on the Persian equivalent *no sâle budam* 'I was nine years old', although this may have been a general western Iranian pattern.

4.4   Present, future and progressive forms

4.4.1   Present and future

In Azerbaijani Talyshi, present and future tense verbs are built by a periphrastic formation. In the present tense this involves the infinitive, locative =*da* and the Set 1 clitics which mark person and number combined. In the future tense, what Stilo (2008a) terms the "allative prefix" *ba-* precedes the infinitive, which is again followed by the Set 1 personal agreement markers as clitics:

"Present Tense	Future Tense
INFINITIVE + LOCATIVE + AUX	ALLATIVE + INFINITIVE + AUX
vašt-é=dæ=m	bæ-vašt-é=m
vašt-é=dæ=š	bæ-vašt-é=š
vašt-é=dæ=Ø, etc.	bæ-vašt-é= Ø, etc.
jump.PAST-INF=TAM=Set$_1$	TAM-jump.PAST-INF=Set$_1$
'I, you, he/she jump, etc.'	'I, you, he/she will jump, etc.' " (Stilo 2008a, p.373)

The Anbarani equivalent differs in only two respects. First, stem I of the verb is used instead of the infinitive. Second, in the present (and corresponding past progressive) tense, the adposition =*na* (grammaticalized to a TAM marker) is used instead of =*da*:

Table 32: Present and future tense forms in Anbarani

Present Tense	Future Tense
STEM I + LOCATIVE + SET1B	ALLATIVE + STEM I + SET1B
ža = na = m	*ba-vind = im*
ža = na = š	*ba-vind = iš*
ža = na = yə, etc.	*ba-vind = e*, etc.
'I, you, he/she hits, etc.'	'I, you, he/she will see, etc.'

Asalemi uses the Anbarani future tense strategy for its present tense forms, which also do service for future senses. However, this dialect uses the Set 1b endings and treats them as clitics: they may float leftwards just as the equivalent clitics do in Anbarani, as shown in some of the examples below.

The following table sets out the present tense Asalemi paradigm for both simple verbs and verbs with a preverbal element. In the preverbal case, the preverb attracts word stress.

This in turn attracts the Set1b clitic, which moves leftwards from the verb root to attach to the preverbal element.[79]

Table 33: The Present Tense in Asalemi

Present Tense: Asalemi ALLATIVE + STEM II + SET1B(enclitic)	Present Tense with Preverb PREVERB + SET1B + a- prefix[80] + STEM II
ba-vind=im	*â-m-a-kard*
ba-vind=iš	*â-š-a-kard*
ba-vind=a	*â-r-a-kard < âr-a-a-kard*
ba-vind=imun	*â-mun-a-kard*
ba-vind=irun	*â-run-a-kard*
ba-vind=in	*â-n-a-kard*
'I, you, he/she hit, etc.'	'I, you, he/she will open, etc.'

Masali also combines its present and future tenses into one paradigm, employing a simpler strategy: stem I of the verb, followed by a set of suffixes unique to the southern dialects, which are given in full in the following table (preverbs effect no changes):

Table 34: The Present Tense in Masali

	Present Tense: Masali STEM I + suffixes
1S	*vin-əm*
2S	*vin-i*
3S	*vin-ə*
1P	*vin-am*
2P	*vin-a*
3P	*vin-ən*

In Anbarani and Asalemi, the Set 1b clitic optionally moves leftwards to attach to the constituent carrying sentence stress. The contrast between verbal and earlier placement is illustrated in example (305) below, and in the difference between examples (306) and (307):

(305) *av*   *hâ=na=yə.*   *av*   *ângivin=yə*   *hâ=na [AnVP]*

 3s   eat=LOC=3s   3s   honey=3s   eat=LOC

 'He is eating. He is eating honey.'

---

[79] Preverbs also attract word stress in Gazi, an Iranian language spoken in Isfahan Province, Iran (Stilo 2007, p.113). Note that an analogous process of clitic attraction is at work with the negative prefix in Taleshi, which also takes word stress (§4.3.5).

[80] Various phonological processes are at work here. The vowel of the set1b affix coalesces with the vowel of the preverb; and where this would result in a juxtaposition of preverb and a-prefix vowels, an epenthetic -r- consonant intervenes.

(306) *fik*   *kâ=na=m*   *av*   *zina*   *uma*   *[AnVP]*

thought   do=LOC=1S   3S   yesterday   came.3S

'I think he came yesterday.'

(307) *fik=im*   *kâ=na b-uma=yə*   *yâ*   *ni*   *[AnVP]*

thought=1S   do=LOC FUT-come=3S   or   NEG

'I am wondering if he will come or not.'

The leftward-floating of enclitic elements is discussed in more detail in §4.10 below.

4.4.2 Progressive Forms

Note that in other dialects, including Asalemi, Masali and some other northern dialects (such as that of Anbaran Mahalle), a past imperfective paradigm also exists in addition to the past progressive. This past imperfective paradigm is distinct from the past progressive paradigm discussed here, and is not available in Anbarani. Meanwhile, Asalemi and Masali have both a set of progressive forms and a past imperfective paradigm; these are set out later in this section and in §4.5 respectively. The distinct functions of the past progressive and past imperfective paradigms in narrative discourse are described in §8.2.2.1.

The past progressive in Anbarani is formed analogously to the present, with the addition of the auxiliary *b(ə)* derived from the verb 'to be'. The basic order is VERB.STEM + PTC + *bə* + Set1b marker. The auxiliary and its clitic seem to float forwards in main clauses whenever a pre-verbal constituent other than the subject exists.

Some examples of Anbarani past progressive forms from the corpus are provided below:

(308) *bun-ə=b-im*   *timü*   *kâ=na [AnVP]*

roof-OB=AUX-1S repair   do=LOC

'I was repairing the roof.'

(309) *əm*   *rüž*   *səb*   *cic=b-iš*   *kâ=na?*   *[AnVP]*

DEMP   day   morning   what?=AUX-2S do=LOC

'What were you doing this morning?'

(310) *ânbu=bə*   *cəni=na*   *[ANP3]*

pear=AUX.3S   pick=LOC

'He was picking pears.'

The contrast between progressive versus simple past usages is illustrated by the following pair of examples:

(311) *av-ə* *kuluk-ə* *sadu* *ki* *əm* *ruž* *vuwa=na=bə*

   3S-OB rain-OB sound REL DEMP day rain=LOC=AUX.3S

   masa=š=e *[AnNP]*

   heard=3S=TR

   'He heard the sound of the rain that was falling today.'

(312) *kuluk-i* *ki* *əm* *ruž* *vua* *cəmân dada* *hi=š* *xarub kâ* *[AnNP]*

   rain-RCH REL DEMP day rained POSS.1S father field=3S spoil did.TR

   'The rain that fell today ruined my father's field.'

Central and Southern Taleshi dialects have their own dedicated progressive markers, which are lacking in northern dialects. In Asalemi the same enclitic forms used in present tense formation (see Table 34 above) attach to the form *kâ(r)*, while in Masali the frozen form *kərâ* is employed. A second progressive marker, *damand*, is also available in Asalemi:

Table 35: Formation of progressive aspect in Asalemi and Masali

Tense	Dialect	Strategy
Present	Asalemi:	*kâ(r)* + Set1b present endings (Table 33) + infinitive
		e.g. *kâr=a vind-e* '(s)he is going on seeing'
		kâr=in vind-e 'they are going on seeing'
	Masali:	*kərâ* + inflected form of present tense verb (Table 34)
		e.g. *kərâ vin-ə* '(s)he is going on seeing'
		kərâ vin-ən 'they are going on seeing'
Past	Asalemi:	*kâ* + AUX + Set1a past endings + infinitive
		e.g. *kâ b-im vind-e* '*I was going on seeing*'
		OR
		damand[81] + Set1a past endings + infinitive
		e.g. *damand=a vind-e* '*(s)he was going on seeing*'
	Masali:	*kərâ* + inflected form of imperfective past tense verb (Table 37)
		e.g. *kərâ vin-im* 'I was going on seeing'

For example, the following sentences translate 'he is eating' into Anbarani, Asalemi and Masali respectively:

---

[81] This form is apparently derived from a preverbal form of *mande* 'to stay'; Heine and Kuteva (2005, p.82) note that it is common for such verbs to be recruited as "durative aspect markers".

(313) *av*   *hâ=na=yə*   [AnVP]

       3s   eat=LOC=3s

(314) *a*   *kâr=a*   *hard-e* [AsVP]

       3s   PROG=3s   eat-INF

(315) *a*   *kərâ*   *har-ə*   [MaVP]

       3s   PROG   eat-3s

'He is eating.'

The following two sets of examples show the typical position for the progressive marker in Asalemi and Masali, immediately before the object, with the possibility for the marker to interpose between object and verb in Masali in (317)(c). Meanwhile, Anbarani, lacking any formal progressive aspect, in each case pursues its standard present tense strategy (the clitic floating forward to attach to the object):

(316) *a.*   *av*   *ângivin=e*   *hâ=na*   [AnVP]

              3s   honey=3s   eat=LOC

       b.   *a*   *kâr=a*   *asal*   *hard-e* [AsVP]

              3s   PROG=3s   honey   eat-INF

       c.   *a*   *kərâ*   *asal*   *har-ə*   [MaVP]

              3s   PROG   honey   eat-3s

'He is eating honey.'

(317) *a.*   *av*   *əštan*   *ulatüin=e*   *tâ*   *kâ=na*   [AnVP]

              3s   self   clothes=3s   don   do=LOC

       b.   *a*   *kâr=a*   *əštan*   *partâlun*   *da-kard-e*   [AsVP]

              3s   PROG=3s   self   clothing.OB   PVB-don-INF

       c.   *a*   *əštan*   *xalâun*   *kərâ*   *da-kar-ə*   [MaVP]

              3s   self   clothing.OB   PROG   PVB-don-3s

'He is putting his clothes on.'

Example (318) shows an example from the corpus with a plural subject; example (319) an example with a PP preceding the progressive marker; and examples (320), (321) and (322) floating of the enclitic further forward from its usual position attached to the progressive marker:

(318) can   gəla   dəzd   …   kâr=in   om-e   [ASB14]

       some   CL   thief   …   PROG=3P   come-INF

       'Some thieves are coming along.'

(319) paranda rəbâr-i   sar-i=na   kâ⁸²   parəst-e   [AsNP]

       bird   river-OB   over-OB=LOC PROG.3S fly-INF

       'The bird is flying over the river.'

(320) cərâ=š   kâ   bəraməst-e?   az   kâ=m   bəraməst-e   cun…   [AsVP]

       why=2S   PROG   cry-INF   1S   PROG=1S   cry-INF   because…

       'Why are you crying? I am crying because …'

(321) xərdan-e   har   kəram-i   əštan=in   kâ   ž-e   [AsVP]

       child-P   each   which-OB   self=3P   PROG   hit-INF

       'Each of the children are hitting each other.'

(322) ci=š   kâ   kard-e?   [AsVP]

       what?=2S   PROG   do-INF

       'What are you doing?'

Note further that the progressive marker can have scope over two infinitives:

(323) kâr=a   ka   gil-i   barde   avaz   karde   tele=na   [ASB35]

       PROG=3s   house   rubble-OB take-INF   change   do-INF   gold=with

       'He is taking house rubble and exchanging it for gold.'

Examples (324) to (326) illustrate past tense formations, while the use of *damand* is demonstrated in examples (327) and (328).

(324) əm   ruj   səb-i=râ   cə=b-iš   kâ   kard-e?

       DEMP   day   morning-OB=LOC   what?=AUX-2S PROG   do-INF

       kâ=b-im   bun-i   sây   â-kard-e   [AsVP]

       PROG=AUX-1S   roof-OB repair PVB-cause.to.be-INF

       'What were you doing this morning? I was repairing the roof.'

(325) a.   a   de   kâ=b-a   âm-e   [AsVP]

              3S   anyway   PROG=AUX-3S   come-INF

---

⁸² < *kâ=a*. The enclitic =a has coalesced with the back *a* of the progressive marker.

b. *a* *de* *kərâ* *â-i* [MaVP]

3s anyway PROG come-IMPF.3s

'He was about to come. / He almost came.'

(326) *ama* *kərâ* *râ=dəre* *š-imun* [MPS2]

1P PROG way=SRCE go-IMPF.1P

'We were going along.'

(327) *əm-e* *damand=in* *negahbâni* *du-e* [ASB27]

3-P PROG=3P guard give-INF

'They were standing guard.'

(328) *damand=a* *əštan* *a* *zua* *nava=râ* *lailai* *vât-e* [ASM]

PROG=3S self DEMD boy grandchild=for lullaby say-INF

'She was singing a lullaby for that grandson of hers.'

4.5 Past Imperfective

Since alignment in imperfective forms is uniformly Nominative-Accusative, no distinction is made between transitive and intransitive conjugations. With the exception of the Set 1a markers, this morphology is identical to that for the equivalent AzNT forms. Because the Set 1a markers are suffixes, they never float leftwards or attach to any constituent other than the verb stem. Examples are provided in the following three sections.

Table 36: Past imperfective verb formation in northern dialects[83]

Imperfective Aspect, Past Tense
a- + PRS. STEM + SET1A
a-žan-im
a-žan-iš
a-žan-i, etc.
'I,you,(s)he was/were hitting'

(329) *gândəm* *devan* *a-k-im* [ANR11]

wheat scythe AUG-do- IMPF.1S

'I was scything the wheat.'

---

[83] Note that this form was never produced by the main Anbarani informant, but did appear in texts from other northern dialects, including Anbaran-e Sofla. We therefore include it here.

(330) *âlaf*   *dargaz*   *a-žan-i*   [ANR14]

       grass   sickle   AUG-hit-IMPF.3S

       'He was mowing the grass.'

(331) *must=anda*   *udu*   *tümü*   *a-k-imun*   [ANR15]

       yoghurt=LOC   dugh   making   AUG-make-IMPF.1P

       'We were making dugh out of yoghurt.'

(332) *kiža-n*   *jəkjək*   *a-k-in*   [ANR27]

       bird-P   chirp   AUG-do-IMPF.3P

       'The birds were chirping.'

The imperfective forms in Asalemi are identical to Anbarani: an *a-* prefix, the present stem of the verb, and respective Set 1a suffixes (the latter differing only in the 2nd person plural – see Table 37 below). For example:

(333) *a-vâj-i*   *amu*   [ASB5]

       AUG-say-IMPF.3S   uncle

       'He was saying, "Uncle!"'

(334) *âš-i*   *pat-e=râ*   *cə*   *a-kar-in?*   [ASM]

       stew-OB   cook-INF=for   what?   AUG-do-IMPF.3P

       'To cook the stew, what were they doing?'

In Masali, however, two differences obtain: there is no prefix on the stem, and there is some slight variation in suffixal forms:

Table 37: Set 1a imperfective marker suffixes in Anbarani/Asalemi and Masali

	Anbarani and Asalemi	Masali
1S	*-im*	*-im(i)*
2S	*-iš*	*-ir(i)*
3S	*-i*	*-i/-iste*⁸⁴
1P	*-imun*	*-imun*
2P	*-in (Anbarani)/ -irun (Asalemi)*	*-irun*
3P	*-in*	*-in/-istine*

Some Masali examples:

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⁸⁴ These alternate 3rd person forms are mirrored in the Koluri Tati alternates *-i/-ise*.

(335) *ziri*   *cə*   *šur-iri?*   *hicci*   *ne-šur-imi*   *[MaVP]*

       yesterday   what?   wash-2S.IMPF   nothing NEG-wash-IMPF.1S

       'What were you washing yesterday? I was not washing anything.'

(336) *i*   *zua-te=i*   *dâr-i,*

       a   boy-DIM=IND   have-3S.IMPF

       zua-te-i=na   *vâ-in*   *pisakula*   *[MBB]*

       boy-DIM-OB=LOC   say-IMPF.3P   baldy

       'She had a little boy. They used to call the little boy baldy.'

4.6 Subjunctive

Like many Iranian languages, Iranian Taleshi has both a present and a perfect
subjunctive. Anbarani, Asalemi and Masali all use the same basic morphological template for
each tense of the subjunctive. Note that in the'perfect subjunctive', the auxiliary verb takes
the subjunctive form of the verb 'to be' but without the *bə-* prefix. This template is set out in
Table 38 with Masali examples; Table 39 goes on to present the suffix paradigms for the
present tense of the subjunctive in each of the three dialects.

Table 38: Morphological template for subjunctive formation

Present Subjunctive	Perfect Subjunctive
bə- + STEM I + SET1A	STEM I + PRF + AUX + SET1A
bə-žan-əm	*vind-a bu-m*
bə-žan-i	*vind-a b-i*
bə-žan-ə, etc.	*vind-a bu-Ø*, etc.
'I,you,(s)he would hit'	'I,you,(s)he would have seen'

Table 39: Present subjunctive suffixes in Anbarani, Asalemi and Masali

	Anbarani	Asalemi	Masali
1S	*-əm*	*-um*	*-əm*
2S	*-i*	*-i*	*-i*
3S	*-ə*	*-u*	*-ə*
1P	*-amun*	*-am*	*-am*
2P	*-ân*	*-an*	*-an*[85]
3P	*-ən*	*-un*	*-ən*

---

[85] Naghzguy Kohan (1994) cites *-a* for this form, but in our corpus it was consistently *-an*.

(337) *babe*   *b-u-əm*   *uv*   *bə-kərn-əm?* [AnVP]

3s.IRR   SBJ-come-1s   water   SBJ-draw-1s

'May I come and draw water?

(338) *bâ-hând-əm*   [AnVP]

SBJ-sing-1s

'Should I sing?'

(339) *pia=na=e*   *cic*   *bə-hând-i,*   *cic*   *bə-vut-i?*   [AnVP]

want=LOC=3s   what?   SBJ-sing-2s   what?   SBJ-say-2s

'What do you want to sing? What do you want to say?'

(340) *cəmân* *dada*   *bape*   *av-ə*   *kutak*   *bə-žan-ə*   [AnVP]

POSS.1s father   must   3s-OB   beating   SBJ-hit-3s

'My father must beat him.'

(341) *ama*   *i-tka*   *uv=e*   *pia=na*   *ki*   *əštân*   *bə-šəšt-amun* [AnVP]

1P   a-little   water=3s   want=LOC   COMP   self   SBJ-wash-1P

'We want a little water to wash ourselves.'

(342) *agar*   *pia=na=šun=e*   *bâhâšt*   *bâ-hând-ən*   [AnVP]

if   want=LOC=3P=3s   let!   SBJ-sing-3P

'Let them sing if they want to.'

In the perfect subjunctive, the subjunctive prefix is added to the auxiliary verb:

(343) *əm-un* *momken=a*   *kas=e*   *digar=əš*   *golâbi*   *vi-get=a*   *bu-b-u*

DEMP-P   possible=COP.3s   someone=EZ   other=3s   pear   PVB-stole=TR   SBJ-AUX-3s

yâ   *xəri-a=šun*   *bu-b-u*

or   bought-PTC=3P   SBJ-AUX-3s

yâ   *əštan*   *bâǧ-i=ku*   *cind-a=šun*   *bu-b-u*   [MPS47]

or   self   garden-OB=LOC   picked-PTC=3P   SBJ-AUX-3s

'As for these pears it is possible that someone else stole them, or that they bought them, or that they picked them from their own orchard.'

4.7 Imperative

In the second person, the imperative mood is formed in the same way as the subjunctive. In Anbarani and Asalemi the plural suffix is *-an*, in Masali *-a*. As with the subjunctive, the presence of a preverbal element precludes the prefix *bə-*.

Table 40: Imperative formation in all three dialects

Imperative
bə- + STEM I + imperative suffix
bə-žan-Ø
bə-žan-an (-a in Masali)
'hit! (singular/plural)'

(344) *rais   vu=na=yə   hərs-ə=ku   bə-təl   [AnVP]*

      chief   say=LOC=3S   bear-OB=LOC   IMP-run

      'The chief says: "Run away from the bear!" '

(345) *ra   bə-ši   [AnVP]*

      way   IMP-go

      'Leave quickly!'

(346) *bá-ha   pe-šum   [AnVP]*

      IMP-eat   PVB.IMP-drink

      'Eat (and) drink!'

Masali examples:

(347) *šəma   dâstân=i   taarif   bə-kar-a!   [MCB]*

      2P   story=IND   description   IMP-do-2P

      'You (plural) tell a story!'

(348) *i-te   âtaš   mə=râ   bu-war-a!   [MCB]*

      a-CL   fire   1S.OB=for   IMP-bring-2P

      'Bring (plural) a spark for me!'

4.8 Present and Past Perfect

The present perfect and past perfect are formed with the past participle of the main verb followed by the enclitic copula form of the verb 'to be' and an inflected past form of 'to

be' respectively.[86] Both the copula clitic and the auxiliary 'to be' may float leftwards. In addition, the copula frequently coalesces with any neighbouring vowel in the same word.

Table 41: Present Perfect and Past Perfect

Present Perfect	Past Perfect
Intransitive	
STEM II PPTC + SET1B	STEM II PPTC + AUX.PST + SET1B
mard-a=m	*mard-a=b=im*
mard-a=š	*mard-a=b=iš*
mard-a(=yə), etc.	*mard-a=b=e/a*, etc.
'I, you, he/she have died, etc.'	'I, you, he/she had died, etc.'
Transitive	
STEM II PPTC + SET2 + AUX.3S	STEM II PPTC + AUX.PST + SET1A
vind-a=m=a (=e in Anbarani)	*vind-a=b-im*
vind-a=r=a (=e in Anbarani)	*vind-a=b-iš*
vind-a=š=a (=e in Anbarani)	*vind-a=b-a*
'I, you, he/she have seen, etc.'	
Note that in Masali, the past auxiliary consists of the Set1a past endings but with the ending â rather than a, e.g. *=imâ* 1S, *=irâ* 2S, *=â* 3S.	

Examples of intransitive forms are given below:

(349) *a.*   *bâla*   *hat-a=y*   [AnVP]

              child   slept-PTC=3s

      b.   *xərdan* *xət-a*   [AsVP]

              child   slept-PTC

    'The child has fallen asleep.'

(350) *bâla-i*   *ki*   *gəni-a=bə*   *užnan* *pe*   *bə*   [AnVP]

    child-RCH   REL   fallen-PTC=AUX.3S   again   foot   was.3s

    'The child who had fallen got up again.'

The following features are noteworthy in the transitive examples below: floating copula (352); floating Set2 clitic and copula (353)(a) and (355); and floating Set2 clitic with copula in situ (355) (the copula has coalesced with the past participial ending in this last example – cf. §2.6.3).

---

[86] To this extent, Persian follows a similar pattern (Mahootian 1997, p.239).

(351) *barkam*   *rais-ə*   *av*   *vind-a=y*   [AnVP]

perhaps   chief-OB   3S   saw-PTC=3S

'Perhaps the chief has seen him.'

(352) *mən*   *kâr*   *tamun=a*   *â-kard-a*   [AsVP]

1S.OB   work   finished=3S   PVB-caused.to.be-PTC

'I have finished the work.'

(353) *a.*   *barkam*   *əštân*   *âsb=əš=e*   *gin*   *kârd-a*   [AnVP]

          perhaps   self   horse=3S=TR   lost   did-PTC

    b.   *šâyad*   *əštan*   *asb=əš*   *žun*   *â-kard-a=ya*   [AsVP]

          perhaps   self   horse=3S   lost   PVB-caused.to.be-PTC=COP.3S

    c.   *šâyad*   *əštan*   *asb-i*   *avi*   *â-kard-a=š=a*   [MaVP]

          perhaps   self   horse-OB   lost   PVB-caused.to.be-PTC=3S=TR

'Perhaps he has lost his horse.'

(354) *dəzdi=š=bə*   *kârd-a* [ANP30]

theft=3S=AUX.3S   did-PTC

'He had committed a theft.'

(355) *kəlok-i ki əmruj vârəst-a   cəmən dada dašt=əš   nî*[87]

rain-RL REL today rained-PTC   POSS.1S father field=3S   destroyed

barkard-a   [AsNP]

did-PTC.TR

'The rain that has fallen today has destroyed my father's field.'

Finally, observe the contrast between the two verbs across all three dialects in the following set of examples:

(356) *a.*   *bâla-i*   *ki*   *əštân bəva*   *pul=əš*   *dəzdi-a=bə*

         child-RCH REL   self   brother   money=3S stole-PTC=AUX.3S

         tânbe   *bə*   [AnNP]

         punished   AUX.3S

---

[87] This is a nominalization of the negative copula. Compare Persian *nist kardan* nothing do-INF 'destroy'.

b. *xərdan-i   ki   əštan bərâ   pul=əš   dəzdi-a=b-a,*

   child-RCH   REL   self brother   money=3s   stole-PTC=AUX-3s

   tanbi   b-a(-ya)   [AsNP]

   punished   AUX-3s(-PTC)

c. *xərdan-i   ke   əštan   bərâ   pul-i   dəzdi-a=š=â*

   child-RCH   REL   self   brother money-OB   stole-PTC=3s=AUX.3s

   ləs   hard-a=š=a   [MaNP]

   stick   ate-PTC=3s=TR

'The child who stole his brother's money has been punished.'

The perfect subjunctive is discussed in §4.6.

4.9   Simple Past Intransitive

Simple past forms, like the perfect forms discussed in the previous section, manifest a distinction between intransitive and transitive alignments. The simple past intransitive paradigm is set out in the table below, followed by some Anbarani examples.

Table 42: Simple past intransitive

	Simple Past Intransitive for *še* 'to go' STEM II + Set1a(Past)		
	Anbarani	*Asalemi*	*Masali*
1S	*š-em*	*š-im*	*š-ima*
2S	*š-eš*[88]	*š-iš*	*š-ira*
3S	*š-e*	*š-a*	*š-a*
1P	*š-emun*	*š-imun*	*š-imuna*
2P	*š-en*	*š-irun*	*š-iruna*
3P	*š-en*	*š-in*	*š-ina*

(357) *uma   uma   ânbu=ku   da-vârd-e   [ANP10]*

   came.3s   came.3s   pear=LOC   PVB-passed.by-3s

'He came closer and closer, and passed by the pears.'

(358) *âz   sər-em.   tə   sər-eš   [AnVP]*

   1s   laughed-1s   2s   laughed-2s

---

[88] Some verbs take an *-iš* ending for 2S, rather than *-eš*, e.g. *mand-iš* in example (359).

'I laughed. You laughed.'

(359) *caxta*   *mând-iš?*   *[AnVP]*

how.long?   stayed-2s

'How long did you stay?'

(360) *mârd-e*   *[AnVP]*

died-3s

'He died.'

4.10 Simple Past Transitive

As noted above Iranian Taleshi manifests tense sensitive alignment, with ergative constructions in past perfective transitive environments. The basic morphological template for transitive verbs in the simple past is set out in Table 43 below. The Set 2 clitics are shown in brackets because they may float leftwards in the clause. The Asalemi transitivity marker (cf. §4.3.2) inflects for number: =*a* for singular O arguments, =*in* for plural. Example sentences may be found below and in §3.9.

Table 43: Simple Past Transitive

	Simple Past Transitive for *vinde* 'to see' STEM II (+ Set II) + Transitivity Marker		
	Anbarani	*Asalemi*	*Masali*
1S	*vind(=əm)=e*	*vind(=əm)=a(/=in)*	*vind(=əm)=a*
2S	*vind(=ə)=e*	*vind(=ər)=a(/=in)*	*vind(=ər)=a*
3S	*vind(=əš)=e*	*vind(=əš)=a(/=in)*	*vind(=əš)=a*
1P	*vind(=əmun)=e*	*vind(=əmun)=a(/=in)*	*vind(=əmun)=a*
2P	*vind(=ân)=e*	*vind(=ərun)=a(/=in)*	*vind(=ərun)=a*
3P	*vind(=əšun)=e*	*vind(=əšun)=a(/=in)*	*vind(=əšun)=a*

In Anbarani and Asalemi, the agent clitic attaches to the left-most element in the phonologically integral verb phrase. In Masali, the agent clitic typically remains on the verb. Contrast the clitic placement in the following sentence in Anbarani (a) and Asalemi (b) with that in Masali (c):

(361) *a.*   *bavə=ru=m*   *i-tka*   *xuruš*   *pât=e*   *[AnVP]*

3s.IO=for=1s   a-little   stew   cooked=TR

b.   *cai=râ=m*   *tika=i*   *xâruš*   *pat=a*   *[AsVP]*

POSSD.3s=for=1s   little=IND   stew   cooked=TR

c.	a-i=râ	kam=i	xuruš pat=əm=a	[MaVP]
	3s-ob=for	little=IND	stew cooked=1s=TR	

'I cooked a little stew for him.'

The two tables below illustrate the frequencies with which agent clitics attach to different clausal constituents (always obeying the constraints set out in §§4.10.3 and 4.10.4 below). The frequencies are based on the corpus texts. Note that given the high preponderance of clitic placement on the first constituent in the clause, it follows that the vast majority of incidences of constituent shown in Figure 16 are first in the clause.

Figure 15: Clitic placement in the clause by dialect
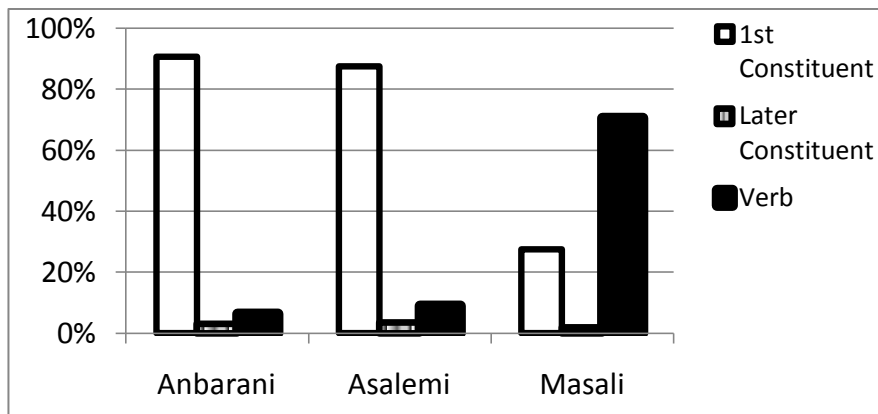
Figure 16: Clitic placement on different constituents across the three dialects
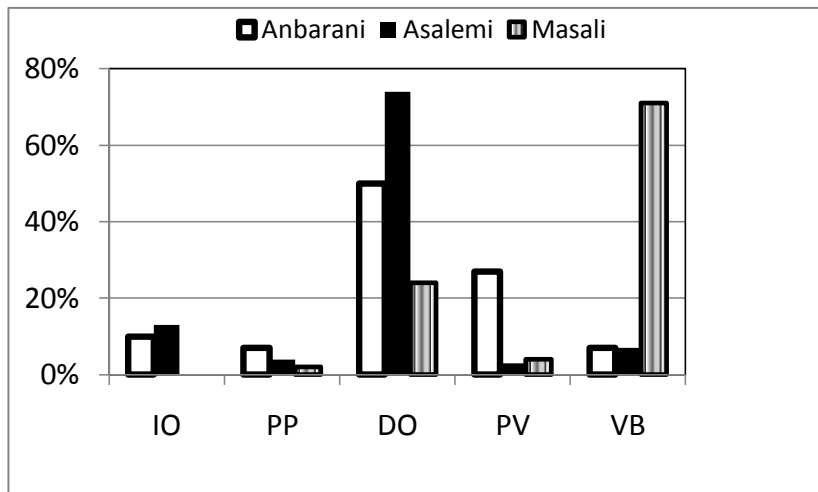
These two disparate sets of behaviour are explored in the two sections below.

Finally, note that in Anbarani both the overt agent and the pronominal clitic may be omitted where the context makes the agent referent clear.[89] For example, contrast the following Anbarani and Asalemi sentences:

(362) a.   *cejura*   *ən*   *ku*   *kâ?*   [AnVP]

           how   DEMP   work   did.TR

      b.   *cəta=r*   *əm*   *kâr*   *kard=a?*   [AsVP]

           how=2S   DEMP   work   did=TR

'How did you do this work?'

4.10.1 Set 1 clitic floating in Anbarani and Asalemi

In general, both Anbarani and Asalemi set1 clitics float to the main focus-bearing element in the clause (see also Schulze 2000, p.57 for Azerbaijani Talyshi). In the examples below this is illustrated with attachment to the verb with negative prefix and then to a contrastive element in narrow focus in (363) (cf. § 6.9.5); a set of interrogative pronouns in (365) to (368); an adjective in predicate focus in (369); and objects in predicate focus in (370) and (371).

(363) *ne*   *mâški*   *ni-ba-rasa=y.*   *pâšâ=y*   *ba-rasa*   [AnVP]

      no   tomorrow   NEG-FUT-arrive=3S   next.day=3S   FUT-arrive

      'No, he won't come tomorrow. He'll come the day after.'

(364) *pamba*   *əm*   *ruz=iš*   *ba-xrat*   *yâ*   *saxsa?*

      wool   DEMP   day=2S   FUT-sell   or   tomorrow

      a-i   *saxsa=m*   *ba-xrat,* *əm*   *ruj*   *ba-xt=im*   [AsVP]

      3S-OB   tomorrow=1S   FUT-sell   DEMP   day   FUT-sleep=1S

      Will you sell the wool today or tomorrow? I'll sell it tomorrow; today I will sleep.

(365) *cici=š*   *kâ=na?*   [AnVP]

      what?=2S   do=LOC

      'What are you doing?'

(366) *cejura=š*   *ba-vut?*   [AnVP]

      how?=2S   FUT-say

      'How do you say it?'

---

[89] See examples in §4.10.3. Stilo (2008a, p.382) finds a similar omission possible in Azerbaijani Talyshi.

(367) kura=y   ši=na?   [AnVP]

where?=3s   go=LOC

'Where is he going?'

(368) keni=š   b-uma?   [AnVP]

when?=2s   FUT-come

'When are you coming?'

(369) ca   ğazu   hâr   ruž-a   kâm=e   bi=na [AnVP]

POSSD.3s   food   every   day-FRQ little=3s   be=LOC

'He is eating less every day.'

(370) guv-un cul-ə   gərdu   uv=in   hâ=na   [AnVP]

cow-P   well-OB around   water=3P   drink=LOC

'The cows are drinking water around the well.'

(371) id-a   ruž-un=u   kəlâ=y   nu=na   [AnNP]

festival-LNK   day-P=LOC   hat=3s   put.on=LOC

'On festival days he wears a *hat*.'

The preference of the clitic to attach to a negatively marked verb (and hence the bearer of the phrasal accent) is particularly clearly illustrated in the contrast between the second clause of each of the following pair of sentences. In (372) the clitic floats forward to the object, whereas in (373) it remains on the verb:

(372) agar   bâla   bə-bam-u,   i-tka   bavə   šət=iš   ba-du   [AnVP]

if   child   SBJ-cry-3s   a-little   3s.IO   milk=2s   FUT-give

'If the child cries, you shall give her a little milk.'

(373) agar   bâla   nə-bam-u,   bavə   šət   ni-ba-du=š   [AnVP]

if   child   NEG-cry-3s   3s.IO   milk   NEG-FUT-give=2s

'If the child does not cry, you shall not give her milk.'

In the case of preverbs, pronominal elements do not attach to the end of the verb but become prefixes, attracted to the preverbal element by its word-level stress. As a result they do not float forward, and so are treated as affixes here rather than clitics. Some examples are:

(374) az   batə   i-la   xəlik   â-ma-dâ   [AsVP]

1s   2s.IO   a-CL   spade   PVB-1s-hand.over

'I'll give you a spade.'

(375) əm   merd-en ki   ka   sây   â-ina-kard   [AsVP]

DEMP   men-P   REL   house   build   PVB-3P-cause.be

'It's these men who build the houses.'

(376) a   har   ruz   mariz-tar   âr-a-b   [AsVP]

3S   every   day   sick-CMPR   PVB-3S-become

'He gets more ill every day.'

(377) a   fağat   iâ=kâ   dar-a-viard   [AsVP]

3S   only   here=LOC   PVB-3S-pass.through

'He is only passing through.'

(378) ida   ruj-un   kəlâ   per-a-nâ   [AsNP]

festival   day-P   hat   PVB-3S-put.on

'He wears a hat on festival days.'

In addition, in Asalemi present and future tense verbs the pronominal element immediately follows the negative prefix. Hence forward floating is again unavailable, and these elements become prefixes:

(379) məsəlmun-e   xu-a   gužd   n-in-ard   [AsVP]

Muslim-P   pig-LNK   meat   NEG-3P-eat

'Muslims do not eat pork.'

(380) az   xand-e   nə-ma-must   [AsVP]

1S   sing-INF   NEG-1S-know

'I don't know how to sing.'

(381) a   hic   mâğe   iâ   ni-a-v   [AsVP]

3S   none   time   here   NEG-3S-come

'He never comes here.'

Given that subjects are usually topical and hence outside the actual focus domain, it could be argued that the clitic in the first clause of example (382) remains on the verb because this is the primary focal element. If, on the other hand, the subject is focal, attention can be drawn to this by a cleft sentence with a copular verb on the subject. This is demonstrated in the second sentence of example (383).

(382) *hâr*   *sur*   *av*   *uma=na=y*   *ki*   *ama*   *bə-vind-e*   *[AnNP]*

every   year   3S   come=LOC=3S   COMP   1P.OB   SBJ-see-3S

'Each year he comes to see us.'

(383) *a*   *bamən*   *pul*   *ba-dâ=y.*   *a=ya*   *bamən*   *pul*

3S   1S.IO   money   PRS-give=3S   3S=COP.3S   1S.IO   money

ba-dâ   *[AsNP]*

PRS-give

'He gives me money (e.g. today). He's the one who gives me money (i.e. always).'

4.10.2 Past progressive: auxiliary floating in Anbarani

With regard to the past progressive, which is formed with a participial suffix plus auxiliary only in northern Iranian Taleshi dialects such as Anbarani, the examples below suggest that the auxiliary again floats leftwards to attach to the main focus-bearing element in the clause. In the first four examples the only pre-verbal constituent is the subject, and so the auxiliary is encliticized to the verb. In the next four examples ((388) to (391)) the auxiliary floats leftward to attach to the right-most element in the focus domain: the object in the first two instances; a contrastive goal in the third; and in the fourth, a preverb where the new information is all that the boys were doing: playing a game with a hand-held bat.

(384) *i-la*   *gada*   *zua*   *da-vârdi=na=bə*   *dücarxa=nda*   *[ANP17]*

a-CL   small   boy   PVB-pass.by=LOC=AUX.3S   bicycle=LOC

'A little boy was passing by on a bicycle.'

(385) *se*   *gəla*   *cavə*   *hamru-n=u*   *nava=na=b-in*   *[ANP26]*

3   CL   POSS.3S   companion-P=LOC   walk=LOC=AUX-3P

'Three of his friends were passing by there.'

(386) *av-ün*   *zən=na*   *nə=b-in*   *ki*   *əm*   *âmbu*

3-P   know=LOC   NEG=AUX-3P   COMP   DEMP   pear

dəzdi-anin=e   *[ANP38]*

steal-NEC=COP.3S

'They were not knowing that these pears must be stolen.'

(387) *se*   *gəla*   *ši=na=b-in*   *âmbu*   *hârd-e*   *hârd-e*   *[ANP34]*

3   CL   go=LOC=AUX-3P   pear   eat-INF   eat-INF

'The three were going along eating pears.'

(388) *ânbu=bə*   *cəni=na*   [ANP3]

pear=AUX.3s   pick=LOC

'He was picking pears.'

(389) *əm*   *se*   *nafar*   *âmbu=b-in*   *hâ=na*   [ANP37]

DEMP   3   person   pear=AUX-3P   eat=LOC

'These three people were eating pears.'

(390) *cün*   *a*   *ru=b-in*   *av-ə*   *uma=na*   [ANP37]

since   DEMR   way=AUX-3P   3S-OB   come=LOC

'Since they were coming towards him from that way.'

(391) *əštan*   *dâst=anda*   *gada*   *tâxta=nda*   *hüwya=b-in*   *kâ=na* [ANP28]

self   hand=LOC   small   board=LOC   game=AUX-3P   do=LOC

'They were playing a game with a board held in the hand.'

4.10.3 Set 2 clitic floating in Anbarani and Asalemi

We turn now to Set 2 clitics in past perfective, transitive environments. Where a verb is the sole constituent in the verb phrase, the clitic attaches to the verb:

(392) *da-bird=əš=a*[90]

PVB-split=3S=TR

'He split (it).'

Where other constituents are available, the clitic typically attaches to the left-most one:[91]

(393) *xarbiza=š*   *da-bird=a*

melon=3s   PVB-split=TR

'He split the melon.'

(394) *zu=š*   *xarbiza*   *da-bird=a*

quickly=3s   melon   PVB-split=TR

'He split the melon quickly.'

---

[90] This and subsequent examples are based on Asalemi verb phrase [AsVP] elicitation list items.

[91] In this regard Anbarani and Asalemi appear to differ from Azerbaijani Talyshi, where Stilo (2008a, p.381) finds no restriction to clause-second position.

Where the agent is explicit, the clitic is redundant and usually makes no appearance:

(395) *a-i*   *xarbiza da-bird=(*əš)=a*

        3S-OB   melon   PVB-split=TR

        'He split the melon.'

The following constraints apply to clitic floating in Anbarani and Asalemi:

i. The subject is not available for clitic placement:

(396) *i-la*   *merd*   *gəl=əš*   *bəz-ə*   *nəxta*   *gat-a=bə*   [ANP8]

        a-CL   man   CL=3S   goat-OB   leash   get-PTC=AUX.3S

        'A man had got hold of a goat's leash.'

ii. Sentential adjuncts are not available for clitic placement:

(397) *bad,*   *də*   *gəla*   *vedra=š*   *ci-a=b-e*   [JOP8]

        later   two   CL   basket=3S   pick-PTC=AUX-3S

        'Later, he had picked two baskets' worth.'

iii. Interpolation blocks clitic floating:

(398) *əm*   *âv,*   *gəl*   *âv-i=kâ,*   *bar-vard=ušun=a*   [ASA]

        DEMP   water   boiling   water-OB=LOC   PVB-brought.out=3P=TR

        'They brought up (their heads) from this water, the boiling water.'

This indicates that the domain within which the clitic can move forwards is the phonologically integral VP (one single intonational phrase).

iv. Relative clauses impose a clitic-floating boundary:

(399) *ama=ni*   *hânta*   *əm*   *bâr-e-i*   *ki*   *ža=mun=a*

        we=too   thus   DEMP   load-P-RCH   REL   put=1P=TR

        əm-e=ni   *tele=n*   [ASB21]

        DEMP-P=too   gold=COP.3P

        'We also, like this, these loads which we've loaded on, they're gold too!'

v. The clitic may only float leftwards, and so remains on the verb if the object is verbally postposed:

(400) *ha=râ*   *darafand-a=šun=a*   *mən*   *əm*   *kisa*   *dela=kâ* [ASB58]

        SAMED=for   threw.in-PTC=3P=TR   1S.OB   DEMP   sack   into=LOC

        'For the same reason they threw me into this bag.'

In conclusion, Set 2 clitic placement in central and northern dialects might best be accounted for by a rule attaching the clitic to the leftmost element in the phonologically-integral verb phrase.[92]

In some northern dialects the clitic may optionally attach to classifiers and possessive pronouns within noun phrases, as illustrated by examples (401) to (404) below:

(401) *[i-la＝š   kina]   vind＝e*   *[ANP21]*

 a-CL=3S   girl   saw=TR

 'He saw a girl.'

(402) *[cav＝əš   kəlu]   bâ*   *[ANP23]*

 POSSD.3S=3S   hat   carried.TR

 '(The wind) carried away his hat.'

(403) *[se   gəla＝š   xəc]   bumun   du*   *[VIM]*

 3   CL=3S   pear   IOP.3P   gave.TR

 'He gave three pears to them.'

(404) *ca   šux＝əš＝an   i-la   dâst＝anda   gat-a＝b-a*   *[ANP9]*

 POSSD.3S   horn=3S=also   a-CL   hand=LOC   got-PTC=AUX-3S

 'He had grasped its horn with one hand.'

4.10.4 Agent clitic floating in Masali

The clitic usually remains on the verb in southern dialects; nor is it deleted when the subject is explicit, resulting in clitic doubling as in (405) below. This suggests that in southern dialects, where language contact with Persian is more pronounced than further north, the agent clitic is grammaticalizing to an affix on the verb marking the subject, by analogy with Persian (see the Persian equivalent in example (406), where the agent has been pluralized to illustrate the verbal suffix, since the 3rd person singular suffix is zero).

(405) *a   vâǧean   əm-i   da-vast＝əš＝a*   *[MaVP]*

 he   certainly   it-OB   PVB-closed=3S=TR

 'He certainly closed it.'

(406) *ânhâ   vâǧean   ân-râ   bast-**and***

 they   certainly   it-OM   closed-3P

---

[92] Such a rule might be written **NonInitial**(cl$_i$,VP) » **LeftMost**(cl$_i$,PhonIntVP).

'They certainly closed it.' [PERSIAN]

However, uncharacteristically for southern dialects, in the following three examples from southern dialect Pear Stories the clitic does float forward. In each case the constituent to which it attaches is the first in a subordinate clause:

(407) *dar*   *əm*   *beyn*   *i*   *merdak＝i*   *kə*   *lâfun＝əš*   *i-la*

in   DEMP   midst   a   man=IND   that   rope=3S   a-CL

bəz-e   *gardan-e*   *dabenn＝â*   [MASP6]

goat-OB   neck-OB   tied=COP.3S.PST

'At this moment, a man who had tied a rope round the neck of a goat …'

(408) *dar*   *həm*   *beyn-i*   *kə*   *takia＝š*   *du＝â*

in   same   midst-RCH   that   leaning=3S   gave=AUX.3S

be   *sərd*   [MASP36]

to   ladder

'At the same moment that he leant on the ladder …'

(409) *ce*   *əm*   *rafiq-un*   *a-i＝râ*   *fuiza*   *kard＝a*

POSSP.3S   DEMP   friend-P   3S-OB=for   whistle   did=TR

kə   *a-i＝šun*   *â-gârdənd＝a*   [MSP31]

COMP   3S-OB=3P   PVB-summon=TR

'His friends whistled to him, in order to make him come back.'

Similarly there is no double marking in the following example, which is again a subordinate clause. The agent is explicit, and there is no pronominal clitic:

(410) *ha*   *merdak-a*   *ate*   *ku*   *ce*   *golâbi*   *əm*   *zua*   *dəzdi＝â*   [MPS37]

SAMED   man-DISC   there   COMP   POSSD.3S   pear   DEMP   boy   stole=AUX.3S

'That same man there whose pears this boy had stolen.'

One explanation of this would be a diachronic invocation of Ross's (1973) Penthouse Principle (see Vincent & Bentley 1995 for a similar application to Italian and Sicilian): language innovation commonly appears first in main clauses, leaving subordinate clauses to manifest the older pattern.

4.11 Non-Finite Verbs

4.11.1 Infinitive

Rules for construction of the infinitive are set out in the table below:

Table 44: Infinitive formation in all three dialects

Infinitive
STEM II + -*e* (-*en* in Masali)
vind-e
vind-en (Masali)
'to see'

Some examples of the nominalization of infinitive verbs are given in §6.4.8.

4.11.2 Participles

Rules for present and past participial formation are shown in the table below, followed by examples in Anbarani, Asalemi and Masali. The sentences in examples (412)(a) and (b) and (413)(a) and (b) demonstrate that a reduplicated infinitive verb may perform the same function as a participle in Anbarani and Asalemi.

Table 45: Participle formation in all three dialects

Participle	
Present	**Past**
a- + STEM I[93]	STEM II + -a
a-xun (Asalemi)	*xand-a (Asalemi)*
'singing'	'having sung'

(411) a.   *i-la*   *xaba*   *a-hând-a*   *bâla*   *ras-a*   *[AnVP]*

   a-CL   song   PTC-sing-LNK   child   arrived-3s

   b.   *i-la*   *a-xun-a*   *xərdan*   *da-rast-a*   *[AsVP]*

   a-CL   PTC-sing-LNK   child   PVB-arrived-3s

   c.   *i-la*   *zua=e sâz-a-xun*   *â-ras-a*   *[MaVP]*

   a-CL   boy=EZ song-LNK-sing   PVB-arrived-3s

   'A singing child arrived.'

(412) a.   *bâla*   *hând-e hând-e ras-a*   *[AnVP]*

   child   sing-INF sing-INF arrived-3s

---

b. *xərdan xand-e xand-e da-rast-a*   [AsVP]

child   sing-INF sing-INF PVB-arrived-3S

c. *xərdan-i   ke   sâz   xun-i   â-ras-a* [MaVP]

child-RCH   REL   song   sing-IMPF.3S   PVB-arrived-3S

'The child arrived singing.'

(413) a. *dâstân taarif   kârd-e   kârd-e hasir=e bofti=na*   [AnVP]

story   description do-INF   do-INF   mat=3S   weave=LOC

b. *nağl   vât-e   vât-e   kâ   kup   vat-e*   [AsVP]

story   say-INF say-INF PROG   mat   weave-INF

c. *harjura   ke   mə=râ   dâstân kəra   vâ-i,*

however   COMP   OB.1S=for   story   PROG   say-IMPF.3S

kuf   vaj-i   [MaVP]

mat   weave-IMPF.3S

'While telling me a story, she weaves a mat (Masali: *was* weaving).'

In Anbarani, an alternative formation involves adding the deictic element =*anda* to the end of the verb stem (Guizzo (2003, p.58) finds "the postposition -da suffixed to the infinitive" in Tularudi/Karganrudi):

(414) *cəmân dada   dargaz ža=yanda   i-la   luna   paidu bə-ka*   [ANR18]

1S.POSS father   sickle   hit=LOC   a-CL   nest   find   PST-do.TR

'My father, swinging his sickle, found a nest.'

Past participle examples ('went' for Anbarani and Asalemi, 'having arrived' for Masali in (c)):

(415) *His arrival had no value, because …*

a. *tâ   ras-a   rais   š-a=bə*   [AnVP]

until   arrived-3S   chief   went-PTC=AUX.3S

b. *tâ   da-rast-a   rais   š-a=b-a*   [AsVP]

until   PVB-arrived-3S chief   went-PTC=AUX-3S

c. *â-ras-a   rais   š=â*   [MaVP]

PVB-arrived-PTC chief   went=AUX.3S

'… by the time he arrived, the chief had gone.'

(416) *cakəst-a*   *dast=əš*   *kâ*   *dâž*   *du-e*   *[AsVP]*

broke-PTC   arm=3S   PROG   pain   give-INF

'His broken arm is hurting him.'

4.12 Modality

The sub-sections below discuss the morphology of verbs in conditional clauses (§4.12.1), epistemic possibility (§4.12.2), necessitative constructions (§4.12.3), 'want' constructions (§4.12.4) and expressions of ability (§4.12.5).

4.12.1 Conditionals

The simple conditional is expressed with the subjunctive in the protasis and an indicative verb in the apodosis.

(417) *a.*   *agar*   *mâški*   *bu-u,*   *av*   *av-ə*   *ba-vind=e*   *[AnVP]*

        if   tomorrow   SBJ-come.3S   3S   3S-OB   FUT-see=3S

    b.   *agam*   *saxsa*   *b-â*   *a*   *a-i*   *ba-vind=i*   *[AsVP]*

        if   tomorrow   SBJ-come.3S   3S   3S-OB   FUT-see=3S

    c.   *agar*   *savâ*   *b-â*   *a-i*   *vin-ə*   *[MaVP]*

        if   tomorrow   SBJ-come.3S   3S-OB   see-3S

'If he comes tomorrow, he will see him.'

(418) *a.*   *agar*   *bavə=ku*   *bə-pi-u*   *b-uma=y*   *[AnVP]*

        if   3S.IOD=LOC   SBJ-want-3S   FUT-come=3S

    b.   *agam*   *bai=kâ=r*   *bə-pi-â*   *b-uma=y*   *[AsVP]*

        if   3S.IOD=LOC=2S   SBJ-want-3S   FUT-come=3S

    c.   *agar*   *a-i=ku*   *bə-xâ-i*   *â*   *[MaVP]*

        if   3S-OB=LOC   SBJ-want-2S   come.3S

'He will come if you ask him.'

Counterfactuals in Anbarani and Asalemi are formed using a special irrealis form of the verb in the protasis,[94] and a past imperfective verb in the apodosis. The irrealis forms are set

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[94] Windfuhr (1987, pp.393f) suggests that the -e part of this ending derives from "the same -ē as the -i of the imperfectum", and notes that the equivalent form in Early New Persian had the same counterfactual function.

out in Table 46 below – note that the (*ba*) part of the irrealis auxiliary may be omitted in both dialects:

Table 46: Counterfactual

Counterfactual	
	Anbarani/Asalemi
	Past participle (STEM II + -a) + (ba)be + Set 1a endings
1S	*mând-a (ba)be-m*
2S	*mând-a (ba)be-š*
3S	*mând-a (ba)be*
1P	*mând-a (ba)be-mun*
2P	*mând-a (ba)be-run*
3P	*mând-a (ba)be-n*
	'were I to have stayed'

In Masali, a single example was provided in which a Persian evidential construction had been borrowed, namely the past imperfective with evidential suffix *-e*. This suffix has become *-a* in Masali, as shown in (419)(c). In the apodosis the past imperfective is used, as in Anbarani and Asalemi:

(419) a. *agar* *bavə=ku*   *pi-a*   *be,*   *a-vu-i*   [*AnVP*]

      if   3S.IO=LOC   want-PTC   IRR.3S   AUG-come-IMPF.3S

    b. *agam bai=kâ=r*   *pist-a*   *babe*   *a-v-i*   [*AsVP*]

      if   3S.IO=LOC=2S   want-PTC   IRR.3S   AUG-come-IMPF.3S

    c. *agar* *a-i=ku*   *xâst-a=iri*   *â-i*   [*MaVP*]

      if   3S-OB=LOC   asked-EVID-IMPF.2S   come-IMPF.3S

    'He would come if you asked him.'

(420) a. *agar iu*   *mând-a*   *be-š,* *kəšt-a*   *a-b-iš*   [*AnVP*]

      if   here   stayed-PTC   IRR-2S killed-PTC   AUG-be-IMPF.2S

    b. *agam iâ*   *mand-a*   *babe-š* *mard-a*   *a-b-iš*   [*AsVP*]

      if   here   stayed-PTC   IRR-2S died-PTC   AUG-be-IMPF.2S

    c. *agar yâ=ku*   *bu-mun-iri*   *mard-a=irâ*   [*MaVP*]

      if   here=LOC   SBJ-stay-IMPF.2S died-PTC=AUX.2S

    'If you had stayed here you would have been killed.'

The verb *babe* 'be.IRREALIS' itself is exceptional in being able to appear on its own in constructions such as:

(421) *agam* *pul=əš* *babe* *a-v-i* [AsVP] &AN[95]

if   money=3S   IRR   AUG-come-IMPF.3S

'If he'd had money, he would have come.'

Yarshater (1996, p.104 fn.42) notes that the *-e* ending of the short counterfactual forms in Asalemi is generally lengthened in careful speech. Similarly, a concessive form *beebee* is found in Anbarani, as shown in the following two examples. Concessive conditionals in Asalemi and Masali are expressed with the concessive particle *bâinki* (from Persian *bâ in ke*):

(422) *a.*   *nuxaš* *beebee*   *ba=na=y*   *pə-ye* [AnVP]

sick   be-CSSV.3S   able=LOC=3S   walk-INF

b.   *bâinki*   *mariz=a*   *ba-šâ=i*   *râ*   *š-e* [AsVP] & M

although   sick=COP.3S   PRS-able=3S   road   go-INF

'Although he is sick, he is able to walk.'

(423) *a.*   *nuxaš* *beebee*   *uma*   [AnVP]

sick   be.CSSV.3S   came.3S

b.   *bâinki*   *mariz* *b-a*   *âma*   [AsVP] & M

although   sick   was-3S   came.3S

'He came in spite of his illness.'

The syntactic structure of conditional sentences is discussed in §6.11.5.

4.12.2 Epistemic Possibility

Epistemic possibility is expressed with the auxiliary words *barkam* (Anbarani and Asalemi) and *šâyat* (Asalemi) or *šâyad* (Masali and Persian), plus a verb in the subjunctive. For example:

(424) *av-ə*   *vut=e* *barkam*   *tə*   *b-ü-i*   [AnVP]

3S-OB   said=TR perhaps   2S   SBJ-come-2S

'He said that you might come.'

---

[95] Masali uses a transitive construction with *bədâri* 'he would have had' here.

(425) a-i   vât=a ki   šayat   b-â   [AsVP]

3S-OB   said=TR COMP   perhaps   SBJ-come.3S

'He said that he might come.'

4.12.3 Necessitative

The necessitative is generally expressed with the particles *bape* (Anbarani), *basi*

(Asalemi) and *bi* (Masali), followed by a verb in the subjunctive:

(426) a.   yul   b-e=ru   bape   ğazu   ba-h-i   [AnVP]

big   become-INF=for   must   food   SBJ-eat-2S

b.   barâyəmki   yâl   â-b-i   basi   xərâk

so.that   big   PVB.SBJ-become-2S   must   food

b-ar-i   [AsVP]

SBJ-eat-2S

c.   xâ-i   pila â-b-i   bi   ğazâ   b-ar-i   [MaVP]

want-2S big   PVB-become-2S must   food   SBJ-eat-2S

'In order to become big it is necessary that you eat food.'

Windfuhr (1987, p.394) notes how Azerbaijani Talyshi has "generalized the Iranian

gerundive formation based on the infinitive, *PT-anin*-ym and *PT-anin by-b-o*-m, called futurum

necessitatis and futurum optativi by Miller and expressing necessity or obligation." The only

examples of this suffix found in the Iranian Taleshi corpus were in the Anbarani dialect,[96] for

example:

(427) avün   zən=na   nə=b-in   ki   ə   âmbu dəzdi-anin=e [ANP33]

3P   know=LOC NEG=AUX-3P COMP   DEMP   pear   stolen-NEC=COP.3S

'They did not know that these pears must be stolen.'

(428) ən   uv   hârd-anin=e? [AnVP]

DEMP   water   eat-NEC=COP.3S

'Is this water to be drunk (i.e. fit to drink)?'

---

[96] Kishekhale (2007, p.42) suggests that it is also used in Asalemi, e.g. *harda-nin* for Persian *xordani*

'edible, to be eaten'.

This -*anin* suffix should not be confused with participial constructions containing the homophonous sequence -*na-n*=*in* made up of the participial morpheme =*na*, the negative morpheme -*ni*, and the third person plural copula clitic =*in*, e.g. *hâ*=*na-ni*=*n* 'they do not eat'.

4.12.4 Desiderative

Anbarani and Asalemi, in common with a number of Iranian languages (cf. Haig 2008, pp.305ff), use an experiencer verb for 'want' which may be characterized by an ergative-like pattern in both past and present tenses: experiencer in the oblique case and source in the direct case, plus use of Set2 personal agreement markers (see §9.7.2.2 for further discussion). The relevant forms are *pia* in Anbarani, which conjugates as a regular transitive verb; and *pist* in Asalemi, which also conjugates regularly except for the addition of a copular *a* vowel to the set 2 clitic on the verb.[97] The first four examples below illustrate possible present tense configurations:

(429) *a.*   *cə*   *də*   *gəla*=*u* *ku*   *i-la*=*yə*   *pia*=*na?*   *[AnVP]*
          3S.POSS two   CL=LOC   which   one-CL=2S   want=LOC

      b.   *əm*   *də-gla*=*kâ*=*r* *kəram-la*   *ba-pist*=*i*   *[AsVP]*
          DEMP   2-CL=LOC=2S   which-CL   PRS-want=3S

      'Which one of the two do you want?'

(430) *mən*   *ni-a-pist*   *[ASB57]*
      1S.OB   NEG-AUG-want

      'I do not want to.'

(431) *a.*   *pia*=*na*=*y*=*ə*   *cic*   *bə-hân-i?*   *[AnVP]*
          want=LOC=COP.3S=2S   what?   SBJ-sing-2S

      b.   *ba-pist*=*ir*=*a*   *cici*   *bu-xun-i?*   *[AsVP]*
          PRS-want=2S=3S   what?   SBJ-sing-2S

      c.   *xâ-i*   *ce*   *bu-xun-i?*   *[MaVP]*
          want-2S   what?   SBJ-sing-2S

      'What do you want to sing?'

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[97] In southern dialects such as Masali, 'want' is expressed with a normal transitive verb, as shown in the examples.

(432) a.   *av-ə*   *pia=na=y*   *b-u-ə*   *[AnVP]*

           3S.OB   want=LOC=3S   SBJ-come-3S

b.   *a-i*   *ba-pist-i*   *b-â*   *[AsVP]*

           3S-OB   PRS-want=3S   SBJ-come.3S

'He wants to come.'

In the past tense the verb conjugates regularly in both dialects, except that in Asalemi the past copular AUX is appended the verb in the imperfective (434):

(433) a.   *mâ=ku=šun*   *pia*   *surud*   *bâ-hând-əm*   *[AnNP]*

           1S.OB=LOC=3P   wanted   song   SBJ-sing-1S

b.   *bamən=kâ=šun*   *pist=a*   *tarâna* *bu-xun-um*   *[AsNP]*

           1S.IO=LOC=3P   wanted=TR   song   SBJ-sing-1S

'They wanted me to sing a song.'

(434) a.   *pia=na=š=bə*   *b-u-ə* *[AnVP]*

           want=LOC=3S=AUX.3S   SBJ-come-3S

b.   *a-pi=š=b-a*   *b-â*   *[AsVP]*

           AUG-want=3S=AUX-3S   SBJ-come.3S

'He was wanting to come.'

Finally, note the function of the verb 'want' in all three dialects to express imminent action, as shown in the following two examples:

(435) a.   *av-ə*   *pia=na=y*   *alân* *bə-š-u* *[AnVP]*

           3S-OB   want=LOC=3S   now   SBJ-go-3S

b.   *a-i*   *ba-pist=i*   *hamalân*   *bu-š-u* *[AsVP]*

           3S-OB   PRS-want=3S   right.now   SBJ-go-3S

c.   *a*   *həmalân*   *xâ*   *bu-š-u* *[MaVP]*

           3S   right.now   want.3S   SBJ-go-3S

'He is about to leave.'

(436) *pia=na=m=e*   *ku*   *urəxən-əm*   *[AnVP]*

       want=LOC=1S=3S   work   SBJ.finish-1S

'I am finishing the work.'

The syntax of verbs of wanting is discussed in §6.4.3.

4.12.5 Ability

'To be able' is expressed with the verb *zunuste* in Anbarani, *šâšte* in Asalemi and Masali.[98] Some sentential examples containing these verbs are presented in §6.4.2.

4.13 Notes on other dialects

The Northern Taleshi dialects of Anbaran Mahalle, Vizne and Jokandan are spoken in a line running south from Anbarani towards the boundary with Central Taleshi. The example sentences below from Pear Story texts show that their verbal morphology is highly similar to that of Anbarani, with two significant differences: rather than using the locative marker =*na* in present and past progressive tense-aspect combinations, they follow Azerbaijani Talyshi in employing =*da*; while in simple past tenses, verbs with no preverbal element take the preterite prefix *bə-*.

4.13.1 Anbaran Mahalle

Past imperfective with augment:

(437) *bape   mə=ru   se   gəla   safa   a-b-i*   [AMP10]

must   1S.OB=for   3   CL   basket   AUG-be-3S

'There should have been three baskets for me.'

Present and past progressive with =*da*:

(438) *əm   cəmə   jab-a   xəc-un=ku   hard-e=da=in?*   [AMP11]

DEMP   POSS.1S basket-LNK   pear-P=LOC   eat-INF=LOC-3P

'Are they eating from my box of pears?'

(439) *seminje   dafa=da   pe-š-e   ba   do,*

third   time=LOC   PVB-went.up-3P to   tree

gəla=i hərdan âma-i=da=b-e   [AMP4]

CL=IND child   come-INF=LOC=AUX-3S

'The third time he went up the tree, a child was coming along.'

Simple past with preterite prefix:

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[98] See Kishekhale (2007, p.66) for the Asalemi paradigm of *šâste*.

(440) *nim-a*   *râ*   *sa*   *bə-š-e,*   *vu*   *bə-gəni*   *da-gardi-e* [AMP7]

half-LNK way head PST-go-3S   wind PST-fell.3S PVB-passed-3S

'He went half way along; the wind blew and he fell off.'

4.13.2 Vizne

Present and past progressive with =*da*:

(441) *vind=əš=e*   *kə*   *əm-e*   *xəc=in*   *har(d)=da*   [VIM]

saw=3S=TR   COMP DEMP-P pear=3P   eat=LOC

'He saw that they are eating pear(s).'

(442) *ila*   *suk-a*   *sas=i*   *uma-i=da=b-e…*

a   cock-LNK   voice=IND   came-INF=LOC=AUX-3S

suk-a   *sas=b-e*   *uma-i=da*   [VIP1]

cock-LNK   voice=AUX-3S came-INF=LOC

'A cock crow was resounding … the cock crow was resounding.'

4.13.3 Jokandan

Present and past progressive with =*da*:

(443) *əm-e*   *həye* *gəla* *xəc=in*   *hard-e=da* [JOP31]

DEMP-P   3   CL   pear=3P   eat-INF=LOC

'Three of them are eating pears.'

(444) *a*   *va=na*   …   *š-e=da=b-e* [JOP16]

DEMD   direction=with …   go-INF=LOC=AUX-3S

'He was going in that direction.'

Simple past with preterite prefix:

(445) *cimi*   *kəlu* *vi-gini-e.*   *əm=ani* *ducarxa=na*

POSSP.3S   hat   PVB-fell-3S   DEMP=also bicycle=with

bə-gəni-e   [JOP17-18]

PST-fell-3S

'His hat fell down. He also fell, along with the bicycle.'

(446) *bimi=šun*   *kumak bə-kard=e*   *[JOP19]*

       3S.IOP=3P   help   PST-did=TR

       'They helped him.'

5 Other parts of speech

5.1 Adpositions

5.1.1 Core Postpositions

Lazard (1978, p.258) makes a distinction between *propre* and *impropre* postpositions in his discussion of Persian grammar. He distinguishes them on the basis that the latter may themselves be marked with oblique case and can be governed by a *propre* postposition. This section deals with the first kind of postposition, which we call "case clitics" following Dixon (2010); while §5.1.2 deals with the second, which function as independent words.

5.1.1.1 *=ku/=kâ/=ku* 'general directional marker'

This general directional marker may indicate motion 'towards' (goal) or 'away from' (source), 'location at', and 'of' in senses commonly subsumed under ablative case such as the partitive, 'use of' and 'result of'. In Azerbaijani Talyshi *kü* has word-level status as a nominal meaning 'place', in addition to its role as a postposition.

Goal (place or object):

(447) *oma*   *mala=kâ*   [ASB33]

came.3s   place=LOC

'He came to the village.'

(448) *golâbi-e=šun* *pe-cin*   *da-nâ=šun=a*   *sabad-i=kâ*   [ASS]

pear-P-3P   PVB-gather   PVB-put.in=3P=TR   basket-OB=LOC

'They gathered up the pears and put them in the basket.'

(449) *tiatâ*   *darand=əm=a*   *âtaš-i=ku*   [MBB]

thorn   threw.in=1s=TR   fire-OB=LOC

'I threw the thorn in the fire.'

(450) *av-ə*   *əštân*   *sava*   *cəmân* *lavu=ku*   *avâšt=e*   [AnVP]

3s-OB   self   basket   POSS.1s stick=LOC   hung=TR

'He hung his basket on my stick.'

Location:

(451) *mala=kâ*   *ki*   *vind=a?*   *[AsVP]*

place=LOC   who?   saw=TR

'Whom did you see in the village?'

(452) *a*   *xiâbân-i*   *aval-i=ku*   *lâpadun=i*   *vind=əš=a*   *[MaNP]*

3s   street-OB   first-OB=LOC   spider=IND   saw=3S=TR

'He saw a spider at the head of the street.'

(453) *kiža*   *ru*   *sa=ku*   *par-a*   *[AnNP]*

bird   river   head=LOC   flew-3s

'The bird flew over the river.'

The temporal sense demonstrated in examples (454) and (455) is only available with locations, that is 'time at'; no examples were found in any dialect of temporal sources or goals with *=ku*.

(454) *tufân-i=kâ*   *âsib*   *vind-a=b-a*   *[AsNP]*

storm-OB=LOC   damage   saw-PTC=AUG-3S

'It had been damaged during the storm.'

(455) *a*   *səb-i*   *zud-i=ku*   *š-a*   *[MaNP]*

3s   morning-OB   soon-OB=LOC   went-3s

'He left early in the morning.'

Source:

(456) *hərs-ə=ku*   *bə-təl*   *[AnVP]*

bear-OB=LOC   IMP-run

'Run away from the bear!'

(457) *a*   *kâ=ku*   *â*   *[MaVP]*

3s   where?=LOC   come.3s

'Where is he coming from?'

(458) *dâr-i=kâ*   *xayli*   *miva-e*   *vi-gənəst-in*   *[AsNP]*

tree-OB=LOC   many   fruit-P   PVB-fell.down-3P

'Many pieces of fruit fell from the tree.'

(459) a.

bâla	merd	cə	hân=u	pe-kâ	[AnVP]
child	man	POSSD.3S	sleep=LOC	PVB-woke.TR	

b.

xərdan-i	merdak-a	xâv-i=kâ	pe-kard=a	[AsVP]
child-OB	man-DISC	sleep-OB=LOC	PVB-woke=TR	

'The child woke the man up.'

(460)

mâ=ku=š	pül	pi-a	[AnNP]
1P=LOC=3S	money	wanted-3S	

'He wanted money from us.'

The so-called "ablative" uses of the clitic derive from its role as a designator of the source of something, and group around expressing either a result (stemming from the element marked with =*ku*) or a usage (of the element so marked).[99]

(461)

vəi	tel-e=ku	fağat	mašuyə	pua	ba-b=ə	[AnVP]
much	run-INF=LOC	only	shoe	torn	FUT-become=3S	

'The only result of much running is torn shoes.'

(462)

hadaf-ə	di	š-e=ku	cic	bə	[AnVP]
aim-OB	village	go-INF=LOC	what?	was.3S	

'What was the point of going to the village?'

(463)

az	əštə	dast-i=kâ	xaili	asebâni=m	[AsVP]
1S	POSS.2S	hand-OB=LOC	very	angry=COP.1S	

'I am very angry at what you did.'

(464)

a	suk-i	sas-i=kâ	mošaxas	b-a	[ASS]
that	rooster-OB	voice-OB=LOC	obvious	was-3S	

'It was obvious from that cockerel crow.'

(465)

əm	ğayci=kâ	cici=râ=š	istəfâda ba-ka	[AsVP]
DEMP	shears.OB=LOC	what=for=2S	use PRS-do	

'What are you using these shears for?'

---

[99] The Latin verb *usare* 'to use' also takes the ablative case.

(466) užnan cəmân gəla=ku=š   istəfãda kâ   [AnNP]

again POSS.1S CL=LOC=3S use   did.TR

'He used mine again.'

Finally, the following two examples are best described as partitive uses of =*ku*:

(467) əm   xəj-un=kâ=š vind=a   [ASP11]

DEMP pear-P=LOC=3S saw=TR

'He saw some of these pears.'

(468) də   se   gəla   xərdan kâ=n   əm   xəj-un=kâ   hard-e [ASP26]

2   3   CL   child   PROG=3P DEMP pear-P=LOC   eat-INF

'Two or three children are eating some of these pears.'

Note that in Anbarani and Asalemi =*ku* combines with the indirect object form of the personal pronoun (cf. §3.8.4), whereas in Masali it combines with the oblique form of the pronoun. For example:

(469) agar   bavə=ku   bə-pi-u   b-uma=y   [AnVP]

if   3S.IOD=LOC   SBJ-want-3S   FUT-come=3S

'If you ask him he will come.'

(470) bumun=kâ   can-gəla   tə   gat=a?   [AsVP]

3P.IOP=LOC   how.many-CL   2S   caught=TR

'How many of these did you catch?'

(471) ce   asp-i=š   a-i=ku   ji-get=a   [MCB]

POSSD.3S   horse-OB=3S   3S-OB=LOC   PVB-stole=TR

'He stole his horse from him.'

Finally, note that in Anbarani the /k/ of =*ku* may elide to give =*u*. For example:

(472) âz   əštə   dâst=u   xali   asəbâni=m   [AnVP]

1S   POSS.2S hand=LOC   very   angry=COP.1S

'I'm furious with you.'

(473) av   šahr=u   da-vârd-e   [AnNP]

3S   town=LOC   PVB-passed.by-3S

'He passed by the town.'

5.1.1.2   =*anda*/=*na*/=*na* 'with'

Both instrument and accompaniment 'with' are most commonly specified by a case clitic: =*anda* in Anbarani, and =*na* in Asalemi and Masali.[100]

<u>Accompaniment:</u>

(474) a.   *av*   *fağat*   *bâla=nda*   *uma*   [AnNP]

              3s   only   child=with   came.3s

      b.   *a*   *fağat*   *xərdan-i=na*   *âma*   [AsNP]

              3s   only   child-OB=with   came.3s

      'He came with only the child.'

(475) *hicki=na*   *nâ-uma*   [MaNP]

       no.one=with   NEG-came.3s

       'He came without anyone.'

(476) *adi=na*   *gudi*   [ASA]

       Adi=with   Gudi

       'Adi and Gudi.' (title of a story)

<u>Instrument:</u>

(477) *du*   *sa=ku*   *sərd=anda*   *be-š-a=bə*   [ANP2]

       tree   head=LOC   ladder=with   PST-go-PTC=AUX.3s

       'He had gone up the tree by means of a ladder.'

(478) *ži-a*   *ângəl*   *i-la*   *zua*   *vasila=nda*   *u-bə*   [AnVP]

       rope-LNK   knot   a-CL   boy   means=with   PVB-opened.3s

       'The rope was loosed by a boy.'

(479) *âv*   *cəmən* *dast-i=na*   *vi-b-a*   [AsVP]

       water   POSS.1s hand-OB=with   PVB-spilt-3s

       'The water was spilt by me.'

(480) *dâs-i=na*   *əm-i*   *žan-ə,*   *ləs-i=na*   *əm-i*   *žan-ə*   [MBB]

       sickle-OB=with 3s-OB   hit-3s   stick-OB=with   3s-OB   hit-3s

       'He hits him with a sickle, he hits with him a stick.'

---

[100] =*na* has grammaticalized to a verbal marker of tense in Anbarani; see §4.4.

Other:

(481) kâr=a … gil-i bard-e avaz kard-e tel-e=na [ASB35]

PROG=3S … rubble-OB take-INF change do-INF gold-P=with

'They are taking rubble and exchanging it for (lit. 'with') gold.'

(482) dâr-i bəni=na daivar-u [ASP10]

tree-OB under=with passed-3S.SBJ

'… to pass under the tree.'

(483) əm sâz-i diâra bəndi=na,

DEMP instrument-OB drum RECP=with

sâz-i diyâra xayli farğ kar-ə [MBB]

instrument-OB drum very difference do-3S

'As for this instrument and drum (compared) with each other, the instrument and drum are very different.'

Note that as with =kâ/=ku above, in Asalemi =na combines with the indirect object form of the personal pronoun (cf. §3.8.4), whereas in Masali it combines with the oblique form of the pronoun. It hence effectively forms a circumposition with ba-, and indeed may also combine with əštan, the reciprocal pronoun, to make the form baštanna (487). For example:

(484) mardum damand=a ba=na xurust-e [ASB40]

people PROG=3S 3S.IO=with laugh-INF

'People were laughing at him.'

(485) a-e âm-in sava=šun ba=na jam â-kard=a [ASP17]

3-P came-3P basket=3P 3S.IO=with collect PVB-make.be=TR

'They came (and) collected up the basket with him.'

(486) mə a-i=na vât=a mən ma-davər [MSS104]

1S.OB 3S-OB=with said=TR 1S.OB PHB-chop.down

'I said to him, "Don't cut me down!"'

(487) i-la=š bumun=kâ pe-gat=a

one-CL=3S 3P.IOP=LOC PVB-picked.up=TR

ki baštanna b-ar-u [ASP11]

COMP for.self SBJ-eat-3S

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'He took one of them to eat for himself.'

Anbarani =*anda* may also serve as a general locative case clitic with a similar semantic range to =*ku*:

(488)   *šünapapü*   *i-la*   *vər=anda*   *təktək a-k-i*   [ANR27]

        woodpecker   a-CL   place=LOC   pecking AUG-do-IMPF.3S

        'In one place a woodpecker was pecking.'

5.1.1.3   =*nâ*/=*na*/=*na* 'in front'

A separate =*na* in Asalemi and Masali gives the meaning 'in front'. In Anbarani the equivalent is *nâ*, which combines with =*anda* to give *nânda* in locative constructions..

(489)   *merd*   *a*   *žen-un=nânda*   *râxs=e*   *kâ=na* [AnNP]

        man   DEMD   woman-OB.P=in.front   dance=3S   do=LOC

        'The man is dancing in front of those women.'

(490)   *nu=š=a*   *ducarxa=na*   [ASP12]

        put=3S=TR   bicycle=front

        'He put it on the front of the bicycle.'

(491)   *râ=na*   *i*   *ci*   *a*   *sar*   *kərâ*   *â*   [MSS17]

        road=front   a   thing   that   head   PROG   come.3S

        'Something is coming along the road ahead.'

(492)   *golâvi-a*   *cin-i*   *taraf-i=na*   *kərâ*   *š-istine* [MPS36]

        pear-LNK   plucker-OB   direction-OB=front   PROG   go-IMPF.3P

        'They were going along in the direction of the pear picker.'

(493)   *izəm*   *vuwar-i*   *diyangâ=na*   [MBB]

        firewood   carry- IMPF.3S   woodshed=front

        'He was taking firewood to the woodshed.'

In temporal phrases Anbarani and Asalemi combine the preposition *ba-* with 'in front' to give the respective forms *banâ* and *bana* with the sense 'previously, ago'. In Masali the form *piš* is used. For example:

(494)   *a.*   *av*   *dâ*   *sur*   *banâ*   *um-a=bə*   [AnVP]

               3S   ten   year   ago   came-PTC=AUX.3S

b.	a	da	sâl	cimi		bana	âm-a=b-a	[AsVP]
	3s	ten	year	POSSP.3s		ago	came-PTC=AUX-3s	

c.	a	da	sâl-e	piš	um-a=b-a	[MaVP]
	3s	ten	year-P	ago	came-PTC=AUX-3s	

'He had come ten years ago.'

5.1.1.4   =ru/=râ/=râ 'for'

The postposition =râ derives from Old Persian *rādiy*, Middle Persian *rāy*, where it has a benefactive meaning 'because of, for the sake of' (Miller 1953, p.79, who suggests Russian equivalents ради and из-за). In Taleshi this meaning has been preserved, and the Modern Persian use of *-râ* to signal that reference tracing is to be undertaken for the NP it marks (cf. Shokouhi & Kipka 2003) is not found. The examples below indicate that the meaning can extend to purpose (497) and result (498).

(495)	hârd-e	hâr	udam-i=ru	luzim=e	[AnNP]
	eat-INF	every	human-OB=for	necessary=COP.3s	

'Everyone has to eat (lit: eating is necessary for every human).'

(496)	a-i=râ	câi	dam	kar-ə	[MSS67]
	3s-OB=for	tea	brew	does-3s	

'She brews tea for her.'

(497)	a	cai	vind-e=râ	uma	[AsVP]
	3s	POSSD.3s	see-INF=for	came.3s	

'He came with the intention of seeing him.'

(498)	cimi	nâra=râ	âdam=i	zala	šu	[MSS32]
	POSSP.3s	roar=for	man=IND	terror	go.3s	

'Because of his roar a man would be terrified.'

(499)	ne-š-i	a-i=râ	əštə	amu	bi-vin-i	[MaVP]
	NEG-go-2s	3s-OB=for	your	uncle	SBJ-see-2s	

'Won't you go and see your uncle about that?'

The dative meaning of =râ may be used to express possession (cf. §5.1.1.4):

(500) *də*   *gəla*   *vara*   *a-i=râ*   *b-u*   [MSG]

  2   CL   lamb   3S-OB=for   be-3S

'She has two lambs (i.e. two lambs are born to her).'

(501) *cimi=râ*   *də*   *gəla*   *vayu*   *hest*   *b-a*   [ASM]

  3S.IOP=for   2   CL   bride   exist   was-3S

'She had two daughters-in-law.'

=râ may be used with verbs of motion to mark goals:

(502) *a*   *alân*   *kiâ=râ*   *kâ*   *š-e*   [AsVP]

  3S   now   where?=for   PROG   go-INF

'Where is he going now?'

(503) *a*   *kas-i=râ*   *til-a*   [MaNP]

  3S   person-OB=for   ran-3S

'He ran towards someone.'

Note that in Anbarani *=ru* combines with the indirect object form of the personal pronoun; that in Asalemi *=râ* combines with the possessive personal pronoun; while in Masali it combines with the oblique form. For example:

(504) *âz=an bavə=ru*   *âlaf=anda*   *bândan tümü* *a-k-im*   [ANR14]

  1S=also 3S.IOD=for   grass=LOC   tie   making AUG-do-IMPF.1S

'I too was making ties out of grass for him.'

(505) *ham*   *pas-e*   *ca=râ*   *mand-in*

  both   sheep-P POSSD.3S=for   remained-3P

  ham   *a*   *tele-ye* *ca=râ*   *mand-in*   [ASB79]

  both   DEMD   gold-P   POSSD.3S=for   remained-3P

'Both the sheep were left for him and those pieces of gold were left for him.'

(506) *ce*   *əm*   *rafiǧ-un*   *a-i=râ*   *fuiza*   *kard=a*   [MPS31]

  POSSD.3S   DEMP   friend-OB.P   3S-OB=for   whistle did=TR

'These friends of his whistled for him.'

5.1.1.5   =*dəre* 'source'

The case clitic =*dəre* is used only in southern dialects of Taleshi such as Masali, and expresses source. Examples include:

(507) *ama   kərâ   râ=dəre   š-imun*   [MPS2]

     1P   PROG   way=SRCE   go-IMPF.1P

     'We were going along the road.'

(508) *câr   pin   nafar   xərdan kərâ   a   sar=dəre*

     4   5   person   child   PROG   DEMD   direction=SRCE

     ke   â-n   [MPS42]

     COMP   come-3P

     'Four or five children, as they came from that direction, were busy…'

The following example is the only instance (of six) in the Masali corpus with a different verb than 'to come' (Shandermani texts have a number with *ume* 'to come', two with *mânde* 'to remain' and some with combinations of other verbs and locatives *yâ/uâ*):

(509) *səb-i   a   sar=dəre   iz-u,   gâmâ-un duš-u* [MSS84]

     morning-OB   DEMD   direction=SRCE gets.up-3S   cow-OB.P   milks-3S

     'In the morning she goes up in that direction, milks the cows, …'

5.1.2   Other Postpositions

The markers described in this section are derived from forms which still function as independent nouns.

5.1.2.1   *var* 'side, direction'

var means 'side' in Modern Persian, a sense which has developed in Asalemi and Masali into the meaning 'at someone's place' (the word is not used in Anbarani):

(510) *a   rais-i   var-i=kâ   mand-a   [AsNP]*

     3S   chief-OB   near-OB=LOC   stayed-3S

     'He stayed at the chief's (house).'

(511) *mən   bə-ba   cəmən kəla   var*   [ASM]

     1S.OB   IMP-take   POSS.1S daughter   direction

'Take me to my daughter.'

(512) *a*   *rais-i*   *var-i*   *mand-a*   *[MaNP]*

3s   chief-OB   near-OB   stayed-3s

'He stayed at the chief's (house).'

In Masali[101] *var* may also be used to mark goal NPs, e.g.:

(513) *â*   *gadâ*   *var*   *[MCB]*

came.3s   Gada   direction

'He came towards Gada.'

5.1.2.2 *sa/sar/sar* 'head, at, on top of'

sar (*sa* in Anbarani) means 'head' in both Modern Persian and Taleshi, and extends semantically to related senses such as 'end' and 'top'. In Taleshi this has led to innovations such as *ka sar* 'roof' (Masali); *sar âbərd-e* 'head chop-INF', hence 'to execute' (all dialects); *šäng-a-va-sa* night-ADJ-side-at, 'at night's embrace, i.e. at sunset' (Anbarani); and *saf-sari* 'tomorrow' (Asalemi). In both Asalemi and Masali, Persian *sar=e kâr* at=EZ work 'at work' is expressed by *kâr-a sar* work-LNK head.

Juxtaposed with other nouns, *sar* conveys the following additional senses:

'at the top of':

(514) *buğavün*   *əštân*   *ânbu-a*   *du*   *sa=ku* *pe-š-a=bə*   *[ANP2]*

gardener   self   pear-LNK   tree   top=LOC PVB-went.up-PTC=AUX.3s

'A gardener climbed up his pear tree.'

(515) *buğavün*   *du*   *sa=ku*   *bə*   *[ANP16]*

gardener   tree   top=LOC   was.3s

'The gardener was up the tree.'

(516) *paranda*   *dâr-i*   *sar-i*   *mand-a*   *[MaNP]*

bird   tree-OB   head-OB   stayed-3s

'The bird stayed in the tree.'

'on, over':

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[101] *var* is widely used in this sense in Shandermani.

(517) mâi   hasir-ə sa   nu   [AnNP]

fish   mat-OB head   put.TR

'He put the fish on the mat.'

(518) xərs-i   sar-i   kulâ   nâ=n [MSG]

bear-OB   head-OB   hat   put=3P

'They pull the wool over the bear's eyes (lit: they put a hat on the bear's head).'

(519) a-i   jodra   ca   sar-i=kâ   nu=a   [AsVP]

3S-OB   chador POSSD.3S   head-OB=LOC put=TR

'She put the chador over her head.'

(520) a-i   jodra   ca   sar-i=kâ   vi-du=a   [AsVP]

3S-OB   chador POSSD.3S   head-OB=LOC PVB-lay.down=TR

'She spread the chador over her.'

(521) a.   kiža   ru   sa=ku   par-a [AnNP]

bird   river head=LOC   flew-3S

b.   paranda rəbâr-i   sar-i=na   kâ   parəst-e   [AsNP]

bird   river-OB   head-OB=with   PROG fly-INF

'The bird is flying over the river.'

(522) a   zarf-i   âtaš-i   sar-i   nu=š=a   [MaNP]

3S   pot-OB fire-OB head-OB   put=3S=TR

'He put the pot on the fire.'

(523) pard-i   sar-i=ku   nəš-ə [MBB]

bridge-OB   head=OB=LOC   sit-3S

'He sits on the bridge.'

Direction/location:

(524) a-ven   kərâ   a   sar=dəre   â-istine   [MPS45]

3-P   PROG   that   direction=SRCE come-IMPF.3P

'They were coming from over there.'

(525) haf   xəm   o   xâsravi   pul   ha   cem-a   sar-i=ku

seven antique and   Khosrâvi   money SAMED spring-LNK   head-OB=LOC

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i-la	*səng-a*	*gəla*	*bəni=ku*	*nu-a*	[MCB]
a-CL	stone-LNK	CL	under=LOC	put=PTC	

'Seven antique Khosravi coins are hidden under a stone at that same spring.'

Other Northern dialects also develop this theme, e.g. *bəšin əm vasa* 'come this direction', *vedra-sa* 'basket-into'.

5.1.2.3 *piu* 'above'

In Anbarani, *piu* is an alternative to *sa* for the senses 'at the top of', 'over' and 'on' (compare the Anbarani synonyms *bəni* and *žiu* 'under' in §§5.1.2.5 and 5.1.2.6).

(526)
kiža	*du*	*piu=yə*	[AnNP]
bird	tree	up=COP.3S	

'The bird is in the tree.'

(527)
ca	*ləng-ə*	*piu*	*yâra=y*	*hest*	[AnNP]
POSSD.3S	leg-OB	up	wound=COP.3S	exist	

'There is a wound on his leg.'

(528)
ğâb=əš	*gəleše*	*piu*	*nu*	[AnNP]
pot=3S	something	on	put.TR	

'He put the pot onto something.

(529)
av-ə	*câdra*	*ca*	*piu*	*da-du*	[AnNP]
3S-OB	chador	POSSD.3S	on	PVB-cast.TR	

'She cast the chador over her.'

5.1.2.4 *delân/dela/dila* 'in'

As a noun, *dil/del* means 'heart, intestines' in both Modern Persian and Taleshi. In a directional sense it expresses both 'location in' and 'direction into':

(530)
hi-ün	*dəlân*	*gandəm*	*zârd*	*bə*	[ANR30]
field-P	in	wheat	yellow	was.3S	

'In the fields, the wheat was yellow.'

(531)
ši=na=b-im	*ğad-a*	*nuğ-ə*	*dəlân*	[ANR24]
go=LOC=AUX-1S	big-LNK	cave-OB	in	

'I used to go into a big cave…'

Where the location is unambiguously a container (e.g. a bag, a pocket), the use of this suffix is optional and a generalized case clitic (e.g. *=anda* in Anbarani, *=kâ* in Asalemi and simply the oblique in Masali) is sufficient to express location 'in' (e.g.(532)). But where the object is unspecified, or generalized location is potentially ambiguous between 'in' and 'on'/'at', the word is required (e.g. (533),(534)).

(532) *a-i*   *i-la*   *ambəlu əštan* *jif-i*   *(dela)=kâ*   *nu=a*   [AsNP]

       3s-OB   a-CL   pear   self   pocket-OB   in=LOC   put=TR

       'He put a pear in his pocket.'

(533) *a-i*   *can*   *gla*   *vuiz* *i*   *ci-yi*   **(dela)=kâ* *nu=a* [AsNP]

       3s-OB   some CL   walnut a   thing-OB in=LOC   put=TR

       'He put some walnuts into something.'

(534) *darafand=əš=a*   *daryâ* *dela=kâ*   [ASB77]

       PVBthrew=3s=TR   sea   in=LOC

       'He threw (him) into the sea.'

5.1.2.5   *bəni* 'under, beneath'

This postposition denotes location 'under' or 'at the bottom of'. In Anbarani *žiu* is a synonymous alternative (see §5.1.2.6).

(535) *nuxaš-a*   *gu*   *du*   *bən=anda*   *həta* *bə*   [AnNP]

       sick-LNK   cow   tree   under=LOC   asleep was.3s

       'The sick cow was asleep under the tree.'

When expressing goals or locations in Asalemi and Masali, *bəni* usually occurs with *=kâ* (7/12 and 8/12 instances respectively), though this may optionally be dropped:

(536) *amu*   *š-a*   *daryâ* *bəni=ku*   *mard-a* [ASB78]

       uncle went-3s sea   under=LOC   died-3s

       'The uncle sank to the bottom of the sea and died.'

(537) *xərdan* *dâr-i*   *bəni=ku*   *xət-a*   [MaNP]

       child   tree-OB   under=LOC   slept-3s

       'The child slept under the tree.'

(538) *šu*   *ku*   *bəni*   [MBB]

      go.3s   hill   under

      'He goes to the bottom of the hill.'

(539) *dâr-a*   *bəni*   *mun-am*   [MSG]

      tree-LNK   under stay-1P

      'We can stay under a tree.'

Some place names also contain the word. For example *cət bən,* literally 'rock-under', is a hamlet at the base of a large hill a few kilometres north of Shanderman.

5.1.2.6   *žiu* 'under, beneath' (Northern only)

      žiu is an alternative to *bən=anda* in Anbarani:

(540) *hasir*   *taxtəxâb-ə*   *žiu*   *mând-e*   [AnNP]

      mat   bed-OB   under   stayed-3s

      'The mat remained under the bed.'

(541) *av-ə*   *i-la*   *mežüna*   *laǧa*   *žiu*   *daǧând=e*   [AnNP]

      3S-OB   a-CL   ant   tread   under   crushed=TR

      'He crushed an ant beneath his foot.'

5.1.3   Prepositions

5.1.3.1   *ba-/ba-/bə-* 'to'

      The preposition *ba* is common in Anbarani, where it has similar functions to its cognate *be* in Persian. The basic meaning is 'to/towards a location':

(542) *av*   *ba*   *c-a*   *merd-ə*   *ka*   *uma* [AnNP]

      3s   to   POSS-DEMD   man-OB   house   came.3s

      'He came to that man's house.'

(543) *av*   *ba*   *di*   *taraf*   *da-ru-gəni*   [AnNP]

      3s   to   village   direction   PVB-road-fell.upon.3s

      'He set off in the direction of the village.'

Recipient indirect objects in Anbarani are also modified with *ba-*, where Asalemi and Masali prefer a simple oblique:

(544) *a.*   *a-və*   *pül*   *ba*   *i*   *kas-ə*   *du*   *[AnNP]*

             3S-OB   money   to   a   person-OB   gave.TR

    b.   *a*   *pul=i*   *i*   *nafar=i*   *â-du=š=a [MaNP] & AS*

             3S   money=IND   a   person=IND   PVB-gave=3S=TR

    'He gave some money to somebody.'

It also conflates the meaning 'onto', e.g. *ba sa* '(had put a hat) on (his) head'. Its 'to' meaning can be applied by metaphorical extension to abstract domains:

(545) *liv-ân*   *ba*   *šəxšəx*   *b-in*   *[ANP5]*

      leaf-P   to   rustle   was-3P

    'The leaves were a-rustling.'

(546) *sa=š*   *ğâl*   *bə*   *ba*   *əštan*   *âmbü*   *cən-e   [ANP16]*

      head=3S   hot   was.3S   to   self   pear   pick-INF

    'He was busy (lit. his head was hot) picking pears.'

In Asalemi and Masali this preposition occurs almost exclusively in fixed phrases borrowed from Persian, e.g. *ba isâb* 'in proportion' (ASB), *bə nâm=e* 'in the name of' (MAS). In Masali the preposition may also optionally be used with indirect objects, as in example (547) below. The situation is similar in the three instances of *be* in the Masule Pear Story text: all are in the context of borrowed Persian complex predicates: *takiaš dua be sərd* 'he leant on the ladder (MASP35 and 36) and *šuru karən be…* 'he began to…' (MASP29).

(547) *cerâ*   *bə*   *de*   *š-ira?   [MaVP]*

      why   to   village   went-2S

    'Why did you go to the village?'

In addition, Anbarani and Asalemi conflate the preposition with a form of the oblique pronoun to form an indirect object pronoun (cf. §3.8.4). Pronouns in these two dialects take this form when they are recipient indirect objects or have any of the related semantic roles described above:

(548) *kəlâ=šun*   *â-du=a*   *bai*   *[ASP20]*

      hat=3P   PVB-gave=TR   3S.IOD

    'They gave (his) hat to him.'

(549) *n-a-zün-im*   *bavün*   *ras-e*   [ANR26]

NEG-AUG-could-IMPF.1S   3P.IOD   reach-INF

'I could not reach them.'

Note also uses such as example (550), where *ba* modifies a beneficiary (see also example (487) and the comment there):

(550) *ke*   *baštanna*   *b-ar-u* [ASP11]

so.that for.self   SBJ-eat-3S

'In order that he himself may eat (it).'

Finally, *ba-* combines with *nâ/na* in Anbarani and Asalemi respectively to give the sense 'earlier, before'. Examples are given in §5.1.1.3 above.

5.1.3.2 *az-* 'from'

In Masali occasional use is made of Persian *az* 'from' in more Persianized texts, as shown in the examples below. The text of the final example (554) is not Persianized; rather, the entire clause, meaning 'Once upon a time', has been adapted from the Persian *ǧeir az xodâ hic kas nabud*.

(551) *i-la*   *hašrât=am*   *âma*   *kə*   *az*   *un*   *gardan*

a-CL wolf=also   came.3S COMP from   those   neck

koloft-un=ku   [MCB]

thick-OB.P=LOC

'A wolf also came along, one of those thick-necked ones.'

(552) *tə=ni* *yek=i*   *az*   *a-vun=ira*   [MCB]

2S=also one=IND   from   3-OB.P=COP.2S

'You are one of them too.'

(553) *az*   *ǧadim* *dust=i*   *dâr-i*   [MAS]

from   ancient friend=IND   had-IMPF.3S

'He had an old friend.'

(554) *ǧeir*   *az*   *xudâ*   *hikas*   *ne-bu* [MBB]

apart   from   God   nobody NEG-be.3S

'Apart from God there is nobody.'

5.2 Adjectives and Adverbs

5.2.1 Adjectival Structure

In all three dialects, attributive adjectives tend to precede the noun and are suffixed by a non-declinable linking vowel -*a*. For example:

(555) *az*   *sər-a*   *bar-i*   *vind=əm=a*   [MaNP]

      1s   red-LNK door-OB   saw=1S=TR

      'I saw the red door.'

Adjectives with a predicative sense have the structure noun + adjective + copular verb, e.g.:

(556) *əštə*   *ba*   *sə=ye*   [AnNP]

      POSS.2s door   red=COP.3S

      'Your door is red.'

Predicative and attributive adjectives may relate to the same noun in combination:

(557) *sər-a*   *barəngâ*   *yâl=a*   [AsNP]

      red-LNK door   big=COP.3S

      'The red door is big.'

While adjective chaining is possible, as in (558) and (559), it is extremely rare; other strategies, such as putting a second adjective in apposition (560), are preferred.

(558) *ğašang-a*   *javân-a*   *kina*   [MSS89]

      beautiful-LNK   young-LNK   girl

      'a beautiful young girl'

(559) *sang-ca-ye*   *hest*   *b-in,*   *yâl-a*   *bəland-a*   *sang-ca-ye*   [ASM]

      stone-well-P   exist   was-3P   big-LNK deep-LNK   stone-well-P

      '(In those days) there were stone wells, big deep stone wells.'

(560) *pir-a*   *žen,*   *bicâra,*   *harci*   *harâ=i*   *kar-ə*   [MBB]

      old-LNK woman helpless   however.much   fuss=IND   make-3S

      'The old woman, poor thing, however much fuss she makes …'

Both *possessor* and *possessum* noun phrases may be modified by attributive adjectives:

(561) *tâz-a*   *šət-i*   *yâl-a*   *ğab*   [AsNP]

      fresh-LNK   milk-OB   big-LNK pot

      'The big pot of fresh milk.'

Masali texts manifested several adjectives with attributive function borrowing the Persian *ezafe* structure: noun=*ezafe* adjective. For example, a Masali speaker reported the two sentences below to be alternatives in normal speech:[102]

(562) a.   *i-la*   *ka=ye*   *səng-i*

            a.CL   house=EZ   stone-DADJ

        b.   *i-la*   *səng-a*   *ka*   *[MaNP]*

            a.CL   stone-LNK   house

  'A stone house.'

The ezafe also surfaced very occasionally in Asalemi texts, generally encliticized to a Persian loanword; for example:

(563) *motavaje=ye* *ca*   *kəla*   *b-in*   *[ASP19]*

     noticing=EZ   POSSD.3S   hat   be-3P.PST

     'They noticed his hat.'

5.2.2 Comparisons

There is no authentic morphological comparative or superlative in Taleshi. Hence all three dialects rely on circumlocutions or ablative marking on the comparator, as in (564) to (567),[103] or use of an adverb meaning 'more', such as in (568) to (571). In addition, Masali has borrowed a comparative suffix from Persian (see below).

(564) *i-tka=š*   *dakaš-a=b-e*   *a-me*   *[AnVP]*

     a-little=3S   dragged-PTC=AUX-3S   AUG-died.3S

     '(If) more time had passed (lit. if he had dragged a little), he would have died.'

(565) *a*   *vivažen* *hay*   *kâr=a*   *ğâym*   *â-b-e*   *[AsVP]*

     that   widow repeatedly   PROG=3S   fat   PVB-become-INF

     'That widow (repeatedly) keeps getting fatter.'

---

[102] This availability of the Persian ezafe construction also exists with some possessive constructions (§3.5). The Persian ezafe is discussed in more detail in Mahootian (1997, p.66); see also §5.2.1.

[103] This is also the case in Azerbaijani Talyshi, as illustrated in this example from Schulze (2000, p.19):

"*čəmə* *bo*   *čə*   *mə-kü*   *yol-e*

  my   brother from   I:OB-ABL   big-AUX:3SG:S

 'My brother is bigger than I.' "

(566) *čəmân* *miv-ân* *əštə* *miv-ân-sa* *xayli* *ras=an* [Amirian-Budalalu 2005, p.47]

POSS.1S fruit-P POSS.2S fruit-P-CMPR very ripe=COP.3P

'My fruits are much riper than your fruits.'

(567) *cəmən* *dâr* *əštə* *dâr-i=ku* *câk=a* [Yarshater 1996, p.90]

POSS.1S tree POSS.2S tree-OB=than good=COP.3S

'My tree is better than your tree.'

(568) *av* *hâr* *ruž-a*[104] *vəi* *nuxaš* *bi=na* [AnVP]

3S every day-FRQ more sick become=LOC

'He is becoming more sick every day.'

(569) *har* *ruz* *rəbâr-i* *âv* *tika=i* *ver* *â-ra-b* [AsVP]

every day river-OB water little=IND more PVB-AUG-become.3S

'Every day the river water becomes a little higher.'

(570) *cimi=kâ* *səvâi* *de* *šəma=râ* *nə-ma-must* [ASA]

POSSP.3S=than except in.fact 2P=for NEG-1S-be.able

'I can't (do) any more than that for you.'

(571) *agar* *ziâd* *tul* *bə-dain-i* *mard=â* [MaVP]

if much time SBJ-pass-IMPF.3S died=COP.PST.3S

'If more/much time had passed, he would have died.'

Neither Nawata (1982) nor Lazard (1978) mention any comparative constructions for Masali or Masulei; however, in modern, colloquial speech southern dialects of Taleshi (including Masali) have borrowed the comparative suffix -*tar* from Persian.[105] Compare and contrast, for example, the following sentence using -*tar* in Masali with its Asalemi equivalent in (565):

(572) *a* *vivaženak* *câǧ* *o* *câǧ-tar* *b-u* [MaVP]

DEMD widow fat and fat-CMPR become-3S

'That widow is getting fatter and fatter.'

---

[104] This -*a* suffix in Anbarani appears to be a borrowing from the Persian equivalent -*e* in e.g. *har ruz-e* 'every day'. We gloss it as "frequentative" here.

[105] Gilaki also borrows -*tar* from Persian. For example, *kucek-tar* 'little-CMPR' is found in the Gilaki Pear Story text.

Other Masali examples of this usage include:

(573)   *diâra*   *kam-tar=a*   *ğeymat*   [MBB]

         drum   little-CMPR=COP.3S   price

         'The drum is less in price (i.e. cheaper).'

(574)   *vištatar*[106]   *a-i=na*   *xəšin=a*   [MSS4]

         more   3S-OB=with   pleased=COP.3S

         'He is more pleased with her.'

All three dialects also possess a comparative particle meaning 'like'. In Anbarani it is *bata*, and it precedes the object of the comparison. In Asalemi the suffix -*šâr* is used, and in Masali the suffix -*ši*:

(575)   *av*   *bata*   *kiža*   *hândi=na=bə*   [AnNP]

         3S   like   bird   sing=LOC=AUX.3S

         'He was singing like a bird.'

(576)   *a*   *xaraguša-šâr*   *virit-a*   [AsNP]

         3S   rabbit.OB-like   ran-3S

         'He ran like a rabbit.'

(577)   *əštə*   *bar*   *cəmə*   *bar-i-ši*   *sər=a*   [MaNP]

         POSS.2S door   POSS.2S door-OB-like   red=COP.3S

         'Your door is red, like mine.'

(578)   *a.*   *av*   *bata*   *mân*   *təl-a*   [AnNP]

                3S   like   1S.OB   ran-3S

         b.   *a*   *cəmən-šâr*   *virit-a*   [AsNP]

                3S   POSS.3S.P-like   ran-3S

         c.   *a*   *cəmə-ši*   *til-a*   [MaNP]

                3S   POSS.3S.P-like   ran-3S

         'He ran like me.'

---

[106] Compare Persian *bištar* 'more'.

5.2.3   Other Use of Linking -*a*

The only other use of linking -*a* is with what Lazard (1992, p.72) terms modifiers of appurtenance, that is with nouns which are in a part-whole relationship:

(579) *dâr-a   kangul=i   bu-mun,*   [MSG]

tree-LNK   hollow=IND IMP-stay

'Stay in the hollow of a tree!'

(580) *lâst-a   xəl=i   bu-mun* [MSG]

rock-LNK   hole=IND   IMP-stay

'Stay in a hole in the rock!'

5.2.4   Adverbial Constructions

The inventory of native Taleshi adverbs is fairly small.[107] There are many borrowings from Persian, including a number which have their origins in Arabic, e.g. *belaxara* 'at last, finally', *hattâ* 'even' and *masalan* 'for example'. In connection with the latter example, some Taleshi adverbs have been formed with the help of an adverbial -*n* suffix; for example, Anbarani *itkan* 'bit by bit' is built from the numeral *i* 'one, a', the classifier *tika* 'little bit' and this suffix.

Native Taleshi adverbs include manner adverbials such as Anbarani *zui* 'forcefully' and Masali *vipər* 'sneakily'; time adverbials such as *mâški/saxsa/sabâ* (Anbarani, Asalemi and Masali respectively) 'tomorrow' and *zina/izər/zira* 'yesterday'; and words based on demonstrative forms such as *ata, ənta, hata, hənta* 'like that', 'like this', 'just like that', 'just like this' in Asalemi and Masali (compare Anbarani *žəgu* 'like this' and *žagu* 'like that').

As in Persian, adjectives may take on an adverbial function, modifying verbs. For example, Amirian-Budalalu (2005, p.50) includes the following place and time adverbs in her list for Anbarani: *nez* 'near', *duz* 'right, straight', *cuk* 'good, well', *piyuda* 'on foot', *ra* 'fast'; while Masali yields the example:

(581) *uri   bəland lua   kar-ə* [MaVP]

today   loud   speech do-3s

---

[107] Kishekhale (2007, pp.45-48) provides a fairly comprehensive list of Asalemi adverbs.

'Today he speaks loudly.'

Like English, Asalemi and Masali can use a form of 'with' alongside a noun to give an adverbial sense. This is achieved by appending the case clitic =*na* to the oblique form of the noun, for example:

(582) *kəlok   šəršər-i=na   kâ   vârəst-e*   [AsVP]

rain   vigour-OB=with   PROG   rain-INF

'It is raining heavily.'

(583) *əštan   majles-i=ku   nəš-â   ğašang   ğašang-i=na* [MBB]

self   parliament-OB=LOC   sit- 3S.PST   nice   nice-OB=with

'(the king) had sat down in his parliament with pomp and ceremony.'

(584) *ce   mu-yen yavâš   yavâš-i=na   kərâ   sefid   â-b-un* [MaVP]

POSSD.3S   hair-P   slow   slow-OB=with   PROG   white   PVB-become-3P

'Her hair is gradually becoming white.'

The Anbarani equivalent is the deictic form =*anda*:

(585) *kəluk   šuršur=anda   vua=na=y*   [AnVP]

rain   vigour=with   rain=LOC=3s

'It is raining heavily.'

Adverbs and adverbial phrases may chain together, e.g.:

(586) *cimi   amu=ni   xaili   ba   hisob   tama=š*

POSSP.3S   uncle=also   very   to   proportion   greed=3s

hes   b-a   [ASB38]

exist   was-3S

'His uncle was really very greedy (Lit. greed was very much in proportion to his uncle).'

Reduplication offers a way to express the gradualness of a process; for example:

(587) a.   *mü=š gada   gada   səpi   b=ina*   [AnVP]

hair=3s little   little   white   become=LOC

b.   *ce   mu-yen yavâš   yavâš-i=na   kerâ   sefid   â-b-un* [MaVP]

POSSD.3S hair-P   slow   slow-NOM=with PROG   white   PVB-become-3P

'Her hair is slowly becoming white.'

Finally, note the ability of e.g. *xali/xaili/xeili* 'very' to modify nouns in a quantificational sense, e.g.:

(588) *xali   haivun-un   mârd-in   [AnVP]*

       many   animal-P   died-3P

       'Many animals died.'

Interrogative pronouns and other question words are discussed in §6.11.2.2.

5.3   **Number**

The syntax of numerals, classifiers and quantifiers is discussed in §§6.7-6.8.

5.3.1   **Numerals**

Cardinal numbers from one to ten are set out in the table below with their colloquial Persian equivalents:

Table 47: Cardinal numerals from one to ten

	Taleshi	Persian		Taleshi	Persian
1	*i*	*yek*	6	*šaš (Masali šiš)*	*šiš*
2	*də*	*do*	7	*haf(t)*	*haft*
3	*se*	*se*	8	*haš(t)*	*hašt*
4	*câr*	*câr*	9	*na (Anbarani nav)*	*no*
5	*penž (Masali pin(j))*	*panj*	10	*da (Anbarani dâ)*	*da*

Further numerals may be found in Amirian-Budalalu (2005, p.49) for Anbarani, Yarshater (1996, p.91) and Kishekhale (2007, p.43) for Asalemi, and Nawata (1982, p.114) for Masali. Most are identical to Persian. Syntactic aspects of numerals are discussed in §6.7.

5.3.2   **Classifiers**

Numerals and the quantifier *can(d)* 'some' commonly occur with classifiers, although these are not strictly obligatory. Any noun following a numeral phrase is generally in the singular. The most common Taleshi classifier is *gəla*, with which the numeral *i* 'one' can combine to form *i-la*. For example:

(589) *i-le=i*   *hes*   *bə,*   *i-le=i*   *nə-bə.*

1-CL-IND exist was.3S 1-CL=IND NEG-was.3S

i   *rüž*   *i-la*   *buğavün …*   [ANP1-2]

1   day   1-CL   gardener

'One was, one wasn't (i.e. once upon a time). One day a gardener (climbed up a ladder)'

(590) *se*   *gəla*   *merd*   [AnNP] &AS/M

three   CL   man

'Three men.'

Another commonly found classifier is *nafar* 'person':

(591) *câr*   *pin*   *nafar*   *xərdan* [MPS42]

4   5   person child

'Four or five children'

(592) *də se nafar*   *ca*   *rafiğ-e* *a*   *var-i=kâ*   *kâ=b-in*

2   3   person POSSD.3S friend-P DEMR side-OB=LOC   PROG=AUX-3P

um-e   [ASP17]

come-INF

'Two or three of his friends were coming from that direction.'

In addition, a number of nouns function as pseudoclassifiers (Croft 1999), including various terms of measure. A selection of examples are given below:

(593) *i*   *ceka*   *xun*   *hatia*   *pas*   *mun-u*   [MSS38]

1   drop   blood   just.there   back   remain-3S

'One drop of blood is left over there.'

(594) *i*   *kam=i*   *šət*   *a-i*   *bə-da*   [MaVP]

a   little=IND   milk   3S-OB   IMP-give

'Give him a little milk.'

(595) *i-la*   *livân*   *âv*   /   *i-la*   *kâsa*   *âv*   [MaNP]

a   glass   water   /   a-CL   bowl   water

'A glass of water. A bowl of water.'

(596)   *i*   *lâr-i=ku*   *də man se*   *man*   *nəmek da-kar-ə*   [MSG]

        a   trough-OB=LOC   2 7kg 3   7kg   salt   PVB-pour-3S

        'He pours 2 or 3 mans (a 7kg weight) into a trough.'

(597)   *se*   *câr*   *kilo*   *âv*   *da-kar-ə*   [MSG]

        3   4   kilo   water   PVB-pour-3S

        'He pours in 3 or 4 kilos of water.'

(598)   *i*   *rama*   *pas*   [ASB71]

        a   flock   sheep

        'A flock of sheep.'

However, note that *rama* 'sheep' can also function as a noun in its own right:

(599)   *dumlakâ*   *bamən ani*   *i-la*   *rama*   *bə-dar-un*   [ASB75]

        later   1S.IO   also   a-CL   flock   SBJ-give-3P

        '(So that) later they might give me a flock too.'

       In Masali the classifier and noun may reverse their order, leading to omission of the indefinite article. Examples of this in the corpus were restricted to participants and props which had a significant role to play in the story, such as the thorn in (600) and the mouse in (601):

(600)   *pâ*   *i-tâ*   *ti*   *gina.*

        foot   a-CL   thorn   goes.3S

        əštan   *pâ*   *ti-a*   *tâ*   *bar-ger-u*   [MBB]

        self   foot   thorn-LNK   CL   PVB-go.in-3S

        '(His) foot lands on a thorn. The thorn goes into his foot …'

(601)   *i-la*   *muš*   *yâ*   *gard-ə*

        a-CL   mouse   here   go-3S

        muš-a   *gəla*   *he*   *pas*   *â-mun-u*   [MCB10, 33]

        mouse-LNK   CL   still   back   PVB-remain-3S

        'A mouse is walking about here! … The mouse still hangs back.'

       In Asalemi we find a contraction of *i-la=i* a-CL=IND 'someone' to *i-l=i*. This is illustrated below in subject (602) and indirect object (603) positions:

(602) *i-l=i*   *dâr-i*   *nezk-i=kâ*   *xət-a*   [AsNP]

      one-CL=IND   tree-OB   near-OB=LOC slept-3s

      'Someone has fallen asleep near the tree.'

(603) *a-i*   *pul*   *i-l=i*   *â-du=a*   [AsNP]

      3S-OB   money   a-CL=IND   PVB-handed.over=TR

      'He handed the money over to someone.'

Non-specific words like *ci* 'thing' do not take a classifier, but may be individuated by the attachment of the indefinite marker as in example (604).[108]

(604) *i*   *ci=i*   *cəmən* *bərâ*   *gašt=a*   [AsVP]

      a   thing=IND   POSS.1s brother   bit=TR

      'Something bit my brother.'

(605) *i*   *can*   *gəla=i* *miva*   *vi-gənəst-a.*   [AsVP]

      a   some   CL=IND   fruit   PVB-fell-3s

      'A few pieces of fruit fell.'

5.4 Quantifiers

5.4.1 Indefinite Quantifiers

Indefinite quantifiers used in all three dialects include *xaili* 'many' (Anbarani *xali)*, *can(d)* 'some' (Anbarani *cân(d)*) and *bazi* 'some' (Anbarani *bâzi)*. In addition, we find *vəi* 'much' in Anbarani and equivalent *ver* 'much' in Asalemi. *xaili* and *bazi* resemble determiners in taking bare (plural nouns); *can* resembles numerals in that it is usually followed by a classifier; while *vəi* and *ver* take singular nouns with the addition of a linker, like adjectives. Examples of the use of these quantifiers are given below:

(606) *əspa*   *xaili*   *âdam-e*   *gâz*   *gat=in*   [AsNP]

      horse   many   man-P   bit   got=TR.P

      'The horse bit many men.'

(607) *av*   *bâzi*   *dâstân-un*   *cuk=a*   *tarif*   *kâ=na*   [AnNP]

      3s   some   story-OB.P   well=3s   description do=LOC

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[108] See §3.3.1 for discussion of the indefinite clitic.

'He tells some stories well.'

(608) a-i   bamun=kâ   bazi-mun   pul   du=a [AsNP]

3S-OB   3P.IOD=LOC   some-P   money gave=TR

'He gave money to some of them.'

(609) a-i   can   gəla   ogla   kisa=kâ   nu=a [AsNP]

3S-OB some CL   egg   bag=LOC   put=TR

'He put some eggs in the bag.'

(610) ver-a   merd   [AsNP]

many-LNK   man

'Many men.'

5.4.2 Universal Quantifiers

Universal quantifiers used in all three dialects include *hama* 'all', *har* 'every, each' and *hic* 'none' (sometimes *hec* in Asalemi). In addition, Anbarani and Asalemi use the quantifier *gərd* 'all'. Examples of the use of these quantifiers are given in the remainder of this section.

The definite quantifier *hama* 'all' is widely used in Masali, where it functions as both an attributive and as a pronoun (the latter in example (611)), may be followed by plural nouns (612), and may (rarely, and through Persian influence) be modified by ezafe (613) – all like its Persian cognate *hame*. Finally, it may occur following a noun in the oblique case to give the meaning 'all of' (614). In Anbarani and Asalemi, however, its use is limited to an attributive before 'place': *hama vəre* and *hama jəgâ* respectively (e.g. (615)):

(611) ženak hama   rubəru=ku   nəšt-a [MaNP]

woman everyone   opposite=LOC   sat-3S

'The woman sat down opposite everyone.'

(612) a   hama ka-un=ku   ğazâ   hard=əš=a   [MaNP]

3S   all   house-P=LOC   food   ate=3S=TR

'He ate food in all the houses.'

(613) hama=ye   cəmən bəz-en [MaNP]

all=EZ   POSS.1S goat-P

'All my goats.'

(614) *cəmun pul-i*   *hama*   *mə=ku*   *bard=əš=a.*   [MCB]

POSS.1s money-OB   all   1S.OB=LOC   took=3S=TR

'He took all my money from me.'

(615) *a*   *hama*   *jəgâ*   *əštan*   *əspa*   *dumla*   *gardəst-a*   [AsNP]

3S   every   place   self   horse   after   went-3S

'He went everywhere after (i.e. looking for) his horse.'

The definite quantifier *har* 'every, each, any' is used as a preceding attribute to a noun (see the following example). In Asalemi and Masali, it also commonly combines with the numerals 'one' and 'two' to give the meanings 'each one' and 'both'.

(616) *har*   *ruz*   *xərâk=əš*   *kâr=a*   *kam*   *â-b-e*   [AsVP]

each   day   food=3S   PROG=3S   less   PVB-become-INF

'His food is becoming less every day.'

The quantifier *hic* 'none' only occurs with a negative verb, to give a negative sense. As in Persian, it may combine with *ci* 'thing' to form the word *hicci* 'nothing':

(617) *a-i*   *hic*   *jəgâ=i*   *hard-e=râ*   *paidâ*   *nə-kard=a*   [AsNP]

3S-OB   no   place=IND   eat-INF=for   found   NEG-did=TR

'He did not find anywhere to eat.'

(618) *a-i*   *hicci*   *nə-vind=a*   [AsNP]

3S-OB   nothing NEG-saw=TR

'He did not see anything.'

Where Asalemi uses the quantifier *gərd* 'all', it is placed after the noun phrase which it modifies; whereas in Anbarani, it precedes the noun like other quantifiers:

(619) *a*   *bəz-e-i*   *ki*   *kâ=mun*   *gaf*   *ž-e*   *gərd*   [AsNP]

DEMD   goat-P-RCH   REL   PROG=1P   speech   hit-INF   all

'All those goats that we are talking about.'

(620) *gərd*   *cəmân bəz-un*   [AnNP]

all   POSS.1s goat-P

'All my goats.'

As in Persian (Mahootian 1997, p.268), the words *har* 'every' and *hic* 'nothing' are used to form quantifier compounds, e.g. *harci* 'whatever', *harjâ* 'wherever' (Anbarani *hârci* and *hârvəre* respectively).

Finally, the classifier *gəla* may be reduplicated to give a quantificational meaning. The effect is to individuate each of the participants counted by the number phrase, as in the following example:

(621) | *əm* | *šiš* | *xâ* | *gəla* | *gəla* | *gəla* | *da-xân-u* | [MSS15] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DEMP | 6 | sister | CL | CL | CL | PVB-summon-3S | |

'She summons these six sisters one by one.'

5.5 Conjunctions

5.5.1 Coordination

The most common conjunction is *va* 'and', phonologically reducible to clitic =*u* in speech (cognate with Persian *va/=o*).[109] It coordinates noun phrases (622), including within fixed phrases such as *dast u pâ* 'hand and foot' (623), and may combine with *fəlân* 'so and so' to give the meaning 'et cetera' (624). It may coordinate clauses (625) in the same way as it coordinates noun phrases. It can also introduce additional information in a new clause (626), and introduce additional clauses in a temporal sequence (627) and (628)) or in a cause and effect relationship (629).

(622) | *əštan* | *dada* | *u* | *piyadada=ru* | *sard* | *uv* | *a-v-i-m* | [ANR31] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| self | father | and | grandfather=for | cold | water | AUG-bring-IMPF-1S | |

'I used to bring cold water for my father and grandfather.'

(623) | *dast* | *u* | *pâ* | *dabend-ist-a=b-a* | [ASB78] |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| hand | and | foot | bound-PASS-PTC=AUG-3S | |

'He was bound hand and foot.'

(624) | *əm* | *cə* | *kâr=i* | *b-a* | *tə* | *kard=a* | *u* | *fəlân* | [ASB44] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DEMD | what? | deed=IND | was-3S | 2S | did=TR | and | so.on | |

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[109] Stilo (2004, p.273) notes that =o derives from Old Persian *utā* > Middle Persian *ud* > *uδ* > New Persian *u* > =o (citing Kent 1953, p.175), while *va* is an Arabic loanword; and that the two have fallen together in modern Persian.

'(He said:) "What was this that you did?" and so on…'

(625) *a   xaili mariz b-a   va   nezək b-a   ki   bi-mer--u*   [AsVP]

3s very sick   was-3s and   near   was-3s COMP SBJ-die-3s

'He was very sick and was close to death.'

(626) *va   hic   kâr=i   ham   balad   nə-b-im*   [ASC]

and   no   work=IND   also   able   NEG-was-1s

'Moreover, I didn't know any skill either.'

(627) *az can   gəla bar   vind=əm=a*

1s some CL   door   saw=1s=TR

va   ruk-un=ku   xəri=m=a   [MaNP]

and   small-OB.P=LOC bought=1s=TR

'I saw some doors and bought some of the small ones.'

(628) *nâ=šun=a   va   bar-vard=ušun=a,*

plunged=3P=TR   and   PVB-pulled=3P=TR

nâ=šun=a   va   bar-vard=ušun=a   [ASA]

plunged=3P=TR   and   PVB-pulled=3P=TR

'She plunged (her head into hot water) and pulled it out, plunged it in and pulled it out.'

(629) *əm   kila-te uma   u   əm   xərdan-i havâs*

DEMP   girl-DIM came.3s and   DEMP   child-OB concentration

part   b-a   [MPS22]

thrown was-3s

'This little girl came along, and the child's concentration was thrown.'

Occasional iconic use is made in Masali of a repeated conjunction to express intensive action:

(630) *ner-i pi-ger-ə   u šu   u   šu   u   šu   u   šu* [MBB]

ram-OB PVB-grab-3s and go.3s and   go.3s and   go.3s and go.3s

'He grabs the ram then goes and goes and goes and goes.'

Stilo (2004, pp.283 & 289-291) notes the potential for comitative coordination in Vafsi, another northwestern Iranian language. Asalemi also contains an instance of this, whereby a case clitic functions as a conjunctive coordinator meaning 'and' when conjoining nouns:

(631) | *adi=na* | *gudi.* ... | *adi=na* | *gudi* | *pe-p-in* | *š-in* | [ASA] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Adi=with | Gudi | Adi=with | Gudi | PVB-got.up-3P | went-3P | |

' "Adi and Gudi." ... Adi and Gudi got up and went.'

This contrasts with an example such as the following sentence, where the verb is singular and =*na* is on the second of the coordinated elements:

(632) | *ila* | *šuna* | *əštan* | *pas-un=na* | *kâ=b-a* | *om-e* | [ASB49] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a-CL | shepherd | self | sheep-OB.P=with | PROG=AUX-3S | come-INF | |

'A shepherd was coming with his sheep.'

The disjunctive conjunction *yâ* 'or' is used to present options.[110] Some examples follow below; note how sentence (634) illustrates the common tendency for the second coordinand to be shifted to post-verbal position (cf. Stilo 2004, p.306):

(633) | *varg* | *cama* | *kula* | *har-ə,* | *yâ* | *xərs* | *cama* | *kula* | *har-ə* | [MSG] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| wolf | POSS.1P | young | eat-3S | or | bear | POSS.1P | young | eat-3S | |

'A wolf will eat our young, or a bear will eat our young.'

(634) | *pâmba* | *əm* | *ruj=iš* | *ba-hvât* | *yâ* | *mâški* | [AnVP] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| wool | DEMP | day=2S | FUT-buy | or | tomorrow | |

'Will you buy the wool today or tomorrow?'

(635) | *kâ=m* | *fəkər kard-e* | *(ki)* | *b-uma=yə* | *yâ* | *ne* | [AsVP] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| PROG=1S | think do-INF | (COMP) | PRS-come=COP.3S | or | NEG | |

'I am wondering whether he is coming or not.'

(636) | *fekr* | *kərâ* | *kar-əm* | *â* | *yâ* | *n-â* | [MaVP] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| think | PROG | do-1S | come.3S | or | NEG-come.3S | |

'I am wondering whether he is coming or not.'

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[110] For the etymology of *yā* in Persian, Stilo (200, p.273) cites Early Judaeo-Persian *ayāb, yāw ~ yaw ~ yaβ* and Middle Persian *ạyāb* 'or'. Although no examples of bisyndetic *yâ* ... *yâ* were found in the corpus, Stilo (2004, p.306, see also p.317) reports that it is commonly used in Persian, Gilaki and Vafsi (S. Tatic); so it is likely to be possible in Taleshi too, especially given the attested use of other bisyndetic coordinators (such as *ham* ... *ham* and *ne* ... *ne* – see below).

Similarly, the conjunction *ne* may be used as a negative equivalent to *yâ* with the sense 'neither':

(637) *zamân = i*   *b-a*   *ki*   *ne*   *barğ*   *b-a*
       period=IND   was-3S   COMP   NEG   electricity   was-3S

       ne   *aslan*   *âv*   *b-a*   [ASC]
       NEG   at.all   water   was-3S

       'It was a time when there was neither electricity nor even water.'

(638) *ne*   *lala*   *dâr-ə,*   *ne*   *geša*   *dâr-ə,*   *hicci*   *ne-dâr-ə*   [MBB]
       NEG   pipe   have-3S   NEG   bride   have-3S   nothing   NEG-have-3S

       'He has neither the pipe nor the bride – he has nothing!'

The only occurrences of *ammâ* in the corpus are one instance each in sentence elicitations for Anbarani and Masali where this word featured in the Persian prompt (NP69). There are no instances in texts. A similar situation obtains for the three Persian tokens of *vali* in the same sentence elicitation lists, which are maintained in all three equivalent sentences in Anbarani and Asalemi, and two out of the three in Masali.[111] There are no occurrences in Anbarani or Masali texts, but eleven in Shandermani texts and six in two Asalemi texts: one quite Persianized, those three occurrences in the other arguably influenced by code-switching (e.g. one appears very close to the beginning of the story (ASB3), previous to which the narrator had been speaking in Persian; another appears in a sentence immediately after Persian code-switching (ASB6); and the third is in direct speech (ASB57)).

Coordinated clauses may also be linked by beginning each with bisyndetic *ham* 'also' to give the meaning 'both … and', as shown in (640) below.[112] This same function is occasionally performed in Asalemi texts by *=ni … =ni* 'also':

(639) *ama = ni*   *batə = kâ*   *mərâğebat*   *ba-kard = imun.*
       1P=also   2S.IO=LOC   advice   FUT-do=1P

       tə = ni   *bama = na*   *hamrâ*   *bə-b*   [ASB23-24]
       2S=also   1P.IO=with   companion   IMP-be

'We on the one hand shall give you advice; you, on the other hand, be our companion!'

The marker =*an* (Anbarani) / =*(a)ni* (Asalemi and Masali) is also used to mark the last item in a list, as illustrated in the following two examples:

(640)   *ham*   *pas-e*   *ca=râ*   *mand-in*

         both   sheep-P POSSP.3S=for   remained-3P

         ham *a*   *tele-ye* *ca=râ*   *mand-in*

         both DEMP   gold-P POSSP.3S=for   remained-3P

         ham=ani   *ke*   *amu*   *kəla=š*   *bard=a*   [ASB79]

         both=also   COMP   uncle daughter=3S   took=TR

'The sheep were left over for him, so too that gold was left over for him, so finally that he took his uncle's daughter (and riches).'

(641)   *a-i=râ*   *câi*   *dam*   *kar-ə,* *ğadim* *âftâba=yâ,*

         3S-OB=for   tea   brew   do-3S   ancient pot=COP.PST.3S

         âftâba *âb*   *da-kar-ə,*   *kitiri=ni*   *âftâba* *ate*   *pe-na* [MSS67]

         pot   water PVB-pour-3S   kettle=also   pot   there PVB-put.3S

'She brews tea for her; in the old days there was a washing pot, she pours water in the washing pot; and also she puts out the kettle, (that is) the pot there.'

In §8.6 the roles of =*an*/=*(a)ni* and *ham* in coordinating clauses are explored further.

5.5.2   Subordination

5.5.2.1   *ki/ki/ke* as a complementizer, relativizer and emphatic particle

The complementizer *ki/ki/ke*[113] 'that' is used to introduce a variety of subordinate clauses, including direct speech (642), indirect speech (643), perception (644), purpose (646) and result (647):

(642)   *rais-i*   *bamən* *vât=a* *ki*   *az*   *asebâni=m*   [AsVP]

         chief-OB   1S.IO   said=TR COMP   1S   angry=COP.1S

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[113] Other forms of the complementizer are extant in other Taleshi dialects, e.g. *kə* is slightly preferred over *ki* in Mother-in-Law and Adi and Gudi texts, and always in Jokandan. The derivation of this complementizer is from a form (or conflation of forms) related to Middle Persian *ka* < Old Persian *ka-*, *ci-*, Avestan *ka-*, *kō*, cf. Sanskrit *ká*, *kas*, *kim* 'who, which, what' (cf. Stilo 2004, p.273; Kent 1953, p.195).

'The chief said to me, "I am angry …" '

(643) av-ə   vut=e   ki   b-uma=yə   [AnVP]

       3S-OB   said=TR   COMP   FUT-come=COP.3S

       'He said that he will come.'

(644) i   dafe   vin-ə   ke   bar   sedâ   kar-ə   [MSG]

       one   time   sees-3S COMP   door   sound   makes-3S

       'One day she hears that someone is knocking at the door.'

(645) câra=i   ni   magam   əm   ki   bə-š-am   [AsVP]

       solution=IND   NEG   but.that DEMP   COMP   SBJ-go-1P

       'There's nothing for it but that we go.'

(646) a   š-a   ke   kam=i   âb   bə-juš-ən-ə   [MaVP]

       3S   went-3S   COMP   little=IND   water   SBJ-boil-CAUS-3S

       'He went to boil a little water.'

(647) səpa   axta   gužd   hâ   ki   nâxaš   bə   [AnVP]

       dog   so.much   meat   ate.TR   COMP   sick   became.3S

       'The dog ate so much meat that it got sick.'

Note that the conjunction may be omitted, e.g.

(648) havas=əš   kâ   i-la   âmbü   pe-gat-ə.   [ANP18]

       attention=3S   did.TR   one-CL   pear   PVB.SBJ-take-3S

       'He went to take one pear.'

The conjunction *ki/ki/ke* 'who/which' is used to introduce relative clauses. In restrictive relative clauses, it is preceded by the relative clause head marker (see (649) and (650) below); while in non-restrictive relative clauses, this marker is absent ((651) and (652)). Relative clauses are discussed in more detail in §6.3.

(649) xərdan-i   ki   vi-gənəst-a=b-a   hani   pe-p-a   [AsVP]

       child-RCH   REL   PVB-fall-PTC=AUX-3S   again   PVB-got.up-3S

       'The child who had fallen got up again.'

(650) mânə   gužd-i   ki   ğâb=anda   süt-a=bə   hârd=əm=e   [AnNP]

       1S.ACC meat-RCH   REL   pot=LOC   burnt-PTC=AUG.3S   ate=1S=TR

       'I ate the meat that was burnt in the pot.'

(651) *bəz*   *ke*   *ne-šâ*   *hard-e* *vašt-e*   *ne-šâ*   [MSG]

      goat   REL   NEG-can.3S   eat-INF   jump-INF   NEG-can.3S

      'The goat, who can't eat, can't jump.'

(652) *merd-un=in*   *ki*   *ka*   *timü*   *kâ=na=n*   [AnVP]

      man-P=COP.3P   REL   house   repair   do=LOC-3P

      'It's the men who do the house repairs.'

A third use of this conjunction is as an emphatic particle, to which we now turn.[114] Example (653) below has some hallmarks of a relative clause: the relativizer *kə*, and a relative clause head marker on the head noun 'ram'.[115] However, note that the sentence consists of only one clause; that this clause is in fact the equivalent of the matrix clause in a relative clause construction; and that the essential sense of the sentence is retained, and the sentence grammatical, even if *kə* is omitted. The same facts obtain in the second clause of (654).

(653) *ner-i*   *kə*   *de*   *tə*   *vuward=ər=a*   [MBB]

      ram-RCH   REL   anyway   2S   brought=2S=TR

      'As for the ram, you brought it, after all!'

(654) *cə*   *ner=i?*   *ner-i*   *kə*   *əštən-šin=a.*   [MBB]

      what?   ram=IND   ram-RCH   REL   your-own=COP.3S

      ' "What ram?" "The ram that is your very own!"'

In the next four examples the situation is essentially the same, except that the elements modified by *ki/ke* are bare:

(655) *av*   *ki*   *hani*   *ku=yə*   *kâ=na* [AnVP]

      3S   EMPH   still   work=3S   do=LOC

      'As for him, he is still working.'

(656) *a*   *ki*   *de*   *kâr=a*   *âm-e*   [AsVP]

      3S   EMPH   anyway   PROG=3S   come-INF

---

[114] Windfuhr (1979, p.70) suggests that this usage in Persian is old, going back to early Zoroastrian-Persian texts. Farrell (2008) describes its use in Balochi as a marker of the Relevance Theoretic notion of *interpretive use*: introducing a mental representation of another representation – a thought, utterance or state of affairs that could possibly be entertained.

[115] This marker cannot be an indefinite marker because the ram is definite and topical; nor can it be an oblique marker, because it is unstressed. The same applies to this marker in the subsequent example.

'As for him, he is coming.'

(657) *əsa*   *hard-a=mun=a*   *de,*

now   ate-PTC=1P=TR   indeed

nun   *ke*   *de*   *tamun*   *â-b-a*   [MBB]

bread   EMPH   indeed   finished   PVB-became-PTC

'We've eaten it now; the bread is quite finished!'

(658) *ata*   *ke*   *ne-b-u*   [MBB]

like.that   EMPH   NEG-be-3S

'That can't happen!'

The inclusion of *=ni* in examples (659) to (661)parallels the inclusion of *=ham* 'also' in the equivalent Persian construction, constraining an additive 'furthermore' interpretation:

(659) *a-e=ni* *ki* *n-a-zun-in*   *cimi* *ka* *kayâr=a* [ASB32]

3-P=also EMPH NEG-AUG-know-IMPF.3P POSSP.3S house where=COP.3S

'They did not know where his house was, either.'

(660) *amu=ni* *ki* *kisa=kâ* *dastupâ*   *dabendist-a=b-a*   [ASB78]

uncle=also EMPH sack=LOC hand.and.foot tied-PTC=AUX-3S

'The uncle, moreover, was tied up hand and foot in the sack.'

(661) *sar=əš=ani* *ke* *ənta* *vəskana* *kard=a*   [ASA]

head=3S=also EMPH like.this scratching did=TR

'Moreover, it was scratching its head like this (because it had lice).'

(662) *a-i* *se* *gla=ni* *pe-gat=a*   [AsNP]

3S-OB 3 CL=also PVB-picked.up=TR

'He picked up three more of them.'

Finally, we find one example in the corpus of the complementizer occurring sentence-finally:

(663) *awu* *əm* *c=a?* *hic=i* *ni=a* *kə* [MSG]

alas DEMP what?=COP.3S nothing=IND NEG=COP.3S EMPH

'Oh dear, what is this? It is nothing at all!'

The following examples differ from those examined so far in that the clause containing the complementizer is followed by a clause whose action takes place immediately afterwards. The result is that the whole first clause functions as a Point of Departure (see §6.9.7), setting a

temporal domain within which the predication of the following clause holds. This interpretation is supported by the fact that in each case the complementizer may appropriately be translated with the word 'when'.

Examples (664) to (666) present cases where both the Point of Departure clause and its successor have the same subject, resulting in the description of consecutive actions by the same participant. Note the resumptive pronoun in the second clause of (665), and the use of the complementizer in (666) to describe the same action twice: in the first case, the next clause describes the gardener's next action (same subject); while in the second case, the next clause describes the action of a different participant (the boy), who arrives on the scene immediately afterwards.

(664) | *ba* | *ka* | *ki* | *a-ras-imün* | *uagan-imün* | *[ANR34]* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| to | house | COMP | AUG-arrive-IMPF.1P | were.tired-1P | |

'When we arrived home, we were tired.'

(665) | *muša* | *gəla* | *ke* | *yâ* | *pas* | *â-mun-u* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| mouse | CL | COMP | here | remain | PVB-stay-3S |

əm	*a*	*lir-un*	*gəla*	*gəla*	*baruŋj-u.*	*[MSG]*
DEMP	DEMR	coin-OB.P	CL	CL	bring.out-3S	

'The mouse, which stays back here, this mouse brings out those coins one by one.'

(666) | *əm* | *kə* | *dâr* | *pe-š-a* | *se* | *câr* | *gəla* | *zambil=am* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DEMP | COMP | tree | PVB-climbed-3S | 3 | 4 | CL | basket=also |

cind-a=š=â		*u*	*ate*	*nu-a=š=â*	*harjur.*
picked-PTC=3S=AUX		and	there	put-PTC=3S=AUX	any.way

əm	*kə*	*dâr-i=ku*	*pe-š-a*	*i*	*xərdan-a*	*a*
DEMP	COMP	tree-OB=LOC	PVB-climbed-3S	a	child-DISC	DEMR

sar=dəre	*kə*	*uma*		*carx*	*da-nəšt=â.*
direction=SRCE	COMP	came-3S		bicycle	PVB-seated=COP.3S.PST

əm	*xərdan-a*	*uma*	*[MPS10-12]*
DEMP	child-DISC	came.3S	

'After he went up the tree he had picked three or four baskets and put them there any which way. After he went up the tree, a boy came from that direction, seated on a bicycle. This boy came…'

In (667) and (668), the subjects of the two clauses are different but the events are still consecutive. The situation in (669) is more subtle since three clauses are involved. The first clause contains the complementizer, describing the first action of the nasty daughters-in-law on the main event line: they forced their mother-in-law to dance. The second clause describes the consequences of this action: the mother-in-law danced. While this action follows temporally from the first, it is in a sense parenthetical, for the action of the third clause is the true successor to the first clause on the main event line: after forcing their mother-in-law to dance, the daughters now insist she must sweep the stable.

(667) | *mun-u* | *dâ* | *var* | *ke* | *nəš-ə* | *vâ-n:* | *[MSG]* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| stay-3s | until | snow | COMP | sit-3s | say-3P | |

'She stays until, when the snow settles, they say …'

(668) | *əm* | *kəla* | *ki* | *iâ* | *barš-a,* | *nana* | *damand=a* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DEMP | girl | COMP | here | went.out-3s | mother | PROG=3s |

gâru	*âšand-e*	*[ASM]*
cradle	rock-INF	

'When this girl went out here, the mother was rocking the cradle.'

(669) | *duš* | *ki* | *bar-a-kar-in,* | *əm* | *ğadari* | *duš* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| dance | COMP | PVB-AUG-make.do-IMPF.3P | DEMP | amount | dance |

a-kar-i	*a-vâj-in*	*bə-š*	*tavla*	*darəj*	*[ASM]*
AUG-do-IMPF.3s	AUG-say-IMPF.3P	IMP-go	stable	sweep!	

'They were making her dance – she was dancing a certain amount – then they were saying: "Go sweep the stable!" '

Example (670) is an example of the complementizer constraining an 'until' interpretation:

(670) | *ama* | *kə* | *vâ-yam,* | *na-bâd-ə* | *bar-i* | *â-kâr-ai* | *[MSG]* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1P | COMP | say-1P | NEG-must-3s | door-OB | PVB-open-2P | |

'Until we say, you must not open the door.'

Finally, contrast example (671) with examples (672) and (673). In the first example, the complementizer functions in the same way as the examples we have already considered, turning the clause into an adverbial temporal clause. In the latter two sentences the complementizer is in clause-*initial* position in the *second* clause of the sentence. Thackston (1993) says that for Persian, the difference here is that the second, temporal clause introduces

a single action that interrupts an ongoing, continuous act. The same appears to be the case in Taleshi: both sentences describe continuous actions (limping and wanting), which are interrupted (by an observation of some onlookers, and by an arrest).

(671) *motavaje=ye*   *kəla*   *xanəm*   *ki*   *b-a,*

noticing=EZ   girl   lady   COMP   was-3S

â-gardəst-a   *a*   *tarâ*   [ASP15]

PVB-turned-3S   DEMR   direction

'When he noticed the young lady, he turned in that direction.'

(672) *lanǧân* *langân* *kâ=b-a*   *ducarxa=na*   *š-e*   *ke*

limping   limping   PROG=AUX-3S   bicyclie=with   go-INF   COMP

pišti=kâ   *ca*   *rafeǧ-e*   *motavaje=e*   *ca*   *kəlâ b-in*   [ASP19]

behind=LOC   POSSD.3S   friend-P   noticing=EZ   POSSD.3S   hat was-3P

'Limping along, he was going with his bicycle when behind (him) his friends noticed his hat.'

(673) *av-ə*   *pia=na=bə*   *b-u-ə*   *iu*

3S-OB   want=LOC=AUX.3S   SBJ-come-3S   here

ki   *gat-a=bə*   [AnVP]

COMP   got-PTC=AUX.3S

'He was wanting to come here when he was caught.'

5.5.2.2   *tâ* 'until, in order that'

The subordinator *tâ* is used to express a time limit in the sense 'by/until the time that' in (674), (675) and (677), and also to introduce purpose clauses ((676)):

(674) *caxtaman*   *umr*   *hest=e* *əštân*   *âmbaži=m*   *gap*   *ba-ža*

as.much   life   exist=3S self   Anbarani=1S   speech   FUT-hit

tâ   *cəmân* *riš*   *maf*   *nə-b-u*   [ANR45]

until   POSS.1S root   destroyed   NEG-be-3S

'I'll speak Anbarâni as long as I live, so long as my root is not destroyed.'

(675) *əm-i*   *ger-ən!*   *tâ*   *ger-ən muš*   *i-la*   *cim=i*

DEMP-OB   get-2P.IMP   until   get-3P mouse   a-CL   eye=IND

kan-ə   [MCB]

dig-3s

' "Get him!" The moment they get him, the mouse gouges out an eye.'

(676) *əm-i*　　　*viša=kâ*　*varâ-dar-u*　*tâ*　　*pis*　*ua*　*anəštai*

　　　 DEMP-OB　　　forest=LOC　PVB-cast-3s　so.that　baldy　there　hunger

bi-mer-u　　　[ASB47]

SBJ-die-3s

'(… he would) cast him into the forest so that the baldy would die there from hunger.'

(677) *i*　　　*bəz-a*　　　*kula*　*i*　　*vara*　*kəta*　*tâ*　*bar-i*　*â-kar-ən*

　　　 a　　　goat-LNK　　　little　a　　lamb　little　until　door-OB　PVB-open-3P

xərs　*vi-tərak-ə*　　　*əm-un*　　　　　[MSG]

bear　PVB-rip-3s　　　DEMP-OB.P

'At the moment a goat kid and a little lamb open the door, the bear tears into them.'

5.5.2.3　Subordinating conjunction *cün/cin/cun*

The subordinating conjunction *cün/cin/cun* means 'because, since'. It occurs twice in Anbarani and twice in Masali texts, but otherwise only in response to Persian prompts in sentence elicitation lists. The following two examples are from the Anbarani pear story. Note how the clause introduced by *cün* may precede or follow its matrix clause:

(678) *cün*　*a*　　*ru=b-in*　　　*av-ə*　　*uma=na*

　　　 since　DEMD　way=AUX-3P　　　3s-OB　come=LOC

buğavün-ə　　　*xəjulat*　*kaš=a*　　　　　[ANP37]

gardener-OB　　　shame　drew=TR

'Since they were approaching him from that direction, the gardener was embarrassed.'

(679) *ləng=əš*　　　*udiž*　*uma,*　　*cün*　*dəzdi=š=bə*　　*kârd=a*　　　[ANP30]

leg=3s　　　pain　came.3s　since　theft=3s=AUX.3s　did=TR

'Pain came to his leg, because he had committed theft.'

5.5.2.4 Other subordinating markers

'However much' is expressed by *caxta* or *caxtaman* in Anbarani and by *harci* in Asalemi and Masali:

(680) *âz* *caxta* *külaš-ə=ku* *bə-vut-um*

  1s however.much Kulash-OB=LOC SBJ-say-1s

  užən=an *kâm* *me* *vut=a* [ANR38]

  again=also little 1s spoke=TR

  'However much I say about Kulash, I have still said only a little.'

(681) *caxtaman* *umr* *hest=e* *əštân* *âmbaži=m* *gap*

  however.much life exist=COP.3s self Anbarani=1s speech

  ba-ža [ANR45]

  FUT-hit

  'However long I live, I shall speak my own Anbarani (language).'

(682) *harci* *b-a* *əm* *âšmâš-e* *âšmâš-e=šun* *hard=in* [ASA]

  however.much was-3s DEMP stew-P stew-P=3P ate=TR.P

  'However much there was (of it), they ate the stew.'

Asalemi and Masali both translate Persian *bâ vujud-e*+ noun 'in spite of X' with *bâinki/bâinke*+ full clause, whereas Anbarani uses *beebee* (see the examples at the end of §4.12.1):

(683) *bâinki* *mariz* *b-a* *âma* [AsVP]

  although sick was-3s came.3s

  'Although he was sick, he came.'

(684) *nuxaš* *beebee* *uma* [AnVP]

  sick CSSV came.3s

  'Although he was sick, he came.'

The occurrence of the Persian conditional conjunction *agar* 'if' (agam in Asalemi) as a borrowing into Taleshi is discussed in §6.11.5.

In Masali *balke* 'rather' occurs twice in direct elicitation responses to *balke* in the Persian prompt. Likewise *barâye* 'for, on behalf of' occurs three times. Anbarani and Asalemi

omit *balke* in favour of an intonational break, and favour *cə-ru* over *barâye*. Similarly, *agarce* 'although' only occurs in Anbarani and Asalemi direct elicitation responses to a Persian prompt with *agarce*.

6 Syntax

6.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates the syntactic structure of Iranian Taleshi – that is, how words are organized into clauses, and those clauses into sentences. The first part of the chapter investigates the noun phrase (§6.2), relative clauses and complement clauses (§§6.3 and 6.4) and adposition (§6.5) and adjective (§6.6) phrases. §6.7 presents word order in the numeral phrase, and §6.8 in the quantifier phrase. The second part of the chapter discusses sentences. Simple sentences and their information structure are considered in §6.9, using aspects of a theory of information structure proposed by Lambrecht (1994) and adopted by Van Valin and LaPolla (1997), while copular sentences are presented in §6.10. §6.11 looks at various sentence types , while §§6.12, 6.13, and 6.14 consider negation, coreference (anaphora) and comparisons respectively.

Given the high degree of similarity between the syntactic features of Anbarani, Asalemi and Masali, examples from all three dialects are not given except where these features diverge. Such divergence is highlighted wherever it occurs.

6.2 Noun phrase

§3.2 sets out the morphological structure of the noun.

The constituency of the noun phrase is as follows:

Noun phrase: Determiner > Numeral + Classifier > Possessor > Attributive Adjectives > Head Noun > Relative Clause/Complement Clause

6.2.1 Modifying Adjectives

Attributive adjectives immediately precede a nominal head as a modifier, e.g.

(685) *sər-a   kafš*   *[AsNP] & AN/M*

     red-LNK shoe

     'red shoe'

(686)   *tâza-(a)*[116]   *šət-i*   *yâl-a*   *ǧab*   [AsNP] & AN/M

       fresh- LNK   milk-OB   big- LNK pot

       'The big pot of fresh milk.'

The attributive marker *-a* which interposes between adjectives and nouns in examples (685) to (688) is best analyzed as a linker, given its ability to link a range of different kinds of constituent. It is hence loosely comparable to the Persian ezafe suffix,[117] as illustrated by its optional use in Masali in (687) and the contrast between Asalemi and Masali in (688):

(687)   *i-la*   *səng-a*   *ka*   OR   *i-la*   *ka=ye*   *səngi*   [MaNP]

       a-CL   stone- LNK   house   a-CL   house=EZ   stone

       'A stone house.'

(688) hard-a *jəgâ*   (Asalemi)   VERSUS   *jâ=ye*   hard-e   (Masali)[118]

       eat-LNK place   place=EZ   eat-INF

       'Place to eat.'

Other examples of *-a* as a linking vowel include: *ânbu-a du* pear-LNK tree 'pear tree' (Anbarani); *cušt-a vâxt* lunch-LNK time 'lunch time' (Anbarani); *golâbi-a bâǧ-a sâheb* pear-LNK garden-LNK owner 'pear orchard owner' (Masali); *cət-a xəl* rock-LNK hole 'cave' (Masali); *havuš-a bâla* rabbit-LNK child 'baby rabbit' (Anbarani); *xâk-a te* dust-LNK speck 'speck of dust' (Masali). Note the ability of an adjective to be the head of an NP:

(689)   *mən*   *sər-i*   *ki*   *yâl=a*   *xər=im=a*   [AsNP] & AN/M

       1S.OB   red-RCH   REL   big=COP.3S   bought=1S=TR

       'I bought the red one that is big.'

More information on adjectives can be found in §6.6 below, and on adjectival morphology in §5.2.1.

Where two nouns occur in juxtaposition to express composition or purpose, a variety of strategies are possible. These include:

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[116] Letters in parentheses represent situations where a sound which is normally elided is being shown explicitly because its presence is relevant to the discussion.

[117] See Mahootian (1997, pp.66ff) for a description of this phenomenon in Persian.

[118] Cf. Persian *jâ-ye xord-an*.

a) in all three dialects, treating the first noun as an adjective, with adjectival suffix *-a* (examples (690) and (693));[119]

b) in Anbarani, use of the oblique suffix *-i/-ə* (example (691));

c) in Masali, juxtaposition of bare nouns (example (692)).

The first three of these strategies are shown below for the phrases 'a water pot' and 'the apple sack'.[120] In each case the strategy shown is typically employed by that dialect:

(690) *i-la*   *ov-a*   *ğab* / *sif-a*   *kisa*   [AsNP]

      a-CL   water-LNK   pot   apple-LNK   sack

(691) *i-la*   *uv-ə*   *ğâb* / *sef-ə*   *tu*   [AnNP]

      a-CL   water-OB   pot   apple-OB   sack

(692) *i-la*   *livân*   *âv* / *kisa*   *siv*   [MaNP]

      a-CL   container   water   sack   apple

Anbarani		Asalemi		Masali	
(693) *püstin-a*	*kisa*	*pust-a*	*kisa*	*kisa=ye*	*pusti*
skin-LNK	sack	skin-LNK	sack	sack=EZ	skin (adj.)

6.2.2   Noun Phrase-Internal Possessive Constructions

§3.5 discusses the morphology of possessive markers, and sets out the main options for expressing possession: possessive pronouns (including the reflexive pronoun *əštan*); and a genitive suffix on the possessor noun, which precedes the possessed noun in the phrase. This genitive suffix is identical to the oblique marker.

The possessed noun is always the head of any NP-internal possessive construction. Where a possessive pronoun occurs with a demonstrative in the same phrase, the pronoun precedes the demonstrative. Quantifiers (including numerals) precede the possessive pronoun. Some common permutations are illustrated in the examples below, based on elicitation responses:

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[119] Yarshater (1959, p.58) notes the use of *-a* in "seeming semi-compound formations" in Shahrudi Tati.

[120] In each dialect the phrase 'sack of apples' would require the plural oblique form of 'apples', e.g. Asalemi *sif-un kisa* apple-OB.P sack.

(694)   *cəmən/əm*   *bəz*

        my/this   goat

        'My/this goat.'

(695)   *cəmən*   *əm*   *bəz(-e)*

        my   DEMP   goat(-P)

        'This(these) goat(s) of mine.'

(696)   *i-la*   *cəmən* *bəz-un=kâ*

        a-CL   POSS.1S goat-OB=LOC

        'A goat of mine (lit. one of my goats).'

(697)   *xayli*   *cəmən* *bəz-un=kâ*

        many   POSS.1S goat-OB=LOC

        'Many of my goats.'

Predicative possessive constructions are discussed in §6.11.6.

6.3   Relative clauses

As in Persian (Mahootian 1997, pp.32ff), Taleshi usually introduces relative clause constructions with the head noun followed by relativizer *ki* (*ke* in Masali, following Persian),[121] which introduces the relative clause. In restrictive relative clauses only, the head noun is modified by the unstressed relative clause head marker *-i*. Note placement of main clause verb in examples (700) and (707)).

NP heads which may function as common arguments are subject, object and indirect object. In the following sections examples are given for the configurations found in the corpus:

Relative Clause	Main Clause
SU	SU
SU	DO
DO	SU
DO	IO
OBLIQUE	

---

[121] Miller (1953, p.125) described this relativizer as an innovation in Northern Talyshi borrowed from Azerbaijani and/or Persian and only used by 'professional narrators'; in colloquial speech he did not find it used. However, its use in all three Iranian Taleshi dialects is now widespread.

The fullest statement of the common argument is found in the main clause, not the relative clause. Sometimes relative clauses are preposed before the subject; see §6.9.6 for more on the discourse-pragmatic consequences of marked word order.

6.3.1   Subject in relative clause and main clause

Examples (698) and (699) contain restrictive relative clauses. The marker on the head noun *pis＝i* in (700) is analyzed as an indefinite enclitic: this relative clause is non-restrictive. Note further that in this latter example the main clause precedes the relative clause; this is a feature of Taleshi relative clause constructions where the main clause contains an existential verb (see also example (707) below).

(698) *kas-i   ki   izər   âma   bamən＝kâ＝š   pul   pist-a*   [AsNP]

CL-RCH   REL   yesterday   came.3s   1s.IO=LOC=3s   money   wanted-3s

'The one who came yesterday wanted money from me.'

(699) *merdak-i   ke   ziri   uma   rais-i   berâ＝ya* [MaNP]

man-RCH   REL   yesterday   came.3s   chief-OB   brother=3s

'The man who came yesterday is the chief's brother.'

(700) *i-la   pis＝i   hes b-a   ki   əštan   amu   kəla   da-gənəst-a＝b-a* [ASB2]

a-CL   baldy=IND   exist was-3s   REL   self   uncle   girl   PVB-fell-PTC=AUX-3s

'There was once a baldy who had fallen for his uncle's daughter.'

Short relative clauses such as those shown below are also possible:

(701) *ner-i   kə   de   tə   vuward＝ər＝a*   [MBB]

ram-RCH   REL   anyway   2s   brought=2s=TR

'As for the ram, you brought it, after all!'

(702) *cə   ner＝i?   ner-i   kə   əštən-šin＝a*   [MBB]

what?   ram=IND   ram-RCH   REL   your-own=COP.3s

' "What ram?" "The ram that is your very own!"'

6.3.2   Subject in relative clause and direct object in main clause

Example (703) is a non-restrictive relative clause, so there is no relative clause head marker on 'baby rabbits'. Example (704), on the other hand, is restrictive. In neither case can

fronting be demonstrated, since in both sentences the agent of the main clause is marked only on the verb.

Example (705) contains a relative clause which is unambiguously fronted to the pre-subject position. The pronoun *a* 'he' in the main clause must be analyzed as co-referential with the agent because there is no pronominal clitic elsewhere in the clause, and in perfective transitive clauses the agent must be explicit. The relative clause precedes the agent, which is the subject of the main clause. Example (706) appears to show a relative clause which is not fronted, since it appears after the subject. However, this evidence is not altogether conclusive: the sentence was a response to an isolated elicitation prompt in Persian with an explicit subject in sentence-initial position. Such an explicit pronoun is artificial in a sentence with a neutral articulation, resulting in the possibility that it could itself be fronted for contrastive focus or topicalization.

(703) *havuš-a*   *bâl-ân   ki*   *təla=na=b-in*   *saati=na=b-im*   [ANR25]

rabbit-LNK   child-P REL   run=LOC=AUX-3P   chase=LOC=AUX-1S

'Lit: The baby rabbits, which were running, I was chasing.'

(704) *avun-i   ki*   *zina*   *um-en*   *vind=əm=e*   [AnNP]

3P-RCH   REL   yesterday   came-3P   saw=1S=TR

'I saw those who came yesterday.'

(705) *a*   *xəj-i*   *ki*   *vi-gənəst-a=b-a*   *zamin   a-i*   *tamiz*

DEMD   pear-RCH   REL   PVB-fell-PTC=AUX-3S   ground 3S-OB   clean

â-rak=a   [ASP7]

PVB-made=TR

'That pear which had fallen to the ground, he cleaned (it).'

(706) *mən*   *merd-i*   *ki*   *izər*   *âma*   *vind=a*   [AsNP]

1S.OB   man-RCH   REL   yesterday   came.3S   saw=TR

'I saw the man who came yesterday.'

Example (707) presents another instance of a main clause with existential verb preceding the relative clause. Note the absence of the relativizer here.

(707) *əm*   *c=a*   *tə*   *dâr-i?*   [MSG]

DEMP   what?=3S   2S   have-2S

'What is this you have?'

(708)

harci	kas=i	vât-a	a	cəmə	kina	šâta-ni=š=a	rec
however	person=IND	said-PTC	DEMD	POSS.1S	girl	could-NEG=3S=TR	heal

â-kard-en	a	kəšt-a=m=a	[MCB]
PVB-do-INF	DEMR	killed-PTC=1S=TR	

'However much anyone has claimed (but then) could not heal that daughter of mine, I have killed them.'

6.3.3 Direct object in relative clause and subject in main clause

(709)

dâstân-i	ki	ama	deišti=mun=a	əm	ravâyat	b-a	[ASP1]
story-RCH	REL	1P	saw=1P=TR	DEMP	type	was-3S	

'The story that we saw was like this …'

6.3.4 Direct object in relative clause and indirect object in main clause

In example (710) the presence of a resumptive pronoun in the main clause shows that the relative clause has been fronted:

(710)

viša	dela=kâ	har	kas-i	ki	kisa	dela=kâ	dar-a-fan-un
forest	in=LOC	every	person-RCH	REL	bag	in=LOC	PVB.SBJ-AUG-throw-3P

kâ=n	bai	i	rama	pas	du-e	[ASB71]
PROG=3P	3S.IOD	a	flock	sheep	give-INF	

'In the forest, whoever they throw in a sack, they are giving him a flock of sheep.'

This is the only case in the corpus of a relativized element appearing in a main clause. It parallels Mahootian's (1997, p.34) observation of a similar process in Persian.[122]

6.3.5 Oblique in relative clause and/or main clause

In example (711) the relative clause is contained in a post-posed noun phrase. Meanwhile, examples (712) to (714) contain relative clause heads expressing manner or time. In such instances the main clause may again precede the relative clause (711); and the relativizer may be omitted, as in (713) and (714).

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[122] Mahootian (1997, pp.34f) says: "When the relativized element is an oblique object of the relative clause, *ke* cooccurs with the oblique object which is preserved as a pronominal clitic." She cites the example "*mard-i ke pul-o be-heš dâd-am* man-DEM that money-OM to-3S.PC gave-1S 'the man who I gave the money to' ".

(711)　*əm*　　　*xərdan-en*　　　*a*　　　*golâvi-a cin-i*　　　*taraf-i＝na*　　　*kərâ*

　　　DEMP　child-P　　　　DEMR　pear-LNK picker-OB　direction-OB=with PROG

　　　š-istine,　　　*ha*　　　*merdak-a*　　*ate*　*ku*　*ce*　　　*golâbi əm*

　　　go-IMPF.3P　　SAMED　man-DISC　　there　REL　POSSD.3S　　pear　DEMP

　　　zua　　*dəzdi-â*　　*[MPS36-37]*

　　　boy　　stole-AUX.3S

　　　'These children were going in the direction of that pear picker – the same man whose pears this boy had stolen.'

(712)　*jur-i*　　　　　*tə*　　　*cəmən izəm-i*　　　*bə-bar*

　　　manner-RCH　　2S　　　POSS.1S timber-OB　　IMP-carry

　　　kə　　*ənta*　　　*xâk-a*　　　*te＝i*　　　*yâ*　　*pas*　　*m-arz*　*[MSS53]*

　　　REL　　like.this　dust-LNK　　little=IND　　here　remain　PHB-allow

　　　'Carry off my timber in such a way that you don't allow a speck of dust to remain here.'

(713)　*seminje dafe*　*pe-š-e*　　　　　*ba du*　　　*gəla＝i*　*hərdan*

　　　third　time　PVB-went.up-3S　to tree　CL=IND　child

　　　âma-i＝da＝b-e　　　　*[AMP4]*

　　　come-INF=LOC =AUX-3S

　　　'The third time he climbed the tree, a child had come along.'

(714)　*nim-a*　　*râ＝sa*　　*bə-š-e*　　　*pepš-i*　　　　　*vu*　　　*bə-gəni*　*[AMP7]*

　　　half-LNK　way=LOC　PST-go-3S　PVB-go.up-IMPF.3S　wind　PST-struck.3S

　　　'Half way up as he was going up the tree, the wind struck.'

6.4　Complement Clauses

6.4.1　Introduction

Dixon (2010b, p.413) states that a complement clause construction involves one of a restricted set of 'complement-taking verbs' (CTVs) as predicate of the main clause, with a complement clause filling one of its core argument slots. This section explores a variety of CTVs, before going on to explore some possibilities for subject complement clauses in §6.4.7.

6.4.2 Verbs of perceiving and knowing

The verb *vinde* 'to see, notice' is the prototypical Taleshi 'attention' CTV, and some of the complements it takes may usefully be presented in order to illustrate some more general aspects of the Taleshi complementation strategy. First, this verb may take complement clauses which refer to the fact that something took place, or to an ongoing activity (relating to its extension in time).[123] Second, these complement clauses may be preceded by the complementizer *ki* 'that'. An analysis of complement clauses in the corpus following *vinde* shows that the complementizer is always absent in Anbarani, while in Asalemi and (particularly) in Masali the complementizer is more common with activity type complement clauses than with the fact type. The proportions are set out in chart form in Figure 17 below:

Figure 17: Occurrence of complementizer across the dialects by fact and activity complement clause type

	FACT	ACTIVITY	FACT	ACTIVITY	FACT	ACTIVITY
	Anbarani		Asalemi		Masali	
no ki	4	1	5	6	22	8
with ki	0	0	2	3	5	7
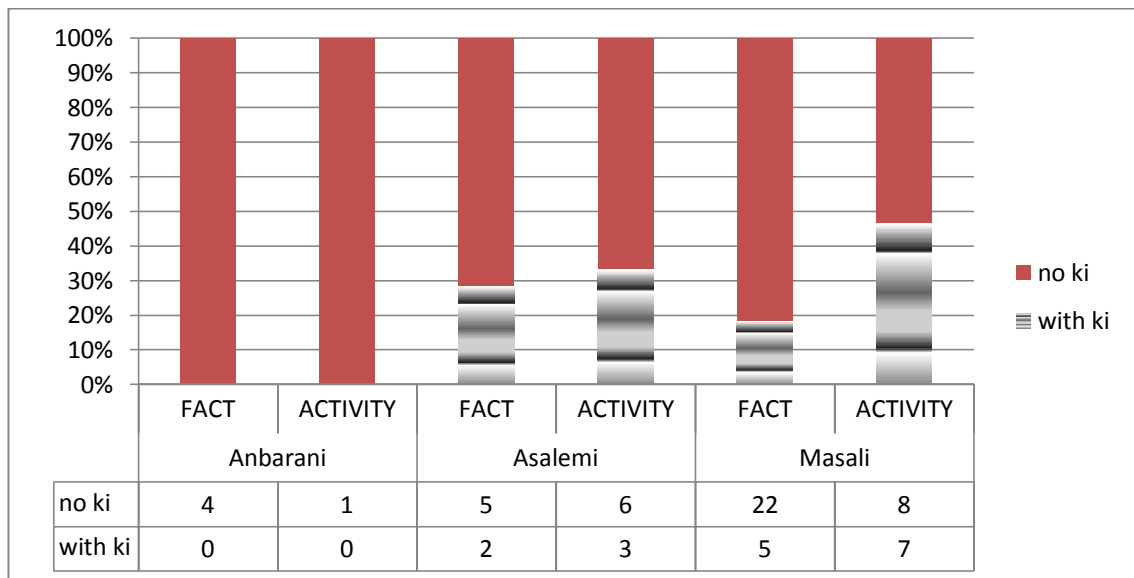
As for the range of syntactic variation possible within complement clauses, the examples below illustrate the possibility for complement clauses to contain subjunctive verbs (715), copular verbs (716), progressive forms with infinitive verbs (717), and left-detached (718), (719) and PreCore Slot elements (720).[124] Finally, recall that the verb *vinde* 'to see' may also be used more generally in the sense 'to notice', as in example (721).

(715) *vind=əm=e*   *gəla=i*   *merd*   *pe-š-e*   *du-un=ku*   *xəc*

　　　saw=1S=TR   CL=IND   man   PVB-went.up-3S   tree-P=LOC   pear

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[123] Contrast "I heard the result" (fact) with "I heard the game" (activity); or "I heard that Brazil beat Argentina" (fact) with "I heard Brazil's beating Argentina" (activity) (examples from Dixon (ibid)).

[124] §6.9.6 discusses the Left-Detached Position and the PreCore Slot.

bə-cən-ə [AMP1]

SBJ-pick-3S

'I saw a man went up some trees in order to pick pears.'

(716) vind=əš=e   buǧavün-ə   sa   ǧol=e,   vin-ə-ni   [ANP19]

saw=3S=TR   gardener-OB   head   hot=COP.3S   see-3S-NEG

'He saw that the gardener is busy (lit. his head is hot), that he does not notice.'

(717) ki   tə   vind=a   ki   kâ=b-iš   mala   š-e?   [AsVP]

who   2S   saw=TR   COMP   PROG=AUX-2S   village   go-INF

'Who saw you, that you were going to the village?'

(718) vind=ušun=a kə   bale,   nana   ənta   b-a   [ASA]

saw=3P=TR   COMP   yes   mother like.this was-3s

'They saw that yes, the mother was like this.'

(719) vin-ən kə   bale,   vâš   b-a   [MSG]

see-3P COMP   yes   grass   is-3s

'They see that yes, there is grass.'

(720) vind=əš=a   sabad-e   i-la   kam=in   [ASP24]

saw=3S=TR   basket-P   one-CL few=COP.3P

'He saw that of the baskets, there is one few.'

(721) i   dafe   vin-ə   ke   bar   sedâ   kar-ə   [MSG]

one   time   see-3S COMP   door   noise   make-3s

'One time she notices someone knocking at the door (Lit: the door is making a noise).'

Other perception verbs follow the same general pattern. Examples below include the CTV 'to know' (722); a copular construction meaning 'to remember' (723); and the Persian complex predicate *tasavâr kardan* 'to imagine', with a complement clause consisting of two coordinated clauses (724).

(722) avün   zən=na   nə-b-in   ki   əm   âmbu

3P   know=LOC   NEG-was-3P   COMP   DEMP   pear

dəzdi-anin=e   [ANP33]

stolen-NEC=COP.3S

'They were not aware that these pears are stolen.'

(723) *cəmân yud=anda=y*   *əštân   piadada=nda   ba   kâfšan*

POSS.1S memory=LOC=COP.3S   self   grandfather=LOC   to   desert

a-š-im   [ANR9]

AUG-go-IMPF.1S

'It is in my memory that I was going to the desert with my grandfather.'

(724) *əm   merd-ə de   tasavâr   nə-kard=e*

DEMP   man-OB anyway   imagination   NEG-did=TR

ki   əm   cəmə jaba   xəc-un=ku   hard-e=da=in

COMP   DEMP   POSS.1S box   pear-P=LOC   eat-INF=LOC=3P

yâ   jâ   vəra=ku=šun=e   cini-a   [AMP11]

or   place   other=LOC=3P=TR   picked-PTC

'Anyway, this man could not imagine whether they are eating pears from my box or whether they have picked them from another place.'

While the concept of ability bears some relation to that of knowing, discussed above, ability verbs differ in taking non-finite complement clauses: in all three dialects, the complement clause verb is in the infinitive. This is particularly noticeable in the case of Anbarani, given that the same verb *zunuste*[125] is used for both knowing (finite verb in complement clause) and ability (infinitive in complement clause):

(725) *cama   dada   žagu   zən=na   na-bə   pül   be-vârd-e* [ANR5]

POSS.1P father   like.that   can=LOC   NEG-was.3S   money   SBJ-earn-3S

'Our father did not know (how) to earn money like that.'

(726) *n-a-zün-im*   *bavün   ras-e*   [ANR26]

NEG-AUG-can-1S.IMPF   3P.IOD   reach-INF

'I was not able to reach (i.e. catch) them.'

(727) *az   nə-ma-šâ   š-e   duš   kard-e*   [ASM]

1S   NEG-1S-can   go-INF dance   do-INF

'I cannot go (and) dance.'

---

[125] The form *zunuste* is used in Asalemi and Masali. In Anbarani the (first and only) vowel in stem I forms is a schwa /ə/. In the dialect of Anbaran Mahalle /ü/ is also found.

(728)

bəz	ke	ne-šâ	hard-e	vašt-e	ne-šâ.
goat	REL	NEG-can.3S	eat-INF	jump-INF	NEG-can.3S

gusand=ni	ne-šâ	hard-en	vašt-e	ne-šâ	[MSG]
sheep=also	NEG-can.3S	eat-INF	jump-INF	NEG-can.3S	

'The goat, which cannot eat, cannot jump. The sheep too, which cannot eat, cannot jump.'

6.4.3 Verbs of DESIRING

The default verb for 'want' in Anbarani and Asalemi is *pie*. It inflects for tense, while the desirer is in the oblique case as part of a dative subject construction. In Masali, 'want' is expressed by *xâste* (cf. Persian *xâstan*), with the subject in the direct case. In all three dialects, the verb in the following complement clause takes the subjunctive mood (examples (729) to (732). This is also the case for the verb 'to allow' ((733) and (734)); other ways of expressing desire (733) and (734)); and general expressions of purpose and expectation after any verb (always with the complementizer) which are set out in §6.4.4:

(729)

bəz-ə	pi-a	sava	âu	âmbü	pe-gat-ə	[ANP11]
goat-OB	want-3S	basket	there	pear	PVB.SBJ-pick.up-3S	

'The goat wanted to pick up a pear from the basket there.'

(730)

a-pi=iš=b-a	ki	əštan	amu	kəla	bə-bar-u	vali
AUG-want=3S=AUX-3S	COMP	self	uncle	girl	SBJ-take-3S	but

cimi	amu	n-a-pi=b-a	əštan	kəla	bə-dar-u	bai [ASB3]
POSSP.3S	uncle	NEG-AUG-want=AUX-3S	self	girl	SBJ-give-3S	3S.IOD

'He was wanting to take his uncle's daughter, but his uncle wasn't wanting to give his daughter to him.'

(731)

pâdəšâ	kəla=šun	ba-pist-i	bə-dar-un	bamana.
king	daughter=3S	PRS-want-3S	SBJ-give-3P	to.me

vali	mən	ni-a-pist	[ASB56]
but	1S.OB	NEG-PRS-want	

'They want to give the king's daughter to me. But I don't want (that).'

(732) əštan ka=râ xâ-i bə-š-iste [MPS30]

self house=for want-IMPF.3S SBJ-go-IMPF.3S

'He was wanting to go to his house.'

(733) de=šun n-ašt=a nana dada ua bu-mun-u [ASA]

other=3P NEG-allow=TR mother father there SBJ-stay-3S

'They didn't allow the mother and father to stay there any more.'

(734) bə-dâ ama zendegi bə-kar-am [MCB]

SBJ-give 1P life SBJ-do-1P

'Let us live our lives!'

(735) cimi amu=ni xayli ba hisob tama=š hes

POSSP.3S uncle=also very to proportion greed=3S exist

b-a ki puldâr â-b-u [ASB38]

was-3S COMP rich PVB.SBJ-become-3S

'His uncle, for that matter, was really very greedy to become rich.'

(736) umidavâr bə-b-am (/umi=mun bəbu) ki a

hopeful SBJ-be-1P hope=1P SBJ-be-3S COMP 3S

b-uma=y [AsVP]

FUT-come=COP.3S

'Let us hope that he will come.'

6.4.4 Verbs of purpose and expectation

Expressions of purpose may follow a wide variety of CTVs. The complement clause is usually preceded by complementizer *ki*. The examples below include same subject, different subject and impersonal subject in the matrix clause:

(737) ila=š bumun=kâ pe-gat=a ke baštana b-ar-u [ASP11]

one=3S 3P.IOP=LOC PVB-picked.up=TR COMP for.himself SBJ-eat-3S

'He picked one of them up to eat it.'

(738) av-ə mân nəfin kârd=e ki bə-ma-m [AnVP]

3S-OB 1S.OB curse did=TR COMP SBJ-die-1S

'He cursed me that I might die.'

(739)　*mân*　　*daavat*　*kâ*　　*ki*　　*b-u-ə*　　　　　*[AnVP]*

　　　　1S.OB　　invite　did.TR　COMP　SBJ-come-3S

　　　　'I invited him to come.'

(740)　*câra=i*　　　　*ni*　　*magam*　*əm*　　*ki*　　*bə-š-am*　　　*[AsVP]*

　　　　solution=IND　NEG　except　DEMP　COMP　SBJ-go-1P

　　　　'There is no solution but that we go.'

(741)　*əsa*　　*lâdi=e*　　　*avün*　*kiža*　*be-va-n*　　　*[ANR22]*

　　　　now　　time=COP.3S　3P　　chick　SBJ-bring-3P

　　　　'Now is the time for them to give birth to chicks.'

In the occasional instance in the corpus where a Persian conjunction is borrowed, the word order associated with that Persian construction is also used; hence, for example, when *bejâyeinke* 'instead of' and *barây* 'for the sake of' are used in (742) and (743) below, the complement clause is fronted to a position before the matrix clause:

(742)　*bejâyeinke*　　*viša=kâ*　　　*vardar-u,*　　　*…*　　　*darafand=əš=a*　*daryâ*

　　　　instead.of　　forest=LOC　SBJ.take-3S　　　　　threw=3S=TR　　　sea

　　　　dela=kâ　　*[ASB77]*

　　　　into=LOC

　　　　'Instead of taking (him) to the forest, … he threw (him) into the sea.'

(743)　*barây*　　　*əm*　　*ki*　　*yâl*　　*â-b-i*　　　　　*basi*　　*xərâk*

　　　　for.sake　DEMP　COMP　big　　PVB-become-2S　must　　food

　　　　b-ar-i　　　　　*[AsVP]*

　　　　SBJ-eat-2S

　　　　'In order to become big, you must eat food.'

Verbs expressing shame all take a subjunctive verb in the complement clause:

(744)　*âr=in*　　　　*zen=na*　　　*ba-štân*　　　*ki*

　　　　shame=3P　　know=LOC　to-self　　　COMP

　　　　əštân　*zəvün=anda*　*gap*　　*bə-žan-ən*　　*[ANR43]*

　　　　self　　language=LOC　speech　SBJ-hit-3P

　　　　'They are ashamed in themselves to speak their own language.'

(745)   *əm-i=ni*   *xəjâlat* *get=a* *a-vun* *da-fars-ə*   [MPS43]

       3S-OB=also   shame got=TR 3P-OB PVB.SBJ-ask-3S

       'He, for that matter, was ashamed to ask them.'

(746)   *buğavün-ə*   *xəjulat* *kaš=a*   *bavun*   *bə-vut-ə*

       gardener-OB   shame drew=TR   3P.IOD   SBJ-say-3S

       əm   *âmbu=nə*   *kurâi*   *vârd=a*   [ANP37]

       DEMP   pear=2P   whence   brought=TR

       'The gardener was ashamed to say to them, "Where did you get these pears from?" '

6.4.5   Direct Speech

Both direct and indirect speech may be expressed with a verb of speech followed by a complement clause. See §6.11.4 below.

6.4.6   Indirect Questions

Indirect questions are commonly introduced by the verb 'to know'. Note the possibility of fronting the indirect question before the matrix clause verb, as shown in the second example below:

(747)   *ne-zun-u*   *cə*   *da-kar-ə*   [MSG]

       NEG-know-3S   what? PVB-pour-3S

       'He does not know what to pour in.'

(748)   *pir-a* *ženak* *səb-i*   *cə*   *kar-ə*   *zun-u*   [MSS87]

       old-LNK woman morning-OB   what? SBJ.do-3S   know-3S

       'In the morning the old woman knew what to do.'

6.4.7   Subject Complements

Subject complements also tend to follow the main clause and usually employ the complementizer. The examples below employ a variety of modal words and demonstratives to represent the predicate of the main clause, including *malum* 'certain' (749); *momken* 'possible' (343); *hənta* 'so' to introduce result clauses (751) and (752); *agamcə* for concessive 'athough' (753); *bubu* 'may it be' (754); and *bi* 'must' (755) (see also *basi* 'must' in (743) above):

(749) *malum=a*   *ki*   *əm*   *sâl=na*   *tâvəstun*   *garm*

certain=COP.3S   COMP   DEMP   year=with   summer   warm

ni-a-b   [AsVP]

NEG-AUG-be

'It is certain that this year's summer will not be warm.'

(750) *əm-un momken=a*   *kas=e*   *digar=əš golâbi vi-get=a*

DEMP-P possible=COP.3S   someone=EZ   other=3S   pear   PVB-stole=TR

bu-b-u   [MPS47]

SBJ-AUX-3S

'As for these pears it is possible that someone else stole them.'

(751) *hənta=ni var-i*   *vi-du=a*   *kə*   *dâr*   *u*   *ducun=əš*

so=also   snow-OB   PVB-fell=TR   COMP   tree   and   hollow=3S

pur   *â-kard=a*   [MSG]

full   PVB-made.be=TR

'So in fact has snow fallen that it has filled the trees and hollows.'

(752) *hənta mən b-ar kə i*   *cekate xun ma-balak-ə*   [MSS36]

so   1S.OB IMP-eat COMP one   droplet blood PHB-fall-3S

'So eat me that one drop of blood does not fall.'

(753) *agamcə*   *ki*   *ka=š*   *xaili dur=a*   *vali*

although   COMP   house=3S   very   far=COP.3S   but

mən   *a*   *davit*   *kard=a*   *ki*   *b-â*   [AsVP]

1S.OB   3S   invitation   did=TR   COMP   SBJ-come.3S

'Although his house is very far, nonetheless I invited him to come.'

(754) *bu-b-u*   *âdam=i*   *əm*   *guš-a*   *kanâr mand-a*   *bə-b-u!* [MSG]

IMP-be-3S   man=IND   DEMP   corner-LNK   beside   remain-PTC SBJ-AUX-3S

'Would that a man were hidden in this corner!'

(755) *a*   *bi*   *bə-š-u*   *â-kar-ə,*   *nâ-â-kar-ə*   [MSS13]

3S   must   SBJ-go-3S   PVB.SBJ-open-3S   NEG-PVB-open-3S

'She should go and free (her), she does not free (her).'

6.4.8   Nominalization

In addition to the kinds of complement clause discussed above, Anbarani and Asalemi also employ a nominalization strategy in certain contexts.[126] In example (756), the result of the first clause is expressed with the preposition *ba* 'with' and an infinitive verb. The remaining examples (757) to (760) express purpose, typically with the case clitic *=ru/râ* 'for' modifying the whole (non-finite) verb phrase.

(756) *sa=š*   *ğâl*   *bə*   *ba*   *əštân*   *âmbü*   *cən-e*   [ANP16]

head=3s   hot   was.3s   with   self   pear   pick-INF

'He was busy (lit. his head was hot) with his pear picking.'

(757) *šângavasa*   *ki*   *ka*   *š-e*   *vâxt*   *bə*   [ANR32]

dusk   COMP   house   go-INF   time   was.3s

'At dusk, which was the time to go home.'

(758) *âš-i*   *pat-e=râ*   *cə*   *a-kar-in?*   [ASM]

stew-OB   cook-INF=for   what   AUG-do-IMPF.3P

'In order to cook the stew, what were they doing?'

(759) *â-gard-i=râ*   *pe-nu=a*   [ASA]

PVB-return.INF-OB=for   PVB-put=TR

'We've put (it there) for (our) return.'

(760) *cavə*   *vind-e=ru=y*   *uma=na*   [AnVP]

POSSD.3s   see-INF=for=3s   come=LOC

'He is coming to see him.'

In contrast, Masali (761) employs the same kind of complement clause construction with subjunctive verb which we have already seen (§6.4.3 above):

(761) *a*   *tasmim*   *dâr-i*   *a-i*   *bi-vin-i*   [MaVP]

3s   decision   has-IMPF.3s   3s-OB   SBJ-see-IMPF.3s

'He was intending to see him.'

All three dialects may employ a nominalized infinitival phrase in object position:

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[126] The Jokandan Pear Story (JOP10) yields the example *mašğul=e ba do=da xəc ci-e* busy=COP.3s to tree=LOC pear pick-INF 'He is busy picking pears in the tree.'

(762) həm   alân   sib-un   cind-e tamun kard=əm=a   [MaVP] &AN/AS

       SAMEP now   apple-OB.P   pick-INF finish did=1S=TR

       'I just finished picking the apples.'

6.4.9   Complex Noun Phrases

Coordinating conjunctions in Iranian Taleshi are set out in §5.5.1. Coordinated noun
phrases may function as subjects (763), direct objects (764), and obliques (765) to (768).
Where nouns in oblique position are governed by a case clitic, that clitic may attach to one or
all of those nouns; hence, for example, the first noun *gili* 'clay' in example (766) may also
receive the clitic *=na* 'with'.

(763) bəz   u   gusand əšta=râ   bəndi   hamrâ=inâ   [MSG]

       goat   and   sheep   self=for   each.other   companion=COP.PST.3P

       'The goat and the sheep were companions for each other.'

(764) dâr   u   ducun=əš   pur   â-kard=a   [MSG]

       tree   and   foliage=3S   full   PVB-cause.be=TR

       '(The snow) has filled up the trees and the foliage.'

(765) rais   əštan   žen   o   xərdan-un=na da-rast-a   [AsNP] & AN/M

       chief   self   woman   and   child-OB.P=with PVB-arrived-3S

       'The chief arrived with his wife and children.'

(766) a-i   ğab   gil-i   o   âv-i=na   sâxt=a   [AsNP] & AN/M

       3S-OB   pot   clay-OB and   water-OB=with   made=TR

       'He made the pot with clay and water.'

(767) a-š-im   əštân   dada   u   piadada=ru   sârd   uv

       AUG-go-IMPF.1S   self   father and   grandfather=for cold   water

       a-v-im   [ANR31]

       AUG-bring-IMPF.1S

       'I was going to bring cold water for my father and grandfather.'

(768) sâhəb=e   sərvat o   zəndegi   bu   [MCB]

       owner=EZ   riches and   life   is.3S

       'He has a wealthy lifestyle.'

6.5   Adposition phrase

Taleshi adpositions are set out in §5.1. We take the prepositions *ba-* 'to' and *az* 'from' to be adpositions proper, while post-nominal elements such as *=kâ/=ku* are treated as case clitics.

The prepositional phrase constituent structure is preposition + noun phrase, while case clitics append themselves to noun phrases which are generally marked with the oblique case. Case clitics are found in the corpus attaching to a single noun; noun and adjective; possessed NP; quantified noun phrase; and infinitival verb phrase (773).

(769)   *a*   *səb-i*   *zud-i=ku*   *š-a*   [MaNP]

          3s   morning-OB   soon-OB=LOC   went-3s

          'He left early in the morning.'

(770)   *bâla*   *merd*   *cə*   *hân=u*   *pe-kâ*   [AnVP]

          child   man   POSS.3s   sleep=LOC   PVB-woke.TR

          'The child woke the man up.'

(771)   *hard-e*   *har*   *âdam-i=râ*   *lâzem=a*   [AsNP] & AN/M

          eat-INF   each   man-OB=for   need=COP.3s

          'All men need to eat.'

(772)   *haf*   *xəmuxosravi*   *pul*   *ha*   *cem-a*   *sar-i=ku*

          7   Khosravi   money   SAMED   spring-LNK   head-OB=LOC

          i-la   *səng-a*   *gəla*   *bən-i=ku*   *nu-a*   [MCB]

          a-CL   stone-LNK   CL   under-OB=LOC   put-PTC

          '7 Khosravi coins have been put at the head of that same spring, under a stone.'

(773)   *hadaf-ə*   *di*   *š-e=ku*   *cic*   *bə*   [AnVP]

          aim-OB   village   go-INF=LOC   what?   was.3s

          'What was the point of going to the village?'

(774)   *ši=na=b-im*   *ğad-a*   *nuğ-ə*   *dəlân*   [ANR24]

          go=LOC=AUX-1s   big-LNK   cave-OB   in

          'I used to go into a big cave…'

6.6 Adjective phrase

As in Persian (Mahootian 1999, p.53), there is no single morphological or word order criterion which uniquely identifies all adjective phrases. While an adjective may act as head of its NP (see e.g. example (689) above, and surrounding discussion), adjectives differ from nouns in that they do not receive number marking, and are suffixed by linking vowel *-a* in attributive function. They may, however, receive case-marking, as in the following Masali example where 'red' receives oblique marking as the object:

(775) *az*   *sər-i*   *vind=əm=a*   *[MaVP]*

     1S   red-OB   saw=1S=TR

     'I saw the red one.'

For information on adjectival morphology, see §5.2.1.

Adverbs may modify adjectives, as in the following examples:

(776) *a*   *xaili*   *mariz*   *b-a*   *[AsVP]*

     3S   very   sick   was-3S

     'She was very sick.'

(777) *av*   *xali*   *tašyân=e*   *[AnVP]*

     3S   very   thirsty=COP.3S

     'He is very thirsty.'

Prepositional phrases can also modify adjectives:

(778) *az*   *əštə*   *dast-i=kâ*   *xaili*   *asebâni=m*   *[AsVP]*

     1S   POSS.2S hand-OB=LOC   very   angry=COP.1S

     'I am very angry at you (Lit: from your hand very angry am I).'

In Asalemi it is further possible for an adjective to introduce a complement clause:

(779) *umidavâr*   *bə-b-am*   *ki*   *a*   *b-uma=y*   *[AsVP]*

     hopeful   SBJ-be-1P   comp   3S   FUT-come=3S

     'Let us hope that he comes.'

6.7 Numerals

The morphology of numerals and classifiers is set out in §5.3.

The numeral phrase in Iranian Taleshi typically consists of a numeral, classifier and noun, for example:

(780) *se*   *gəla*   *merd*   *[AsNP] & AN/M*

three   CL   man

'Three men.'

(781) *əm*   *se*   *gəla*   *lira.*   *vâ*   *ne,*   *vâ*   *əm*   *da*   *gəla*   *[MCB]*

DEMP   3   CL   lira   says.3S   no   says.3S   DEMP   10   CL

' "Here are three pounds." He says no. (The other) says: "Here are ten." '

A number phrase may be modified by a demonstrative (782); and include its own modifiers, such as participles (783) and adjectives (784).

(782) *əm*   *i*   *ceka*   *xun*   *[MSS40]*

DEMP   one   drop   blood

'This one drop of blood ...'

(783) *i-la*   *a-xun-a*   *xərdan*   *[AsVP]*

a-CL   PTC-sing-LNK   child

'A singing child.'

(784) *i-la*   *pust-a*   *kisa*   *[AsNP]*

a-CL   leather-LNK   sack

'A leather sack.'

A noun phrase modified by a numeral may also function as the pre-head modifier of another noun (note also how approximation may be expressed by the juxtaposition of two consecutive numerals, in the example which follows and also in (801)):

(785) *cama*   *se*   *câr*   *ruz-i*   *xarj=a*   *[MBB]*

POSS.1P   3   4   day-OB   expense=COP.3S

'It constitutes three or four days' expense for us.'

Numbers can predicate in the same way as adjectives, as shown in example (786):

(786) *camun*   *sas-e*   *i-la=n*   *[AsNP] & M*

POSSD.3P   voice-P   one-CL=COP.3P

'Their voices are one (i.e. the same).'

(787) *sabad-e*   *i-la*   *kam=in*   *[ASP24]*

basket-P   one-CL   few=COP.3P

'The baskets are one (too) few (i.e. one of the baskets is missing).'

The numeral may constitute a noun phrase on its own, without a classifier:

(788)   *kam*   *i-la*   *tə*   *get=ər=a?*   *[MaVP] & AM/AS*

       which   1-CL   2S   got=2S=TR

       'Which one did you get?'

(789)   *həm-i*   *ger-ə,* *ha-i*   *ger-ə* *u* *har* *də* *har-ə* *[MSG]*

       SAMEP-OB   get-3S SAMED-OB get-3S and each 2   eat-3S

       'He gets this one, he gets that one, and he eats both.'

(790)   *âšmârd=əš=e* *i*   *də*   *vind=əš=e* *a*   *i-la*   *sava*

       counted=3S=TR one   two   saw=3S=TR   DEMD one-CL basket

       ni   *[ANP36]*

       not

       'He counted, one, two. He saw that that one (other) basket is not there.'

Where a numeral picks out a number of entities from a larger group, a partitive element attaches to the noun referring to that group (=*u* in (791) and =*kâ* in (792)):

(791)   *se*   *gəla*   *cavə* *hamr-un=u*   *nava=na=b-in*   *[ANP26]*

       3   CL   POSS.3S companion-PL=LOC   walk=LOC=AUX-3P

       'Three of his friends were passing.'

(792)   *mən* *bamun=kâ* *can* *nafar* *vind=a*   *[AsNP]*

       1S.OB 3P.IOD=LOC   some   person saw=TR

       'I saw some of them.'

      The following set of examples presents the ability of enclitic elements, including pronominal agent clitics, to attach themselves within numeral phrases. (The placement of these clitics is discussed more generally in §4.10.3.) This ability is limited to Northern and Central dialects such as Anbarani and Asalemi, and is not attested in Masali. Examples (793) to (797) demonstrate this in Anbarani; (798) and (799) in Asalemi; while examples (800) to (801) contrast the placement of the clitic 'also' in the three dialects.[127]

(793)   *šâš*   *gəla=m*   *bəva* *hest=e,*   *i-la*   *huâ*   *[ANR4]*

       6   CL=1S   brother exist=COP.3S   1-CL   sister

---

[127] The Masali sentence elicited for sentence 125 of the noun phrase list did not contain the word 'also'; hence example (801) is included to illustrate where this clitic would typically attach.

'I have six brothers and one sister.'

(794) i-la   merd   gəl=əš bəz-ə   nəxta   gat-a=bə   [ANP8]

1-CL   man   CL=3S goat-OB   leash   got-PTC=AUX.3S

'A man had got a goat on a leash.'

(795) i-la=š kina   vind=e   [ANP21]

a-CL=3S girl   saw=TR

'He saw a girl.'

(796) se   gəla=š bavün   âmbu   du   [ANP32][128]

3   CL=3S   3P.IOD pear   gave=TR

'He gave them three pears.'

(797) mâ=ru   i-la=n   ka   hest=e   [AnNP]

1S.OB=for   a-CL=also   house   exist=COP.3S

'I have another house.'

(798) mən   can   gəla   barəngâ vind=a, i-la=m   yâl   xri=a [AsNP]

1S.OB   some   CL   door   saw=TR a-CL=1S   big   bought=TR

'I saw various doors, I bought a big one.'

(799) də   gəla   vayu   hest   b-a,   də   gəla=š=ani   zua

2   CL   bride   exist   was-3S 2   CL=3S=also   boy

hest   b-a   [ASM]

exist   was-3S

'She had two daughters-in-law, and two boys too.

(800) a.   av-ə   se   gəla=n   ispica   pe-gat=e   [AnNP]

3S-OB   3   CL=also   match   PVB-took=TR

---

[128] The ability of an indirect object to interpose in this way is limited to Anbarani. Contrast:

Asalemi				Anbarani			
i-la	karg	bamən	bəda	i-la	bamân	kâg	bəda.
a-CL	chicken	to.me	give!	a-CL	to.me	chicken	give!

'Give me a chicken!'

b.	a-i	se	gla	diar	kibrit=ani	pe-gat=a	[AsNP]
	3S-OB	3	CL	other	match=also	PVB-took=TR	

c.	a	se	gəla	kerbit=e	digar	pi-get=əš=a	[MaNP]
	3S	3	CL	match=EZ	other	PVB-took=3S=TR	

'He took three more matches.'

(801)	se	câr	gəla	zambil=am	cind-a=š=â	[MPS10]
	3	4	CL	basket=also	picked-PTC=3S=AUX.3S	

'He had also picked three or four baskets.'

In Masali, the classifier *gəla* may occur after a noun, independently of its role in combination with the numeral, in order to pick out that noun as especially salient. In example (802) the entity so picked out is a particular stone under which treasure is hidden; in (803) it is a splinter which had magically contained the form of the story's hero, a young maiden:

(802)	haf	xəmuxosravi	pul	ha	cem-a	sar-i=ku
	7	Khosravi	money	SAMED	spring-LNK	head-OB=LOC

	i-la	*səng-a*	*gəla*	bən-i=ku	nu-a	[MCB]
	a-CL	stone-LNK	CL	under-OB=LOC	put-PTC	

'7 Khosravi coins have been put at the head of that same spring, under a stone.'

(803)	az	**ha**	**əzgar-a**	**gəla**	bu-m	[MSS98]
	1S	SAMED	splinter-LNK	CL	was-1S	

'I was that very splinter.'

(804)	har	i	i-la	golâbi	kərâ	har-ə	[MPS42]
	each	one	a-CL	pear	PROG	eat-3S	

'Each one is eating a pear.'

6.8   Quantifiers

The unmarked order of phrases involving quantifiers is:

quantifier – numeral – classifier – adjective – noun

The most common indefinite and universal quantifiers used in Iranian Taleshi are set out in §5.4. The typical word order is set out in the following example:

(805) har   də   gəla   merd   [AsNP]

each   2   CL   man

'Both men.'

As with numerals, any noun governed by a quantifier tends to be in the singular. Hence in
example (806) 'door' is in the singular, and is marked with a singular clitic on the verb 'saw':

(806) can   gəla=m   barəngâ   vind=a   [AsNP]

some   CL=1S   door   saw=TR

'I saw some doors.'

The quantifier *can* 'some' is unusual in commonly combining with a classifier. Some examples
of this are provided below:

(807) i   can   gəla=i   miva   vi-gənəst-a   [AsNP]

a   some   CL=IND   fruit   PVB-fell-3S

'A few fruit fell down.'

(808) av-ə   cân   gəla   miva   hâ   [AnNP]

3S-OB   some   CL   fruit   ate.TR

'He ate some fruit.'

(809) mânə   cân   gəla   cavun=u   vind=e   [AnNP] & AS/M

1S.ACC   some   CL   POSSD.3P=LOC   saw=TR

'I saw some of them.'

6.9   Simple sentences

6.9.1   Order of core arguments

For Persian, Mahootian (1997, pp.50-51) gives the following neutral order of
constituents in an argument-laden sentence:

(810) *subject – temporal – direct object – source – locative – benefactive/goal – instrumental
  – verb*

As Roberts (2009, p.98) observes, this word order only obtains when the direct object is
definite. Taleshi follows this same default word order for both full noun phrases and pronouns,
as shown in the following examples:

(811) ca   šux=əš=an   i   dâst=anda   gat-a=bə   [ANP9]

POSSD.3S   horn=3s=also   one   hand=LOC   got-PTC=AUX.3S

'He had grasped its horns with one hand.'

(812) dumla=kâ   əm   tele-mun   yand-ə=na   baxš

after=LOC   DEMP   gold-P   each-OB=with   share

â-mun-a-kard   [ASB25]

PVB-1P-FUT-do

'Later we'll share these pieces of gold with each other.'

(813) xədu   av-ə   bama   nešun   du   [ANP30]

God   3S-OB   1P.IO   show   did.TR

'God showed him to us.'

When the direct object is indefinite in both Persian (Roberts 2009, p.98) and Taleshi, it tends immediately to precede the verb. This contrast is illustrated in two clauses which occur close together in the same text: in the first, the direct object is definite and precedes the beneficiary; in the second, the direct object *câi* 'tea' is indefinite and comes after the beneficiary:

(814) ce   gâ   a-i=râ   duš-u ...   a-i=râ   câi

POSSD.3S   cow   3S-OB=for   milk-3S   3S-OB=for   tea

dam   kar-ə   [MSS66-67]

brew   do-3S

'She milks her cows for her ... she brews tea for her.'

Further examples of the indirect object in pre-verbal position are given below:

(815) a-i   har   kas-i   i-tka   xərâk   du=a   [AsNP]

3S-OB   each   person-OB   a-little   food   gave=TR

'He gave a little food to each person.'

(816) ba   ha-i=di=š   gəla   ca   xəc=da

to   each-one=IND=3S   CL   POSSD.3S   pear=LOC

bə-du   [AMP8]

PST-gave.TR

'He gave one of his pears to each one.'

(817) har   i   i   gəla   golâbi   â-du=š=a   [MPS35]

each   one   a   CL   pear   PVB-gave=3S=TR

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'To each one he gave one pear.'

(818) *tež*   *zambil-un=ku=š*   *gəla=i bə-dəzdi*   *[AMP6]*

      fast   basket-P=LOC=3S   CL=IND PST-stole.TR

      'Quickly he stole one (of the pears) from the baskets.'

(819) *bavə=ru*   *âsp=anda*   *bu*   *a-kərn-im*   *[ANR10]*

      3S.IOD=for   horse=LOC   load   AUG-carry-IMPF.1S

      'For him I was transporting a load by horse.'

(820) *i-la*   *merd=ani*   *i-la*   *bəz-i*   *sar-i=kâ*   *lâfənd=əš*

      a-CL   man=also   a-CL   goat-OB   head-OB=LOC   rope=3S

      da-kard-a   *[ASP9]*

      PVB-thrown-PTC

      'Another man had thrown a rope over the head of a goat.'

6.9.2 Core elements and information structure

In their presentation of a methodology for the discourse analysis of texts, Dooley and Levinsohn (2001) differentiate the terms "discourse topic" and "sentence topic" in the following way:

> "Notionally, a discourse topic is what a (section of) discourse is about, while a sentence topic is an entity that the speaker indicates that a particular sentence is about (Tomlin et al. 1997:85), if, in fact, the sentence has such. There can be discourse topics for different levels of discourse: thematic unit, episode, or the entire text (op. cit., 90); sentence topics, of course, are always associated with a particular sentence." (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001, p.69)

Lambrecht (1994) refines the notion of sentence topic with the following definition:

> "A referent is interpreted as the topic of a proposition if IN A GIVEN DISCOURSE the proposition is construed as being ABOUT this referent, i.e. as expressing information which is RELEVANT to and which increases the addressee's KNOWLEDGE OF this referent." (Lambrecht 1994, p.127)

Lambrecht (ibid) goes on to present three possible kinds of sentence articulation, interpreted with reference to the discourse context of the sentence in question. The first kind of sentence articulation is the TOPIC-COMMENT sentence. Roberts (2009) supplies the following sentence, with discourse context, as an example (capitalization represents phrasal accent):

(821) *(What did the children do next?) The children went to SCHOOL. (Roberts 2009, p.45)*

In this example "the children" may properly be considered the topic of the sentence: the sentence is about them. Lambrecht (ibid) describes the morphosyntactic means for expressing the discourse-pragmatic status of elements in a sentence as "focus structure", and terms the structure of topic-comment sentences such as (821) PREDICATE FOCUS. The phrase "went to

school" designates the comment that is made about the topic, and is in focus: it asserts information about the children.

Lambrecht claims that such sentences are the default or unmarked way to present information in every language. Taleshi fits this claim: the vast majority of sentences in texts are topic-comment sentences.

The second kind of sentence articulation is the EVENT-REPORTING sentence. Roberts (ibid) supplies the following example:

  (822) *(What happened?) The CHILDREN went to SCHOOL!*   *(Roberts 2009, p.45)*

There is no topic in this sentence: as Roberts states, the function of the sentence is not to convey information about the children, but to inform the addressee of an event involving the children as participants. Lambrecht (1994) describes the focus structure of such sentences as SENTENCE FOCUS, because the entire sentence is focal.

The third kind of sentence articulation is the IDENTIFICATIONAL sentence. Roberts' example is:

  (823) *(Who went to school?) The CHILDREN went to school.*   *(Roberts 2009, p.45)*

Again, this is not to be construed as a sentence about the children. Its function is rather to provide the referent solicited by the word *who* in the preceding question. Hence Lambrecht's term "identificational": such sentences serve to identify a referent as the missing argument in an open proposition. Lambrecht's term for this kind of focus structure is ARGUMENT FOCUS: focus on a single constituent (in this case, the subject).

6.9.3   Topic-comment (predicate focus) sentences

Given that Taleshi is a pro-drop language, most commonly in topic-comment sentences the subject is marked only on the verb. For example, in the following sequence of sentences the topic 'they' is marked with an explicit pronoun only in the first sentence:

  (824) *de*   *a-e*   *âm-in*   *daivard-in*   *š-in*   *[ASP28]*

        anyway   3-P   came-3P   passed.by-3P   went-3P

        'So they came, passed by and went.'

However, in marked topic-comment sentence various non-default word order configurations are possible. We explore these in the remainder of this section, considering at the same time where and why the phrasal accent falls as it does. As in §2.7.3, in each example cited the syllable carrying the phrasal accent is capitalized; while for ease of reading, where the syllable contains a morpheme break, only those characters representing the morpheme containing the nucleus of the syllable are capitalized.

In sentence (825) below, the sheep has just mentioned that she and her friend will soon be giving birth; hence their offspring *cama kula* 'our young' are topical. The question now is what will happen to them – for example, what might eat them – when winter comes. Their being in danger is pragmatically presupposed, and hence the two potential predators are focal despite being in subject positions:

(825) *VARG cama   kula   har-ə   yâ   XƏRS cama   kula   har-ə*   [MSG]

      wolf   POSS.1P young eat-3S or   bear   POSS.1P young eat-3S

      'A wolf will eat our young, or a bear will eat our young.'

In the following three examples the verb receives the accent, because all of the other information in the clause is presupposed:

(826) *belaxarə   əšta=râ   yâ=ku   mun-U*   [MSG]

      finally   self=for   there=LOC   stay-3S

      'In the end, she stays there.'

(827) *əm-e   iâ   MAND=in   a   šav-i=râ*   [ASB26]

      3-P   here   stayed=3P DEMR   night-OB=for

      'They stayed here that night.'

(828) *əm-i   PE*   [MCB]

      3S-OB   cook.3S

      'He cooks it.'

Both clauses in example (829) present the same new information (giving birth to two lambs) in parallel: the second clause is a restatement of the first. Hence 'two lambs' is not presupposed in the second clause, but part of the pragmatic assertion (the comment); whereas 'to her' *is* presupposed, since the mother is topical at this point. For this reason 'lamb', the final word of the NP, receives the stress, not the immediately preverbal PP 'to her'. It is the two lambs that are in focus.

(829) *də   gəla   vaRA   kar-ə. də gəla vaRA a-i=râ   b-u*   [MSG]

      2   CL   lamb   do-3S   2 CL   lamb   3S-OB=for   be-3S

      'She gives birth to two lambs. Two lambs are (born) to her.'

In the second clause of example (830) the situation is similar: 'door' receives the phrasal accent, as the most significant, preverbal part of the pragmatic assertion corresponding to the presupposition "Please do *something* for me":

(830) BƏZ   vâ   kə   GUsand jân,   bar-I   ma=râ   â-ka   [MSG]

goat   says   COMP   sheep dear   door-OB   1S.OB=for   PVB-open!

'The goat says "Dear sheep, open the door for me!"

In example (831) the first of a set of challenges is introduced into the *Sheep and Goat* narrative. These challenges will prove instrumental in bringing the plot to its climax, and their significance is indicated by accenting the indefinite referent NP, and placing it in marked word order position (see §6.9.1) prior to the recipient PP:

(831) az   i   ŠART=i   šəma   pe-na=m   [MSG]

1s   a   test=IND   2P   PVB-put=1S

'I'll set you a challenge.'

In the following example marked word order is again used (indefinite NP before recipient PP). This helps to express the surprisingly large sum of money which was handed over during the purchase of a prop which will prove crucial in transforming the protagonist's fortunes. Again it is the indefinite NP which receives the accent:

(832) barka   PUL=i   əm-i   â-da   [MCB]

much   money=IND   3S-OB   PVB-hand.over.3S

'He is giving him a lot of money!'

The post-verbal goal does receive stress in situations where it is the only new information and thus constitutes the core of the pragmatic assertion. For example, the sheep and goat suggest to each other that they go out to see whether spring has come. Hence the idea of going out is already presupposed, resulting in their destination (a post-verbal goal) receiving the phrasal accent:

(833) əm-en   šu-n   janGAL   [MSG]

3-P   go-3P   forest

'They go to the forest.'

6.9.4   Event reporting (sentence focus) sentences

The strategy of accenting the subject in event-reporting sentences is consistent with the morpho-syntactic principles outlined in §2.7.3.2 above. Hence in example (834), the immediately pre-verbal word in each clause carries the phrasal stress:

(834) i   BƏZ=i   b-u,   i   guSAND=i   [MSG]

a   goat=IND   is-3S   a   sheep=IND

'There was once a goat and a sheep.'

However, where the referent of a particular constituent has a highly salient role in the plot, that constituent may be accented. In (835) the mouse turns out to be one of the story's main participants and so is accented in favour of *yâ* 'here':

(835) *i-la   MUŠ   yâ   gard-ə*   [MCB]

      a-CL   mouse here   go-3S

      'A mouse is moving around here!'

Similarly in (836) the cave location will turn out to be significant when the cave is searched and the villain of the story caught and punished (the discussion has already identified the existence of some hostile third party, to which *i nafar* 'a person' refers):

(836) *əm   xəl-I=ku   i   nafar   bar-š-a*   [MCB]

      DEMP   cave-OB=LOC   a   person PVB-came.in-3S

      'Someone came into this very cave.'

6.9.5   Identificational (argument focus) sentences

We stated in §6.9.2 that argument focus involves focus upon a single constituent, and relates to the identificational sentence articulation type. The most common examples of this kind of articulation involve question words (837) and quantifiers ((838) and (839)):

(837) *âğâ   tə   KI=šun?   tə   iâ   CI=š   ba-kard?*   [ASB53-54]

      mister 2S   who?=2S[129] 2S   here what?=2S PRS-do

      'Mister, who are you? What are you doing here?''

(838) *viša   dela=kâ HAR kas=i   ki   kisa   dela=kâ   darafan-un* [ASB71]

      forest in=LOC   any one=IND REL   sack   in=LOC   throw-3P

      'In the forest, anyone they throw into a sack ...'

(839) *HAR   kas=i   əm-i   hard=a a   RÂST vâ*   [MSG]

      any   one=IND   DEMP-OB   ate=TR 3S   truth speak.3S

      'Whoever eats this, he is telling the truth.'

The context for example (840) is that the bear maintains at the beginning of court proceedings that he may have witnessed the lambs dying, but their death was natural. The

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[129] The second person singular copula is *=iš*; the role of *un* here is unclear.

sheep and goat maintain, on the other hand, that the bear *ate* them. Although the two sentences shown in the example are several clauses apart in the text, the narrow focus of the two verbs – signalled by their accentuation at the expense of preverbal constituents – demonstrates that the issue at stake is whether the lambs died naturally or not:

(840) *NE,*   *kula*   *MARD-a*   ...

no   lamb   die-3S.PST

tə   *cama*   *kul-ân*   *hard-A = r = a*   [MSG40, 46]

2S   POSS.1P young-P   ate-PTC=2S=TR

'(Bear:) *"*No, the lamb *died*!"* ... (Sheep and goat:) You *ate* our young.'

In the next example, the pragmatic presupposition is that the baldy did *something* to his uncle. The pragmatic assertion is that what he did was to *throw him into a sack*. In this instance the verb and the post-verbal goal receive accents of equal weight.

(841) *əm-i*   *daraFAND = a*   *əm*   *kiSA*   *dela = kâ*   [ASB77]

3S-OB   throw=TR   DEMP   sack   in=LOC

'He *did* throw (him) into *this* sack.'

Post-verbal elements may receive the phrasal accent when they have an identificational role:

(842) *bə*   *hesâb*   *ğadim*   *vâ-n*   *âsiÂB*   [MCB]

to   proportion   ancient   say-IMPF.3S   mill

'Back in the old days they used to say "asiab" '.

In sentences with no verb, the accent again falls on the argument in focus (note additionally that in both clauses of examples (843) and (844) the focus is contrastive):

(843) *sang-ə*   *siâ*   *caUN*   *sar,*   *ramat-ə*   *xudâ*   *caMA*   *sar*   [MSG]

stone-OB   black   POSSD.3P   head   mercy-OB   god   POSS.1P   head

'The black stone on *their* head, God's mercy on *our* head.'

(844) *DƏ*   *gəla*   *əmsafa*   *hest-e*

2   CL   then   exist-3S.PST

bape   *mə = râ*   *SE*   *gəla*   *safa*   *a-b-i*   [AMP10]

should   1S=for   3   CL   basket   AUG-be-IMPF.3S

'There were *two* baskets now; I ought to have *three* baskets.'

In (845) the fact that some kind of story will be told is pragmatically presupposed; the assertion is that the story will in fact be a *baldy* kind of story. Similarly, in (846) the hero of the story has already had the opportunity to be taken to the palace to marry the princess; now the speaker, a shepherd, suggests to the hero that they take *him*, the shepherd, instead. *mən* 'me' is therefore in argument focus.

(845) *pis-I*   *naǧl=i*   *šəma=râ*   *ba-vât=im*   [ASB1]

baldy-OB   story=IND   2P=for   PRS-say=1S

'I'll tell you a story about a *baldy*. (As opposed to some other kind of story.)'

(846) *MƏN*   *bə-bar-un*   [ASB62]

1S   SBJ-take-3S

'Let them take *me*!'

In the next two examples, post-verbal constituents receive the phrasal accent. In (847), the location is contrary to the uncle's expectations: he had asked to be taken to the forest, not thrown into the sea. In (848), it is very surprising that someone would buy rubble and exchange it for gold.

(847) *darafand=əš=a*   *darYÂ* *dela=kâ*   [ASB77]

threw=3S=TR   sea   in=LOC

'(Instead of leaving him in the forest) he threw (him) into the *sea*.'

(848) *kâr=a*   *ka*   *gil-I*   *bard-e* *avaz* *kard-e* *teLE=na*   [ASB35]

PROG=3S   house mud-OB take-INF change do-INF gold=with

'He's taking house-rubble and exchanging it for gold.'

In the following example, the narrator identifies a series of items which the story's hero has successfully obtained. The accent which each of these nominal referents carries, combined with a list style intonation, illustrates the identificational role of argument focus:

(849) *ham*   *pas-E* *ca=râ*   *mand-in*

both   sheep-P POSSD.3S=for   remained-3P

ham   *a*   *teLE-ye* *ca=râ*   *mand-in*

both   DEMP gold-P   POSSD.3S=for remained-3P

ham   *a=ni*   *kə*   *amu*   *kəLA=š*   *bard=a*

both   DEMP=also   COMP uncle daughter=3S   took=TR

u	amu	serVAT	bai	da-rast-a	[ASB79]
and	uncle	wealth	3S.IOD	PVB-reached-3S	

'The *sheep* were left for him; the *gold* was left for him; he married his *uncle's daughter*; and his uncle's *wealth* came down to him.'

6.9.6 Core arguments and marked word order

We turn now to consider examples of non-default word order, where core arguments are preposed or postposed in order to achieve a discourse-pragmatic effect. Van Valin (2004, p.5) proposes the existence in languages of additional elements which occur outside the core of a clause (i.e. the predicate and its arguments). The first is the PRECORE SLOT, the position in which question words appear in languages where they do not occur *in situ*. Van Valin gives the English example *Bean soup I can't stand.* The second is the LEFT-DETACHED POSITION, which provides the location of sentence-initial elements which are set off from the clause by pause. Van Valin gives the examples *Yesterday, I bought myself a new car* and *As for John, I haven't seen him for a couple of weeks*. In Taleshi we argue that this is a special position for topical elements. The third element is the RIGHT-DETACHED POSITION. Van Valin gives the example *I know them, those boys*, noting further that "When the element in a detached position functions as a semantic argument of the verb, there is normally a resumptive pronoun in the core referring to it" (2004, p.5). Roberts (2009, p.18) suggests that the Right Detached Position is typically used for clarification or afterthought; we find that this is also the case in Taleshi. In the examples below where the definite object or indirect object appears sentence-initially in the PreCore Slot, it receives a topic interpretation:

(850)
əm	ânbu=nə	kurâi	vârd=a?	[ANP37]
DEMP	pear=2P	whence?	brought=TR	

'These pears, where have you brought (them) from?'

(851)
əm	xərdan-en=ni	dar-a-kar-in	camun=râ=ni	[ASM]
DEMP	child-P=also	PVB-AUG-pour-IMPF.3P	POSSP.3P=for=also	

'As for these children, they were pouring for them too.'

In *Sheep, Goat and Bear*, the sheep and goat go to confront the bear about his eating their children. After making threatening noises, the goat brings herself to make the crucial accusation. 'My child' is fronted, and the pronoun 'You!' is in focus position:

(852)
cəmə	kula	tə	hard=a	[MSG]
POSS.1S	child	2S	ate=TR	

'You ate my child!'

In *Cave and Baldy*, the king is considering the various positive qualities of the baldy. The phrase *cəmən kina* 'my daughter' is the sentence topic, and appears in Left-Detached Position:

(853) *cəmən kina,   əm-i   belaxəra   rec   â-kard-a̧=š=a*   [MCB]

POSS.1s girl   DEMP-OB   finally   heal   PVB-did-PTC=3S=TR

'As for my daughter, he has finally healed (her).'

Later in the story in (854) below, the baldy's uncle's thoughts turn in a new direction: what to do with this nephew of his. Note that vocatives almost always occur in sentence-initial Left-Detached Position (see also e.g. (855)). Following the vocative in the PreCore Slot comes the topicalized 'this baldy':

(854) *xodâyâ, əm   pisakula   az   cə   bə-kar-əm?*   [MCB]

O.God   DEMP baldy   1S   what?   SBJ-do-1S

'O God, what shall I do about this baldy?'

A similar topicalization occurs in *Sheep, Goat and Bear* when the sheep warns that they need to make a shelter to protect themselves and their young from wolves during the winter. The goat resists her friend's advice, producing 'wolf' in the left periphery (Left-Detached Position) before the conditional particle 'if':

(855) *bərâ   varg   agar   zemestun   dar-ma,*

brother wolf   if   winter   PVB-come.in.3S

zemestun-i   nahâr   bahâr=a   [MSG]

winter-OB   lunchtime   spring=3S

'Brother, a wolf – if it comes in during winter – by lunchtime in winter, it's spring!'

Core arguments may also appear resumptively in the Right-Detached Position, preceded by an intonational break. In these cases the function is to expand upon ((856) and (857)) or clarify (858) the referent. The right-detached position appearances are resumptive because in each case the referent has already been expressed in its default position within the core of the clause. Examples of subjects in Right-Detached Position include:

(856) *a   vaxt-un   sang ca-e   hest   b-in,   yâl-a   bəland-a*

DEMR   time-OB.P stone urn-P   exist   be-P.PST   big-LNK   tall-LNK

sang   ca-e [ASM]

stone   urn-P

'In those days there were stone urns, big tall stone urns.'

(857) *i-la*   *hašrât=am*   *âma,*   *kə*   *az*   *un*   *gardan*

a-CL   wolf=also   came.3S   COMP   from   those   neck

koloft-un=ku   [MCB]

thick-P=LOC

'A wolf came too, one of those thick necked ones.'

(858) *bəz*   *cimi*   *harf-i*   *guš*   *nâ-â-kar-ə*

goat   POSSP.3S   word-OB   listen   NEG-PVB-do-3S

əm   *əšta=râ*   *ka-i*   *sâz-ə,*   *gusand*   [MSG]

DEMP   self=for   house-OB   build-3S   sheep

'The goat doesn't listen to her advice. *She* builds a house for herself, the sheep.'

(859) *merdak=ani*   *a-i*   *ne-vin-iste,*   *əm*   *golâbi-a*   *bağ-a*

man=also   3S-OB   NEG-see-IMPF.3S   DEMP   pear-LNK   garden-LNK

sâheb   [MPS18]

owner

'Moreover the man~i~ didn't see him~j~, this pear orchard owner~i~.'

Objects may also be found in the Right-Detached Position. For example:

(860) *da-kard=əšun=a*   *ha*   *sava*   *dela=kâ*   *golâbi-e*   [ASP17]

PVB-threw.in=3P=TR   SAMED   basket   in=LOC   pear-P

'They threw (them) into the same basket, the pears.'

There are also a few examples of objects expressed by referential phrases which are not resumptive and where there is no intonational break. Roberts (2009, p.139) argues that an equivalent example in Persian should be treated as being in the post-core slot, but it is not clear what function such postposing has.

The first example (861) involves a postposed direct object. Barjasteh-Delforooz (2010, p.69) finds a similar construction in Iranian Balochi, and suggests that its function is to make the postposed element "de-emphasized in the discourse context" (2010, p.69). Such an analysis fits with the context of the Taleshi example, which is an instance of sentence focus in

which the noun phrase *âdam＝i zâd* 'a human being' is by far the most salient part of the utterance:

(861) *âdam＝i*   *zâd*   *bə-mas-ə*   *cəmən lua*   [MCB]

man=IND   born   SBJ-hear-3S   POSS.1S speaking

'May a human being hear what I am saying.'

In the next example (862) both the direct and indirect objects have been postposed. Again Barjasteh-Delforooz (2010, p.70) finds a similar Balochi construction, and suggests that the function of the postposing is "for the sake of clarification". Such an analysis also explains this Taleshi example, given a context in which the addressee can already see that the speaker is inside a sack:

(862) *ha＝râ*   *darafand-a＝šun＝a*   *mən*   *əm*   *kisa dela＝kâ* [ASB58]

SAMED=for   threw-PTC=3P=TR   1S.OB   DEMP   bag in=LOC

'For that same reason they have thrown me into this bag.'

In the last example, the subject is the postposed element. This kind of postposing is extremely rare.

(863) *au*   *yâ*   *mand-a*   *kas＝i*   [MCB]

oh!   here   remain-3S   someone=IND

'Oh, there is someone here!'

6.9.7 Order of non-core elements

Dooley and Levinsohn (2001) follow the Prague school linguist Beneš (1962), who suggests that in addition to topic and comment, a topic-comment sentence may contain one further functional part:

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." (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001, p.68)

Some examples of situational PoDs are set out below.

In the first example, *i rüž* 'one day' introduces the Pear Story narrative, a sequence of events which all occur in the space of one day. This introductory PoD hence has scope over the entire text, and is not an argument of the verb. The fact that it is followed by an explicit subject

justifies its analysis as part of the periphery of the clause, while the intonational break between the PoD and the subject allows us to place it in the Left Detached Position (Valin & LaPolla 1997, p.36):

(864) *i* *rüž* *//* *i-la* *buğavüin* *əštan* *ânbu-a* *du* *sa=ku*

one day a-CL gardener self pear-LNK tree top=LOC

sərd=anda *be-š-a=bə* *[ANP2]*

ladder=LOC PST-go-PTC=AUX.3S

'One day a gardener went up his pear tree on a ladder.'

Within the text, such temporal PoDs may have scope over a single clause:

(865) *cušt-a* *vâxt=anda* *must=anda* *udu* *tümü* *a-k-im [ANR15]*

lunch-LNK time=LOC yoghurt=LOC dugh prepare AUG-do-IMPF.1P

'At lunchtime, we used to prepare dugh using yoghurt.'

Two constituents may combine in this position:

(866) *âxər* *i* *ruz=i* *əm* *amu* *cimi* *ka* *ârâ* *ža* *[ASB9]*

finally one day=IND DEMP uncle POSSP.3S house fire hit.TR

'Finally, one day, his uncle set his house on fire.'

Parallel to this kind of temporal PoD, a locational phrase may be used to orient the hearer:

(867) *kulaš=anda //* *cama=ru* *buğ* *kaju* *kâfšan=anda* *hi //*

Kulash=LOC POSS.1P=for garden yard desert=LOC field

vəi-a *vəra=mün* *hest-e* *[ANR8]*

much-LNK land=1P exist-PST.3S

'In Kulash, we had a garden, a yard, a field in the desert; we had lots of land.'

(868) *a* *var-i=kâ=ni* *i-la* *javân-a* *zua=i ...* *uma [ASP10]*

DEMR side-OB=LOC=also a-CL young-LNK boy=IND came.3S

'From that direction, a young boy ... came.'

Temporal and locational PoDs may also combine in the same sentence:

(869) *əm* *rüž-ün* *tuləš=anda* *udam-un …* *fursi=n* *gap* *ža=na [ANR41]*

DEMP day-P Talesh=LOC man-P Farsi=3P speech hit=LOC

'These days in Talesh, people (who are Taleshi) speak Farsi (with their children).'

Example (710) above gives another example of a temporal PoD which is clearly in the Left-Detached Position, preceding a relative clause head.

Connectives may also occupy a position in the periphery; however, they are not Points of Departure because their role is simply to indicate the next in a series of events. For example:

(870)   *əmsafa*   *hərdan-en*   *dümla=da*   *labadar*   *vind=e*   [AMP9]

        then   child-P   after=LOC   hat   saw=TR

        'Then the children saw the hat back that way.'

(871)   *badaz* // *səb-i*   *əm-en*   *šu-n*   [MSG]

        later   morning-OB   DEMP-P   go-3P

        'Next: in the morning, they go.'

In particular, the connective *bad(an)* 'next' may be used in a chain of events to signal each new development:

(872)   *bad*   *uma*   *u*   *dâr-i*   *taki=ku*   *vir-m-a*

        next   came.3S   and   tree-OB   next=LOC   PVB-came.down-3S

        badan   *carx=əš=na*   *â-kard=a*   *lâkənd=əš=a*

        next   bike=3S=with   PVB-let.go=TR   dropped=3S=TR

        bad   *š-a*   *u*   *š-a*   *golâbi*   *bə-dəzd-ə*   [MPS13]

        next   went-3S   and   went-3S   pear   SBJ-steal-3S

        'Next he came and dismounted by the tree. Next he let go of the bicycle and dropped it. Next he went and went to steal a pear.'

Sentence (873) is a nice example of head-tail with word order reversal:

(873)   *se*   *angəl*   *ce*   *mu*   *yâ=ku*   *žan-ən,*   *da-laka*   *mağreb.*

        3   knot   POSSD.3S   hair   there=LOC   strike-3P   PVB-fall.3S   dusk

        mağreb   *de*   *da-laka.*   *badaz ...*   [MSS15-17]

        dusk   anyway   PVB-fall.3S   later

        'They (all) put three knots in her hair, and dusk falls. So dusk falls. Later ...'

In Masali, *âxər* and *belaxarâ* 'finally' and *xolâsa* 'in short' all occur frequently in the left periphery:

(874) âxər əm-en šu-n vang kar-ən serâ=ku, belaxarâ

finally DEMP-P go-3P bleat do-3P yard=LOC finally

ce dardesar [MSG]

what headache

'Finally they go and bleat in the courtyard; in the end, what a headache!'

(875) xolâsa əm âğâ kina rec â-b-u [MCB]

in.short DEMP man girl healed PVB-become-3S

'To sum up: this man's daughter gets healed.'

Finally, *mavâ* 'lit. don't say' is used to introduce a new plot development in Masali, as shown in the following two examples:

(876) mavâ əštan kəlâ vir=əš â-š-a [MPS31]

but self hat memory=3S PVB-went.away-3S

'However, he forgot his hat.'

(877) mavâ xərs atia mand-a guš âkar-ə [MSG]

but bear there stayed-PTC ear open-3S

'However, a bear had been there listening all along.'

Non-core elements may also occur post-verbally. Such elements are most commonly goals, but a variety of other adverbial expressions are also found.

Roberts (2009, p.126) defines 'goal' as "the location argument in the following logical structure configuration: ... INGR/BECOME **be-at/in/on'** (x[location], y[theme])." The following examples demonstrate adpositional phrases, most commonly goals, in post-verbal position, and one similar example where purpose is expressed (882):

(878) a-š=ə sâru [ANP7]

PVB-go.down-3S down

'He went down.'

(879) a-kâš=ə ba sava [ANP7]

PVB-poured=3s to basket

'He poured (them) into the basket.'

(880) š-en ba-štân ru [ANP34]

go-3S.PST to-self road

'They went on their way.'

(881) *i-la*   *gada*   *zua*   *davârdi=na=bə*   *dücarxa=nda*   [ANP17]

a-CL   small   boy   pass.by=LOC=AUX.3S   bicycle=LOC

'A small boy was passing on a bicycle.'

(882) *həm-en*   *i*   *ruz=i*   *šu-n*   *jangal*   *târa*   *cini*   [MSS9]

SAMEP-P   one   day=IND   go-3P   forest   herb   picking

'One day they go to the forest to pick herbs.'

Time expressions occasionally occur post-verbally; typically with low intonation, suggesting that their addition was more of an afterthought than a key orienting device:

(883) *ama*   *cama*   *ka=ku*   *mun-am*   *zemestun*   [MSG]

1P   POSS.1P   house=LOC   stay-1P   winter

'Let's stay in our house (through) the winter.'

(884) *əm*   *uma*   *də*   *martəba*   [MPS19]

DEMP   came.3S   2   time

'He came a second time.'

A variety of other adverbial expressions may also occur in the post-verbal position:

(885) *badaẓ* // *ğadar=i*   *dun-e*   *b-a*   *de*   [ASM]

later   amount=IND   seed-P   be-3S.PST   in.fact

'Next: there was some seed there, of course.'

(886) *de*   *šu*   *alaki*   *de*   [MSG]

in.fact   go.3S   falsely   in.fact

'He just goes along in pretence.'

(887) *bəz=ni*   *šu*   *hata*   [MSG]

goat=also   go.3S   like.that

'The goat also goes like that.'

(888) *š-ina*   *əštan*   *ka=râ*   *be.estelâ*   [MPS48]

went-3P   self   house=for   so.to.speak

'They headed for their house, so to speak.'

(889) *amu*   *ersdâr=â*   *ada*   [MCB]

uncle   greedy=COP.PST.3S   much

'The uncle was very greedy.'

Note two examples in *Baldy and Cave* where the mouse includes the deictic centre within the pragmatic assertion it makes. In both cases this involves placing the locational information in a focal position. In (890) the surprise is that "this very cave" is the location of the treasure the mouse possesses, and this locational information is placed immediately preverbally. In (891) it is again a surprise that someone should have entered into the cave, the animals' hideout; this time the locational information is preposed before the subject:

(890) *muš=ni   vâ   haftdâd gəla   lira   həm   cət-a*

      mouse=also   say.3s 70   CL   coin   SAME.P rock-LNK

      xəl-i=ku   dâr-əm [MCB]

      cave-OB=LOC   have-1s

      'Then the mouse says: "I have 70 coins in this very cave!" '

(891) *âxâxâx   əm   xəl-i=ku   i   nafar   bar-š-a   [MCB]*

      alas   DEMP cave-OB=LOC   a   person PVB-went.in-3s

      'Alas, a person went into this very cave!'

Finally, note the positioning of the euphemism 'far from the gathering' in the following examples. In the first it is postposed and consequently de-emphasized, reflecting the speaker's embarrassment at using the phrase. Its preposing in the next example reflects the surprise that the stew-eaters brazenly disobeyed the previous speaker's request, and do something 'far from the gathering'. The original speakers go on to discover this in the final example.

(892) *m-ar-irun   dur   az   majlis [ASM]*

      PHB-eat-2P   far   from   gathering

      'Don't eat it 'far from the gathering'.'

(893) *əm   âšmâš=əšun   hard=in.*

      DEMP   stew=3P   ate=TR.P

      dur   az   majlis   əm=əšun   pur   â-kard=a   [ASM]

      far   from   gathering   DEMP=3P   full   PVB-made.be=TR

      'They ate the stew. 'Far from the gathering' they filled it (i.e. urinated into the stew pot).'

(894) *vind=ušun=a dur   az   majlis=a   [ASM]*

      saw=3P=TR   far   from   gathering=3s

'They saw it was 'far from the gathering'(i.e. full of urine).'

6.10   Copula sentences

A copula verb may combine with *hest* (Anbarani and Asalemi) or *dari* (Masali, see example (900)) to predicate existence or possession:

(895) *ua*   *i*   *nafar*   *hest=a*   [ASB35]

there   a   person   exist=COP.3S

'There is someone there.'

(896) *əštə*   *sar-i=kâ*   *əsbəj=a*   *hest*   [ASA]

POSS.2S head-OB=LOC   louse=COP.3S   exist

'There are lice on your head!'

(897) *ca=râ*   *ǧast*   *hest=a*   *b-â*   [AsVP]

POSSD.3S=for   intention   exist=COP.3S   SBJ-come.3S

'He intends to come.'

(898) *agar*   *i-tka=š*   *pül*   *hest*   *bə*   *a-vu-i*   [AnVP]

if   a-bit=3S   money exist   be.3S   AUG-come-IMPF.3S

'If he'd had some money he would have come.'

(899) *cai*   *pâ*   *yara=ya*   /   *pâ*   *sar-i=kâ=š*

POSSD.3S   foot   wound=COP.3S   foot   end-OB=LOC=3S

yara   *hest=a*   [AsVP]

wound exist=3S

'His foot is wounded.'

(900) *iâ*   *rama=i*   *dari=a*   [MBB]

here   flock=IND   exist=COP.3S

'There is a flock here.'

The following example involves an external possessor construction with *=râ*:

(901) *a*   *ǧadim-a*   *bun-un=râ*   *banja*   *b-a*   *hest*   [ASM]

DEMD   old- LNK   roof-OB.P=for   window   was-3S   exist

'Those old roofs had windows.'

Copula with relative clause (note second copula on 'loud'):

(902) a   merd=i=a   ki   bəland=a   gaf   ba-ža   [AsVP]

3s   man=IND=COP.3S   REL   loud=3S   speech   PRS-hit

'He is a man who speaks loudly.'

Copula clause with nominal complement:

(903) diar   xərdan=i=a   [AsNP]

other   child=IND=COP.3S

'It is another child.'

(904) az   ni=mâ   cəmə   bəravarzâ=yâ!   [MCB]

1s   NEG=COP.PST.1S POSS.1S nephew=COP.PST.3S

'It wasn't me, it was my nephew!'

Copula clause with adjectival complement:

(905) rais   asəbâni=a   [MaVP]

chief   angry=COP.3S

'The chief is angry.'

(906) momken=a   kas=e   digar=əš   golâbi vi-get-a   bu-b-u [MPS47]

possible=COP.3S person=EZ other=3S   pear   PVB-got-PTC   SBJ-AUX-3S

'It is possible that someone else took the pears.'

(907) asp   mašğul=e   yunja hard-e=â   [MCB]

horse   busy=EZ   alfalfa eat-INF=COP.PST.3S

'The horse was busy eating alfalfa.'

In negative sentences the copula is commonly omitted in Anbarani and Asalemi, but retained in Masali (example (908) below).[130] This is the only situation in which a copula sentence without a 'be' copula may occur save for copula ellipsis in the second sentence.

(908) hicci   manda   ni(=a)   [AsNP]

nothing remaining   NEG(=COP.3S)

'Nothing is left.'

(909) šaš   gəla   bəva   hest-e   i-la   hua   [ANR4]

six   CL   brother   existed-3S   one-CL sister

---

[130] In some colloquial Persian dialects the copula may similarly be omitted. Moreover, in Persian the form *nist*, from *ni=əst* NEG=COP.3S may be reanalysed as a negative copula.

'There were six brothers, one sister.'

(910) *i*   *bəz=i*   *b-u,*   *i*   *gusand=i*   [MSG]

a   goat=IND   be-3s   a   sheep=IND

'(Once) there was a goat (and) a sheep.'

(911) *az*   *bu-bu-m*   *a*   *kina*   [MSG]

1s   SBJ-be-1.S   DEMD   girl

'Let it be just me and that girl.'

(912) *šət*   *bar*   *gun=a,*   *alaf*   *bar*   *duš*   [MSG]

milk   upon   udder=COP.3s   grass   upon   shoulder

'The milk is in the udder, the grass upon the shoulder.'

6.11   Sentence types

6.11.1   Declarative

Dixon (2010a, p.95) distinguishes three basic types of speech act: statement, question and command.

Statements are typically in the declarative mood in Taleshi, and as the default speech act tend to be left unmarked. Hence the constituent order in declarative sentences may be considered prototypical. It is set out in §6.9.1. Mahootian (1997, p.8) notes that in Persian declarative word order is the base form for direct and indirect speech and, with a rising intonation, the most common way of asking questions. This is also the case in Taleshi.

6.11.2   Interrogative

Sentences in the interrogative mood may consist of polar or content questions, considered in turn below.

6.11.2.1   Polar questions

Polar questions commonly resemble their declarative equivalents, differing only in the use of rising intonation at the end of the sentence (see §2.7.4). In Masali the Persian interrogative particle *âyâ* is sometimes borrowed in clause initial position:[131]

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[131] This particle occurred three times in one Asalemi text, but Asalemi informants did not consider it to be a Taleshi word and hence we regard its occurrence there as an instance of code-switching.

	Anbarani		Asalemi		Masali		

(913) *av*   *b-uma=y?*   *a*   *b-uma=y?*   *âyâ*   *a*   *â? [VP]*

3S   FUT-come=3S   3S   FUT-come=3S   QU   3S   come.3S

'Will he come?'

Likewise, in Masali the interrogative negative particle *magar* (expecting the answer 'no') has been borrowed from Persian (914). This particle is also found in one Asalemi text (915), where it takes the form *magam*. This is consistent with the Asalemi form of the interrogative particle: *agam* for Persian and Masali *agar*:

(914) *magar*   *hata=ni*   *b-u?*   *[MBB]*

     NQU   like.that=also   SBJ.be-3S

'Could such a thing really happen?'

(915) *âǧâ*   *magam gil-i*   *ba-xr=ina*   *iâ?*   *[ASB41]*

     mister NQU   mud-OB PRS-buy=3P   here

'Mister, do you really think they buy mud here?'

Tag questions may be constructed with the conjunction *yâ* 'or' and the negative particle *ne* in sentence-final position:

(916) *kâ=m*   *fəkər*   *kard-e*   *(ki)*   *b-uma=y*   *yâ*   *ne*   *[AsVP]*

     PROG=1S   think   do-INF COMP   PRS-come=3S   or   no

'I am wondering whether he is coming or not.'

6.11.2.2 Content questions

Content questions in Anbarani and Masali manifest the same falling intonation pattern typical of declarative sentences. In Asalemi, however, they resemble polar questions in having a rising-falling pattern (see §2.7.4 for discussion of intonation patterns). All three dialects use a set of question words, which also carry their own intonational peak. Key question words are presented in Table 48:

Table 48: Key question words

	Anbarani	Asalemi	Masali
who?	*ki*		
what?	*cə*		*ce*
what thing?	*cic*	*cici*	*ce ciz=i*
how?	*cejur*	*cətar*	*cejur*
which?	*ku i-la*	*kəram-la*	*kam i-la*
where? whence?	*kurâ=u*	*kiâ*	*kâ=ku*
whither? to where?	*kura*	*kiâ*	*kâ*
how many?	*cân gəla*	*can gəla*	
why?	*cəru*	*cərâ*	*cerâ*
when?	*keni*	*kaini*	*kai*

The examples below demonstrate that sentences in the interrogative mood follow the default constituent order of SOV ("interrogative *in situ*"):

(917) *ki   batə   ən   dü   du?*   [AnVP]

who? 2S.IO   DEMP buttermilk   gave.TR

'Who gave you this buttermilk?'

(918) *əm   də-gəla=ku   kam   i-la   xâ-i?*   [MaVP]

DEMP   two-CL=LOC   which? one-CL   want-2S

'Which one of these two do you want?'

(919) *mala=kâ=r   ki   vind=a?*   [AsVP]

village=LOC=2S   who?   saw=TR

'Whom did you see in the village?'

(920) *cə   bə-ka-m?*   [AsVP]

what?   SBJ-do-1S

'What shall I do?'

(921) *a   kâ=ku   â*   [MaVP]

3S   where?=LOC   come.3S

'Where is he coming from?'

6.11.3 Imperative

In imperative sentences the default, declarative word order and falling intonation is used. For commands where the subject is second person, an imperative form of the verb is

used. For first and third person, the verb is subjunctive and there may be a modal auxiliary (see §4.6 for more information on modal verb forms).

(922) *xərs-i=kâ*   *bi-rvic*[132]   [AsVP]

bear-OB=LOC   IMP-run

'Run from the bear!'

(923) *basi*   *xərs-i=kâ*   *bi-rvij-əm*   [AsVP]

must   bear-OB=LOC   SBJ-run-1S

'I must run from the bear.'

(924) *b-arz*   *bu-xun-u.*   *m-arz*   *bu-xun-u*   [AsVP]

IMP-allow   SBJ-sing-3S   PHB-allow   SBJ-sing-3S

'Let him sing! Do not let him sing!'

6.11.4 Direct and indirect speech

The only way to tell if speech is direct (reporting the actual words of the speaker) or indirect is if this affects personal reference, because all speech with *vute/vâte* 'to say' in the past is quoted in the same tense in which it was originally stated.[133] In both kinds of speech reporting the complementizer *ki/ki/ke* may optionally be used, though in Anbarani it much more commonly marks indirect speech, and is omitted when speech is direct.[134]

(925) *cəmən bəva*   *vu=na=yə*   *ki*   *nuxaš=e*   [AnVP]

POSS.1S brother say=LOC=3S   COMP   sick=COP.3S

'My brother says that he is sick.'

(926) *rais*   *vu=na=yə*   *hərs-ə=ku*   *bə-təl!* [AnVP]

chief   say=LOC=3S   bear-OB=LOC   IMP-run

'The chief says, "Run away from the bear!" '

The default speech verb *vâte* is used in all three dialects to introduce direct speech complement clauses ((927) and (928); see also (932) to (934) below). Direct speech may also

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[132] Or *bivric*; see §2.6.2 for information on metathesis.

[133] This point is also made by Roberts (2009, p.295) for Persian.

[134] Of all speech clauses introduced by 'to say', 91% began with a complementizer in Asalemi and 96% in Masali.

be immediately preceded by descriptions of emotion or cognitive process without any explicit speech verb, as illustrated in examples (929) to (931):[135]

(927) *a-vât-i*   *ba*   *üw-ân dâst ma-žan*   [ANR21]

AUG-say-IMPF.3S to   egg-P   hand   PHB-touch

'He was saying "Do not touch the eggs!" '

(928) *vât=ušun=a*   *ki*   *ama*   *de*   *bə-š-am*   [ASA10]

said=3P=TR   COMP   1P   anyway   SBJ-go-1P

'They said: "As for us, let's go." '

(929) *pis-i=râ*   *asabâni*   *b-a*   *u*   *fəlân*

baldy-OB=for   angry   was-3S and   so.on

ki   *tə*   *cəmən ka*   *ârâ*   *ža*   [ASB43]

COMP   2S   POSS.1S house   fire   hit.TR

'He was angry with the baldy and so on, that "You burned down my house!" '

(930) *darafand-a=šun=a*   *əm*   *kisa*   *dela=kâ*

threw-PTC=3P=TR   DEMP   sack   in=LOC

ki   *ellâ*   *tə*   *basi*   *b-â-i*   [ASB58]

COMP   if.not   2S   must   SBJ-come-2S

'They have thrown me in this sack, (saying) that "Either way, you must come!" '

(931) *fikr*   *kar-ə*   *golâbi-a*   *zambil cə*   *b-a?*   [MPS41]

thought   do-3S   pear-LNK   basket   what   was-3S

'He thinks: "What happened to the pear basket?" '

The following Asalemi examples illustrate a variety of ways for disambiguating whether or not the speaker and the subject of the complement clause are co-referential. In (932) the insertion of a reciprocal pronoun ensures same subject reference, while in (933) pro-drop in the complement clause ensures same subject reference, in contrast to an explicit subject (reinforced by =*ni* 'also').

(932) *a-i*   *vât=a*   *ki*   *(əšta=râ=ni)*   *b-uma=y*   [AsVP]

3S-OB   said=TR COMP   self=for=also   PRS-come=3S

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[135] Farrell (2008, p.13) observes this phenomenon in Balochi and takes it as evidence that *ki* is serving as a marker of interpretive use.

'He_i said that he_{j(i)} was going to come.'

(933) a.   *a-i*   *vât=a ki*   *a-pi=š=b-a*   *b-â* [*AsVP*]

        3S-OB   said=TR COMP   AUG-want=3S=AUX-3S   SBJ-come.3S

'He_i said that he_i wanted to come.'

    b.   *a-i*   *vât=a ki*   *a-i=ni*   *a-pi-b-a*   *b-â* [*AsVP*]

        3S-OB   said=TR COMP   3S-OB=also   AUG-want-AUX-3S   SBJ-come.3S

'He_i said that he_j wanted to come.'

The last example (934) illustrates the lexicalization of 'Do not say' as a discourse marker of surprise (cf. English 'You don't say!'):

(934) *ma-vâ*   *əštan*   *kəlâ*   *vir=əš*   *â-š-a*   [*MPS31*]

      PHB-say self   hat   memory=3S   PVB-went-3S

'Guess what? His hat slipped his mind.'

In Masali it is possible to introduce speech with a speech verb, then give some more background information before actually reporting speech. This is demonstrated in the following example; notice also how turn-taking is enough to disambiguate the subject in each clause, without the need to specify the speaker in each case:

(935) *badaz*   *vâ*   *əspa=i*   *atia*   *davendi=a,*   *i*   *gurba=i=ni*

      later   say   dog=IND   there   tied=COP.3S   a   cat=IND=also

      atia   *davendi=a. vâ*   *əm-un*   *cerâ*   *atia*   *davendi=a?*   *vâ*   *əm-un*

      there   tied=COP.3S   say   3-P   why   there   tied=COP.3S   say   3-P

      sar   *â-bər-am*   *de.*   *cərâ?*   *pâdəšâ*   *zua*   *arusi=a*   [*MBB*]

      head   PVB.SBJ-cut.off-1P   anyway   why   king   son   wedding=COP.3S

'Later, say, a dog is tied up there, a cat is also tied up there. He says to them: "Why are they tied up there?" They say, "To cut off (their) head(s), of course." "Why?" "It's the king's son's wedding." '

6.11.5 Conditional sentences

Mahootian (1997, p.244) notes that in Persian conditional clauses are commonly introduced by the conjunction *age* 'if'. Meanwhile Miller (1953, p.215) comments that the use of conjunction *agar/agam* 'if' is used most consistently in fairy tales; common in written texts; rare in colloquial speech; and hardly at all in proverbs and sayings.

In our corpus, no examples of an explicit conjunction for 'if' were found in Anbarani and Asalemi texts, and only three in Masali.[136] These three examples are set out below. In combination with results from elicitation sessions, they support the conclusion that Taleshi conditional constructions – including TAM features on the verb – follow the same rules as their equivalents in Persian:

(936) | agar | har | kas=i | əm | šart-i | bard=a, | a | râst |
|------|-----|-------|-----|--------|---------|---|------|
| if | any | CL=IND | DEMP | condition-OB | carried=TR | DEMR | true |

vâ	[MSG]
says.3s	

'Anyone who passes this challenge speaks the truth.'

(937) | agar | ha=ni | a=ku | bu-mun-iste | vâ-i | [MPS45] |
|------|-------|------|-------------|------|---------|
| if | SAMED=also | DEMD=LOC | SBJ-stay-IMPF.3s | say-IMPF.3s | |

'Whereas if that same person had been coming from the other direction, he would have said ...'

(938) | bərâ | varg | agar | zemestun | dar-ma, |
|------|------|------|----------|---------|
| brother | wolf | if | winter | PVB-come.in.3s |

zemestun-i	nahâr	bahâr=a	[MSG]
winter-OB	lunchtime	spring=3s	

'Brother, a wolf – if it comes in during winter – by lunchtime in winter, it's spring!'

More commonly, Taleshi conditional sentences follow these same rules but omit the conditional conjunction. Example (939) matches Mahootian's (1997, p.246) (b)(ii) (simple indicative past where the condition refers to a single action and precedes the result). Example (940) matches her (a)(i) (present subjunctive when possible condition and result are in the future). Example (941) matches her (a)(iv) (present subjunctive when there is no element of doubt in the conditional situation):

(939) | ti-a | tâ | â-du-ra | â-du-ra, |
|------|-----|---------|----------|
| thorn-LNK | CL | PVB-give=2s | PVB-give=2s |

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[136] Twenty three instances were found in Shandermani texts, most of which were based on traditional Persian folktales. When prompted by Persian elicitation sentences containing the conjunction, language consultants for all three dialects readily responded with directly comparably equivalent sentences in Taleshi, beginning with the same conjunction.

nâ-â-du-ra   həm   var   vaz-əm   [MBB]

NEG-PVB-give=2S   SAMEP side   jump-1S

'If you hand over the thorn, you hand it over. If you don't hand it over, I'll jump this way.'

(940) a   əspa   bə-kəš-ə   ...   a   kina   rec   â-b-u [MCB]

DEMD dog   SBJ-kill-3S   DEMR girl   healthy PVB-become-3S

'If someone kills that dog ... that girl will be healed.'

(941) râst-i   ba-pisti=a   ...   kâ=n   i   rama   pas   du-e   [ASB71]

truth-OB PRS-want=3S   PROG=3P a   flock sheep give-INF

'(If) you want the truth ... they are giving a flock of sheep.'

Example (942) contains a complement clause with the existential verb *dari* + copula 'to be present', which does not take a subjunctive prefix. However, the force of the sentence is conditional (see free translation):

(942) bi-vin-əm   kas=i   dari=a   [MCB]

SBJ-see-1S   person=IND be.here=3S

'Let me see if anyone is here.'

Haiman (1978) highlighted the close relationship between conditionals and topics. The similarity is particularly noticeable in examples such as (943), where a phrase equivalent to a conditional protasis is fronted:

(943) sâz-i   diâra   bənd-i=na   sâz-i   diâra   xaili   farǧ   kar-ə [MBB]

har-OB drum   RECP-OB=with har-OB drum   very   difference make-3S

'A harmonica compared with a drum: a harmonica is very different from a drum.'

Other words related to the conditional conjunction are listed in §5.5.2.4.

(944) agarce   ka=š   xali   dur-a râ=yə

although   house=3S   very   far-LNK way=3S

vali   mən   daavat kâ   ki   b-u-ə.   [AnVP]

but   1S.OB invite did.TR COMP SBJ-come-3S

'Although his house is very far, I invited him to come.'

(945) magam   gil-i   ba-xr=in   iâ?   [ASB41]

as.if   clay-OB   PRS-buy=3P here

'As if they buy clay here?!'

6.11.6 Predicative possessor constructions

In Anbarani and Asalemi, the verb *heste* 'to exist' is used alongside the *possessum* as subject and the possessor either with *=râ* or expressed as a pronominal clitic (see §3.5 for more on possession). This is shown in the examples below:

(946) *mə=râ*   *diar*   *ka=ni*   *hest=a*   [AsNP]

1S.OB=for   another   house=also   exist=3S

'I have another house too.' (Lit.: 'For me another house also existing is.')

(947) *i-la*   *kəla=m*   *hest=a*   [ASM]

a-CL   girl=1S   exist=3S

'I have a daughter.'

(948) *kulaš=anda //*   *cama=ru*   *buğ*   *kaju*   *kâfšan=anda*   *hi //*

Kulash=LOC   POSS.1P=for   garden   yard   desert=LOC   field

vəi-a   *vəra=mün*   *hest-e*   [ANR8]

much-LNK   land=1P   exist-PST.3S

'In Kulash, we had a garden, a yard, a field in the desert; we had lots of land.'

In Masali only, the stem verb *dâr* 'to have' (cognate with Persian *dâštan*) is sometimes employed in stem-I only.[137] For example:

(949) *zua*   *dâr-iste,*   *nava*   *dâr-iste*   [MSS106-107]

son   have-IMPF.3S   grandchild   have-IMPF.3S

'She had a son, she had a grandchild.'

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[137] In Shandermani texts two instances of stem-II *dâšte* were found (Tambal Ibrahim 51 and You Be Governor 39): *əm əšta=râ kârgar=i dâšt-a* DEMP self=for worker=IND had-3S 'She had her own worker'; and *das=əšun dâšt=a* hand=3P had=TR 'they had a hand (in it)'.

(950) az   i-la   ka=ni   dâr-əm   [MaNP]

1s   a-CL   house=also   have-1s

'I have another house.'

(951) az   âhan   vašat   dâr-ən[138]   [MGS]

from   iron   fear   have-3P

'They are afraid of iron.'

6.12 Negation

6.12.1 Sentence negation

Simple sentences are negated by the attachment of the negative affix to the verb (cf. §§2.6.4.1 (phonology) and 4.3.5 (morphology)).

(952) cimi=kâ   səvâi   de   šəma=râ=ni   nə-m-a-must   [ASA]

POSSP.3S=LOC   more   anyway   2P=for-also   NEG-1S-PRS-know

'I don't know more than that (to tell) you, anyway.'

(953) bai   šət   n-a-dar-im   [AsVP]

3S.IOD   milk   NEG-FUT-give-1S

'I shall not give him milk.'

(954) n-a-zun-in   cimi   ka   kiâ=ra   [ASB32]

NEG-AUG-know-IMPF.3P POSSP.3S   house   where=COP.3S

'They did not know where his house was.'

(955) nə-b-a   [AAG]

NEG-was-3S

'It was not to be.'

The negative particle *ne* may also play a bisyndetic role. For example:

(956) ne   lala   dâr-ə,   ne   geša   dâr-ə,   hicci   ne-dâr-ə.   [MBB]

not   flute   have-3s not   bride have-3s nothing NEG-have-3s

'He doesn't have a flute, he doesn't have a bride, he doesn't have anything.'

Like English, where a matrix clause verb has scope over a complement clause, a negative affix on the verb will have similar scope (957). However, unlike English, a negative verb within a

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[138] This is a light verb (compare Persian *tars dâštan*).

complement clause has scope over only its own clause ((958); contrast English 'So that a thief would NOT come AND steal…'):

(957) cəmən rafeǧ-i   n-ašt=a   ki   nalat=i   mən

POSS.1S friend-OB   NEG-allowed=TR COMP   snake=IND   1S.OB

bə-gaz-u   [AsVP]

SBJ-bite-3S

'My friend did not allow a snake to bite me.'

(958) damand=in   negahbâni   du-e   ki   dəzd-e   n-â-n

PROG=3P   guard   give-INF COMP   thief=P NEG.SBJ-come-3P

cumun   kisa-mun   nə-bar-un.   [ASB27]

POSSP.3P   bag-OB.P   NEG.SBJ-take-3P

'They were standing guard so that thieves would not come and take their bags.'

6.12.2 Constituent negation

hic/hiš 'none' may precede a noun phrase to make it negative. It combines with a negative verb:

(959) hic   kas   ni-a-š   [AsVP]

no   person NEG-PRS-go

'No one is going.'

(960) camun   hic   gəla=i=mi   nə-vind=a   [AsNP]

POSSD.3P   none   CL=IND=1S   NEG-saw=TR

'I did not see any of them.'

(961) a-i   hic   jəgâ=i   hard-e=râ   paidâ   nə-kard=a   [AsNP]

3S-OB   no   place=IND   eat-INF=for   find   NEG-did=TR

'He found no place for eating (i.e. nowhere to eat).'

The prefix *be-/bi-/bi-* combines with nominals to give the meaning 'without'. The Persian loanword *bedun(e)* is also sometimes used (twice in Anbarani after the Persian word appeared in the elicitation prompt; and three times as *bidun(ə)* in Shandermani, but never in Asalemi or Masali).

(962) *bi-cei*   *nə-š-am*   [AsVP]

without-POSSP.3S   NEG.IMP-go-1P

'Let's not go without him.'

(963) *av*   *be-pül*   *uma*   [AnNP]

3S   without-money   came.3S

'He came without the money.'

(964) *az=ani* *bi-əštan*   *gəla* *cai*   *dumla* *ši-m*   [AsNP]

1S-also   without-self   CL   POSSD.3S   after   went-1S

'I too went after him without mine.'

nâ-xuš 'not well, i.e. sick' and *nâ-mahram* 'not ritually clean, i.e. unclean', found in

Masali texts, are loanwords from Persian.

The negative elements *hicci* 'nothing' and *hiški* 'no one' may occur with a negated

verb to produce a negative sentence, or in isolation as in (966):

(965) *hicci=m*   *nə-b-a*   [ASC]

nothing=1S   NEG-was-3S

'I had nothing.'

(966) *hicci=na*   *š-a*   [AsNP]

nothing=with   went-3S

'He went without anything (i.e. empty-handed).'

(967) *hiški=m*   *nə-vind=e*   [AnVP]

no.one=1S   NEG-saw=TR

'I did not see anyone.'

hicci is also used in Masali as a thematic boundary marker to mark a new episode in narrative

texts.

6.13   Co-reference

6.13.1 Means of expressing anaphora

All Taleshi personal pronouns may be used to express anaphora. However, subject

agreement marking on the verb means that the anaphoric pronoun is typically deleted. For

example, in (968), the parentheses indicate the deleted anaphoric pronoun:

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(968)   *a-e*   *âm-in*   *( )*   *sava=šun*   *bana*   *jam*   *â-kard=a* *[ASP17]*

          3-P   came-3P 3P   basket=3P   with.him gather PVB-caused=TR

          'They came (and) gathered with him.'

Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns are anaphoric, indicating that the object is coreferential with the subject:

(969)   *ama*   *əštan*   *tağviat=imun*   *ba-kard*   *[AsVP]*

          1P   self   nourishment=1P   PRS-do

          'We shall feed ourselves.'

As in Persian (Mahootian 1997, p.92), the intensive function of the reflexive pronoun also results in an anaphoric reference, resulting in the dropping of the coreferential personal pronoun that the reflexive intensifies:

(970)   *əštan*   *a-i*   *dəzdi-a=š=a*   *[MaVP]*

          self   3S-OB   stole-PTC=3S=TR

          'She has stolen it *herself*.'

Reflexive pronouns are discussed in more detail in §3.8.3, and reciprocals in §3.8.7.

The proximal and remote demonstrative forms *əm* and *a* are also used anaphorically; see §8.8.1.3 for discussion and examples. The example sentence below illustrates three anaphors in two clauses: the 3rd person pronoun in the first clause, and reflexive and possessive pronouns in the second:

(971)   *a-i*   *cu=i*   *pe-gat=a;*

          3S-OB   stick=IND   PVB-picked.up=TR

          əštan   *sava=š*   *cai*   *âxər-i=kâ*   *pe-nu=a*   *[AsNP]*

          self   basket=3S   POSSD.3S   end-OB=LOC   PVB-hung.over=TR

          'He picked up a stick; he hung his basket over the end of it.'

Zero anaphora was also found in various texts, particularly in Masali:

(972)   *cəmən* *kina*   *əm-i*   *belaxəra*   *rec*   *â-kard-a=š=a,*

          POSS.1S daughter   DEMP-OB   finally   heal   PVB-caused-PTC=3S=TR

          az *pi-ger-əm*   *əm-i*   *bə-da-m.*   *ger-ə*   *da*

          1S   PVB-take-1S   DEMP-OB   SBJ-give-1S   take-3S   give.3S

> *pisakula*   [MSG]
>
> baldy

'After all, he has finally healed my daughter. I'll take (her) and give (her) to him. He takes (her and) gives (her) to the baldy.'

(973)   *a*   *bi*   *bə-š-u*   *â-kar-ə,*   *nâ-â-kar-ə.*   [MSS13]

       3S   must   SBJ-go-3S   PVB.SBJ-open-3S   NEG-PVB-open-3S

'He must go and open (it); he does not open (it).'

Gapping is also a fairly common phenomenon in narrative texts, as illustrated in examples (974) to (976) (the third of which in response to an elicitation prompt which yielded equivalent gapped examples in all three dialects).

(974)   *az*   *bu-bu-m*   *a*   *kina*   [MCB]

       1S   SBJ-be-1S   DEMD   girl

'Let me be (there, and) that girl.'

(975)   *tə*   *i*   *meğdâr*   *kârgar*   *mə*   *â-dai,*

       2S   a   bit   worker   1S.OB   PVB-give!

       si   *cel*   *gəla*   *šotur*   [MCB]

       30   40   CL   camel

'You give me some workers, (and) 30-40 camels.'

(976)   *rafeğ=əm*   *əštan*   *žen-i=na*   *âma;*

       friend=1S   self   wife-OB=with   came.3S

       az=ani   *əštan*   *gəla=na*   [AsNP]

       1S=also   self   CL=with

'My friend came with his wife; I too (came) with mine.'

6.13.2 Domain of anaphora

Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns can be used within the clause to express anaphora. Between coordinate clauses and separate sentences, all the anaphoric forms listed in the previous section may be used. Between superordinate and subordinate clauses, anaphora is most commonly expressed by means of a pro-dropped pronoun in the subordinate clause (see discussion of relative clauses and complement clauses in §§6.3 and 6.4). However, the occasional resumptive pronoun was found in the corpus, as shown in example (710) above.

6.14   Comparison

The morphology of comparative constructions across the three dialects is set out in §5.2.2.

Comparative constructions involving =*ku/kâ* or a comparative adverb begin with the object being compared, then the object of comparison, and then the parameter of comparison (such as an adjective):

(977)   *cəmən   dâr   əštə   dâr-i=ku   câk=a*   [Yarshater 1996, p.90]

POSS.1S tree   POSS.2S tree-OB=LOC   good=COP.3S

'My tree is better than your tree.'

(978)   *əštə   bar   cəmə   bar-i-ši   sər=a*   [MaNP]

POSS.2S door   POSS.1S door-OB-CMPR   red=COP.3S

'Your door is red like mine.'

(979)   *cimi=kâ   səvâi   de   šəma=râ=ni   nə-m-a-must*   [ASA]

3S.IO=LOC   more   in.fact   2P=for=also   NEG-1S-PRS-know

'I really don't know any more than this to tell you.'

The following example shows two different strategies used by the three dialects to express comparison in an additive sense ("three more"): the clitic =*an(i)* in Anbarani and Asalemi, and a form of Persian *digar* in Asalemi and Masali:

(980)   *a.   av-ə   se   gəla=n   pe-gat=e*   [AnNP]

3S-OB   three   CL=also   PVB-picked.up=TR

b.   a-i   se   gla=ni   pe-gat=a   [AsNP] OR…

3S-OB   three   CL=also   PVB-picked.up=TR

c.   a-i   diar   se   gla=ni   pe-gat=a   [AsNP]

3S-OB   other   three   CL=also   PVB-picked.up=TR

d.   a   se   gəla   digar   pi-get=əš=a   [MaNP]

3S   three   CL   other   PVB-picked.up=3S=TR

'He picked up three more.'

Taleshi uses Persian *harci* (*hârci* in Anbarani) to form free relative clauses such as those shown in the following examples:

259

(981) hârci=mün   hest   bə,   ba-štân=anda=mün   vârd=e [ANR7]

however.much=1P exist   was.3S to-self=LOC=1P   took=TR

'However much there was, we took it with us.'

(982) tuləš   cə   hârci   tuləš=e   cavün=e   [ANR40]

Talesh of   however.much Talesh=COP.3S POSSD.3S=COP.3S

'In Talesh, whatever is Talesh is theirs.'

(983) harci   b-a   əm   âšmâš=e   âšmâš=əšun   hard=in [ASA]

however.much was-3S DEMP stew=EZ   stew=3P   ate=TR.P

'However much of this stew stuff there was, they ate it.'

(984) harci   tə   bə-xâ-i   tə=râ hata   kar-əm [MBB]

however.much 2S   SBJ-want-2S   2S=for that.much   do-1S

'However much you want, that much I'll do.'

(985) harci   kə   das   âras=â   cind=əš=a   [MPS9]

however.much COMP hand   reachable=COP.3S.PST   picked=3S=TR

'Whatever was in reach, he picked.'

Finally, example (986) demonstrates an equative construction involving juxtaposition of the two entities concerned:

(986) a-ven   i   gəla   siâ   bucula ner   dâr-in,

3-P   one   CL   black   white   ram   have-3P

camun   rama   avun=râ   iâ,   a   ner-a   gəla   iâ [MBB]

POSSD.3P   flock   3P.OB=for   here   DEMD ram-LNK CL   here

'They had a piebald ram whose value was equal to that of the whole flock.'

7   Preverbs

7.1   Introduction

This chapter explores the contribution made to the path and manner components of motion verbs in Taleshi by five preverbs, focussing on their semantic interaction with the limited set of function verbs to which they are most commonly affixed.

7.2   Function Verbs and Preverbs in Taleshi

We shall focus on the five core preverbal affixes of Taleshi. The cumulative evidence of the examples cited is that in some cases preverbs do specify verb path – this is particularly clear with verbs of motion. In other cases, preverbs specify manner; while a third category consists of preverb-verb combinations which have lexicalized through semantic bleaching.

Two other verbal categories merit brief description. First, there are a few simple motion verbs which specify manner. In Asalemi these include *parəste* 'fly', *pirde* 'walk' and *virite* 'run'. However, Taleshi makes little use of these, preferring the preverb-verb combinations described below.

The second category consists of compound verbs built from a light verb and a preceding (most commonly nominal) element. These compound verbs are most often found in the southern dialects where a greater influence is exercised by Persian, which has been much more productive in developing such forms. This category is discussed in detail in §4.2.3. The rest of this section will focus on a limited set of function words across the Anbarani, Asalemi and Masali dialects which commonly accept one or more preverbs. The list in Table 49 follows Asalemi spelling, but later examples are drawn from all three dialects:

Table 49: Taleshi verbs which commonly accept preverbs

Taleshi	Default Meaning	Taleshi	Default Meaning	Taleshi	Default Meaning
baste	close	*garde*	turn	*nəšte*	sit
be	be	*gate*	get	*rase*	arrive
birde	cut	*gənie*	fall	*še*	go
cinde	pick	*karde*	do	*ume*	come
due	give	*mande*	stand	*xəte*	lie
fande	throw	*nue*	put		

Five preverbs may commonly be prefixed to these verbs: *pe-, vi-, da-, â-* and *ji-*.[139] These are discussed in turn below.

7.2.1 Pe-

Where *pe-* specifies path, the basic sense is of upward motion. Schulze (2000, p.22) and Miller (1953, p.137) both link this preverb with Avestan *paiti* 'up', though Schulze (2000, p.85) also notes Old Persian/Avestan *parā/para* 'away'. Examples include:

(987) *še 'go'*   *peše 'go up'*

(988) *pe-š!*   [ASM]

PVB.IMP-go.up.2S

'Go upstairs!'

(989) *dâr-i=ku*   *pe-š-a*   [MPS9]

tree-OB=LOC   PVB-went.up-3S

'He went up the tree.'

(990) *nue 'put'*   *penue 'put up, set up, build up'*

(991) *tandur-i=kâ=šun*   *âš*   *pe-nu=a*   [ASA]

oven-OB=LOC=3P   stew   PVB-put.on=TR

'They put the stew upon the stove.'

(992) *kəlâ=š*   *pe-nu=a=b-a*   *sar-i=kâ*   [ASP10]

hat=3s   PVB-put=TR=AUX-3S   head-OB=LOC

'He'd put a hat upon his head.'

(993) *əm*   *i*   *dafa*   *âtaš*   *pe-na*   *talâš-i pe-kar-ə*   [MBB]

DEMP one   time   fire   PVB-set.up.3S   chip-OB PVB-sprinkle-3S

'At one point he sets up a fire and sprinkles woodchips (on it).'

---

[139] Kishekhale (2002) comments that the four prefixes *pe, vi, da* and *â* occur more commonly (perhaps ninety examples each across the entire lexicon) than *ji* (forty examples). His figures appear to be cumulative sum totals of occurrences across all the Taleshi dialects of Iran and Azerbaijan.

(994) *gate 'get'*   *pegate 'pick up'*

(995) *sǝng=ǝšun*   *pe-gat=a*   [ASP23] *(example adapted)*

       stone=3P   PVB-picked.up=TR

       'They picked up the stone.'

(996) *ba-šâ=m*   *ov*   *pe-gat-e*   [AsVP]

       PRS-may=1S   water   PVB-pick.up-INF

       'May I draw water?'

(997) *karde 'do, make'*   *pekarde 'awake; sprinkle'*

(998) *a*   *xǝrdan-i*   *merdak-a*   *xâv-i=kâ*   *pe-kard=a*   [AsVP]

       that   child-OB   man-DISC   sleep-OB=LOC   PVB-woke.up=TR

       'That boy woke up the man.'

(999) *harci*   *nat*   *pe-kar-ǝ*   [MBB]

       however.much fuel   PVB-sprinkle-3S

       'However much paraffin she sprinkles on…'

In most of these examples, especially where a verb of motion is concerned, *pe-* adds a

fairly transparent 'up' PATH component. In the case of *pekarde* 'sprinkle', motion upwards

remains salient: the idea is of small particles (whether solid or liquid) being thrown into the air

by tossing or shaking, and the verb contrasts with its 'downward' sisters *vikarde* 'pour'

(transitive) and *vibe* 'spill' (intransitive) . In other cases a lexical process seems to have

occurred (contrast English 'go up' (path) with 'think up' (lexicalized), yielding examples such as:

penǝšte 'mount' (a horse, lit. up-sit)', *pezarnǝste* 'tear up', *pelake* 'pounce upon' (*pe*+ 'fall') and

pecinde 'select, hand-pick' (*pe*+ pluck').

7.2.2   Vi-(/A-)

This preverb gives the basic sense of downward motion with verbs where it specifies

path. It takes the form *a-* in the Anbarani dialect, *vi-* in dialects further south. Both Schulze

(2000, p.22) and Miller (1953, p.136) relate the Northern Talysh equivalent *e-* to Avestan *aδairi* 'down, under', while Miller (ibid.) further notes the Middle Persian *ēr*.

The preverb *fu-* in Gilaki appears to be an equivalent element. Rastorgueva (1971) gives the examples *fukudən* 'drop, throw down, pour' (cf. *kudən* 'make', and compare Taleshi *vikarde* 'to pour'); *fubostən/fuvostən* 'come out, fall (of hair)' (cf. *bostən* 'become' and compare Taleshi *vibe* 'to be spilt'); and *futurkəstən* 'fall' (compare Taleshi *vigənəste* 'to fall'). Taleshi examples include:

(1000) <u>*še* 'go'</u>   <u>*aše* 'go down'</u>

(1001) *tâ*   *haši*   *a-š-ü*   [ANR33]
      until   sun   PVB.SBJ-go.down-3S
      '… until the sun would set.'

(1002) <u>*ume* 'come'</u>   <u>*virme* 'come down, dismount'</u>

(1003) *dâr-i=kâ*   *vir-ma*   [ASP24]
      tree-OB=LOC   PVB-came.down.3S
      'He came down from the tree.'

(1004) *carxe=ku*   *vir-ma*   [MPS13]
      bicycle=LOC   PVB-came.down.3S
      'He dismounted from the bicycle.'

(1005) <u>*gate* 'get'</u>   <u>*vigate* 'take, extract; buy'</u>

(1006) *lala*   *əm-i=ku*   *vi-ger-ə*   [MBB]
      flute   him-OB=LOC   PVB-take-3P
      'He takes the flute off him.'

(1007) *nana=kâ=š*   *râsti*   *vi-gat=a*   [ASM]
      mother=LOC=3S truth   PVB-extracted=TR
      'He got the truth out of (his) mother.'

(1008) *pul-i*   *a-i=ku*   *pas*   *vi-ger-ə*   [MAS]

money-OB   3S-OB=LOC   back   PVB-get-3S

'He gets the money back off him.'

(1009) *be 'be'*   *vibe 'spill vi, undergo'*

(1010) *âv*   *cəmən*   *dast-i=na*   *vi-b-a*   [AsVP]

water   POSS.1S hand-OB=with   PVB-spilt-3S

'The water was spilt by me.'

(1011) *šavi=š*   *sio*   *vi-b-a*   [AsVP]

shirt=3S   black   PVB-underwent-3S

'His shirt got dyed black.'

As with *pe-* in the previous section, *vi-'s* PATH component, when combined with verbs of motion, is in most cases transparently related to motion downward in the physical domain. The influence of gravity is also at play in many other of the bleached examples found in texts: *vidue* 'spread over, cover' (lit. down-give), *vigənəste/vilake* 'fall down, flow down' and *vimande* 'stay down'.

Vikarde 'pour' and its intransitive counterpart *vibe* 'spill' were also noted in the previous section.

7.2.3 Da-

Schulze (2000, p.22) assigns the meaning 'to' the Northern Talysh preverb *da-*, links it with Persian *dar* and suggests it may derive from *andar* (the latter two both signifying location within a container).

This preverb also has an approximate equivalent in Gilaki: *də-* (also sometimes *dua-*/*di-*). Rastorgueva (1971) lists the senses of the Gilaki preverb as:

a) movement inwards, into the middle;

b) the general direction of action; and

c) (occasionally) the location within.

In Taleshi *da-* often gives a sense of motion on a horizontal plane (where it gives a path specification to the accompanying verb). Examples include:

(1012) *be* '*be*'   *dabe* '*coincide*'

(1013) *ducarxa*   *da-b-a*   *sə*   [ASP15]

       bicycle   PVB-collided-3s   stone

       'The bicycle crashed into a stone.'

(1014) *cam*   *dašt-i*   *âxər-i=kâ*   *bəzakula=i*   *da-b-a*   [AsNP]

       eye   field-OB   end-OB=LOC   goat.kid=IND   PVB-coincided-3s

       'My eye happened upon a kid goat at the end of the field.'

       Dabe's sense of 'collision' here is matched in Anbarani by another intransitive verb,

dagârde 'crash (lit. into-go)'.

(1015) *nəšte* '*sit*'   *danəšte* '*sit astride*'

(1016) *žen*   *uveyna*   *nâ=nda*   *nəšt-e* [AnNP]

       woman   mirror   front=LOC   sat-3s

       'The woman sat in front of the mirror.'

(1017) *asb-i*   *da-nəšt-a*   [AsNP]

       horse-OB   PVB-sat.astride-3s

       'He sat astride the horse.'

(1018) *lake/gənie* '*fall*'   *dalake/dagənie* '*set off, pass*'

(1019) *râ*   *da-gənəst-a*   [ASP13]

       road   PVB-set.off-3s

       'He set off.'

(1020) *se*   *câr*   *ruz*   *da-lak-ən*   [MBB]

       3   4   day   PVB-pass-3P

       'Three or four days pass.'

(1021) *əštan*   *amu*   *kəla=râ*   *da-gənəst-a=b-a*   [ASB2]

       self   uncle   daughter-for   PVB-fell.for-PTC=AUX-3s

       'He had fallen (in love) for his uncle's daughter.'

Given the basic sense of horizontal motion which *da-* can carry, it is not surprising to find that it is commonly used with motion verbs to describe boundary-crossing events:

(1022) *še 'go'*   *daše 'go into, enter'*

(1023) *šu   da-šu   əm   cət-a   xəl-i=ku*   [MCB]

        go.3s   PVB-go.in.3s   DEMP   rock-LNK   hole-OB=LOC

        'He goes on into the cave.'

(1024) *əm   kinali   da-šu   əm   bər-i   bəni=ku* [MSS10]

        DEMP   little.girl   PVB-go.in.3s   DEMP   thorn.bush-OB   under=LOC

        'This little girl goes in under the thorn bush.'

(1025) *nue   'put'*   *danue 'put in, incorporate'*

(1026) *pul-i   əštan   kešâ=ku   da-na*   [MAS]

        money-OB   self   drawer=LOC   PVB-put.in.3s

        'He puts the money in his drawer.'

(1027) *əm   əspa   maǧz-i   ger-ə   u   da-na   nun-i=dila*   [MCB]

        this   dog   brain-OB get-3s and   PVB-put.in.3s   bread-OB=inside

        'This guy takes the dog brains and incorporates them in the bread (dough).'

(1028) *karde 'do, make'*   *dakarde 'transfer, pour'*

(1029) *barja   da-ka!*   [MSG]

        window   PVB.IMP-close!

        'Close the window!'

(1030) *a   əštan   xalâ-un   kərâ   da-kar-ə*   [MaVP]

        3s   self   clothes-OB.P   PROG   PVB-take.off-3s

        'He is taking his clothes off.'

(1031) *se   man   nəmek da-kar-ə*   [MSG]

        3   gallon salt   PVB-pour-3s

'He pours in three gallons of salt.'

(1032) *mande 'stand'   damande 'stay in'*

(1033) *da-mun-u*   [MSS90]

PVB-stay.in-3S

'She stays in (the house).'

7.2.4   Â-(/U-)

Miller (1953) comments on the Northern Talysh equivalent *o-*:

"Its main meaning is "back, backwards"; it also imparts additional senses of untying, opening, detaching, ending an action to verbs. … This preverb may be compared to Old Persian, Avestan and Sanskrit ava. But in verbs omute 'to teach', ome 'to come' o might reproduce Old Persian and Middle Persian ā, and it should be noted that in the Talysh language this preverb has not yet merged with the verb since from omute ' to teach' the form o ni mute 'not to teach' may be derived, while the verb ome 'to go down' points at a certain independence of the verb stem me (compare Middle Persian matan, old Persian root gm)." (Miller 1953, p.136)

Many of these apparently disparate senses of reversal, opening, detaching and completion may be reconciled to each other by taking them to be various expressions of a generalized 'change of state' concept. Examples in the remainder of this section cover the states tied > undone, full > empty, unfinished > finished, remembered > forgotten, awake > asleep, closed/sealed > open and prone > upright:[140]

(1034) *be 'be'   âbe 'change state (inanimate subject)'*

(1035) *lâfund-i   angəl   â-b-a   [AsVP]*

rope-OB   knot   PVB-came.undone-3S

'The rope knot came undone.'

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[140] Rastorgueva (1971) lists the following senses for the preverb *a-* in Gilaki:

a) movement back or backwards: *vagərdəstən* 'to return' (cf. *gərdəstən* 'revolve, go' and compare Taleshi *âgardəste* ' to return');

b) the repetition of the action: *vaməxtən* 'search', *vokaftən* 'stick';

c) movement to one side away: *vakudən* 'open' (cf. *kudən* 'get' and compare Taleshi *âkarde* 'to open'), *vatərkərstən*: 'tear, be torn off'.

(1036) *sava   gərd   xâli   â-b-a*   [ASP16]

basket   wholly   empty   PVB-became-3S

'The basket emptied completely.'

(1037) *nun   ke   de   tamun   â-b-a*   [MBB]

bread   COMP   in.fact   finished   PVB-became-3S

'After all, the bread's finished.'

(1038) *še 'go'*   *âše 'change state (animate experiencer)*

Schultze-Berndt (2000) identifies one sense of the Jaminjung verb *–ijga* GO as that of 'change of state', and describes this as:

> "a metaphorical extension of the locomotion sense which is common cross-linguistically (cf. English go crazy, Dutch dood gaan 'go dead', German kaputt-gehen 'break'). The underlying metaphor, recognised in many localist and cognitivist approaches, is the representation of a state as a location. Consequently, a change of state can be conceived of as a 'journey' (Lyons 1977: 720) from one state to another. This common metaphor has even led to the adoption of a semantic primitive GO to represent state change." (Schultze-Berndt 2000, pp.261-2)

Taleshi also uses a locomotion verb in changes of state which involve animate experiencers, combining the change of state preverb *â-* with *še* 'go'. Examples include:

(1039) *əštə   kəlâ   vir   â-š-a*   [MPS32]

POSS.2S   hat   memory   PVB-gone.away-3S

'You have forgotten your hat.'

(1040) *xâb   â-šu*   [MSS83]

sleep   PVB-go.off.3S

'She falls asleep.'

(1041) *bərde 'cut'*   *âbərde 'sever'*[141]

(1042) *ama   sar   â-bərd＝a*   [MBB]

1P   head   PVB-severed=TR

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[141] Similarly, Schultze-Berndt (2000, p.320) notes how Jaminjung -*ina(ngga)* 'CHOP' may combine with semantically compatible coverbs of change of state, or impact change of state such as *ning* 'break off, finish' and *barr* 'smash'.

'We chopped off its head.'

The verb *âbərde* 'sever' contrasts with Asalemi *dabirde* 'split open' (e.g. a tree, a melon). In the first case the sense in the foreground is the completeness of the cutting; in the second, despite the fact that the object is severed, the foregrounded concept is that of the direction of the cutting: into the object. These different emphases are achieved by different preverbs affixed to the same stem.

(1043) *gardəste 'go'*   *âgardəste 'go back, return'*

(1044) *karde 'do, make'*   *âkarde 'open, lose, finish, undo'*

(1045) *bəz-i*   *lâfənd=əš*   *â-kard=a*   [AsVP]

    goat-OB   rope=3S   PVB-opened=TR

    'He undid the goat's leash.'

(1046) *av-ə*   *bəz-ə*   *žia*   *u-kâ*   [AnVP]

    3S-OB   goat-OB   rope   PVB-opened.TR

    'He undid the goat's leash.'

(1047) *a*   *miva*   *pust*   *nâ-â-kard=əš=a*   [MaVP]

    3S   fruit   skin   NEG- PVB-opened=3S=TR

    'He did not peel the fruit.'

(1048) *sabad=əš*   *hata*   *râst*   *â-kard=a*   [ASP12]

    basket-3S   there   upright PVB-opened=TR

    'He set the basket upright just there.'

(1049) *tâza=m*   *sif-un*   *ci-e*   *tamun*   *â-kard=a*   [AsVP]

    afresh=1S   apple-OB.P   pluck-INF   finish   PVB-opened=TR

    'I've just finished apple picking.'

(1050) *əm*   *gəver-i=kâ*   *saxt*   *â-kar-ə*   [MGS]

    DEMP   bump-OB=LOC   tight   PVB-make.be-3S

    'He fastens it tight over the bump.' (Note this doesn't mean he *opens* it tight!)

7.2.5 Ji- 'The Nasty Preverb'

The preverb *ji-* is found quite commonly in the Masali dialect, but no further north than Asalemi and only sporadically further south (Lazard (1978, p.263) lists the one word *jəxəte* with the gloss 'se cacher' in Masulei). It seems to be derived from the adverb *jir*, which Nawata (1982, pp.114, 117) glosses as 'down' or 'below'. However, it is not synonymous with *vi-* (§7.2.2 above), generally being prefixed to verbs to convey a sense of malicious intent or uncleanness. Consider the following pair of sentences from the same text, one where the act of pocketing some money appears morally neutral, the second, later in the text where the speaker wants to indicate their disapproval of this action:

(1051) *əštan   šəvâr-i   pešt-a   jib-i=ku   vi-xu=š=a*   [MAS]

self   trousers-OB   back-LNK pocket-OB=LOC   PVB-put.down=3S=TR

'He put it in the back pocket of his trousers.'

(1052) *əštə   ševâr-i   kun-a   pešt-i=ku   ji-na-i*   [MAS]

POSS.2S trousers-OB   bum-LNK back-OB=LOC PVB-shove.down-2S

'You shove it down your trousers' behind!'

The censorious tone of the latter sentence is expressed both by the use of pejorative *kun* 'behind' and by the use of the preverb *ji-* rather than previous *vi-*. The only other instance of this verb (*jinue*) in the corpus is in a Shandermani[142] text when the protagonist kills a snake and discretely slips its unclean body under the carpet. The use of *ji* in such a context could be explained by both the discreteness of the action and the uncleanness of the snake:

(1053) *ğâli=š râst   â-kard=a,   ji-nu=š=a   cimi   bən-i=ku*   [STS]

rug=3S upright PVB-did-TR   PVB-slip=3S=TR POSS.3S under-OB=LOC

'He lifted the rug and slipped (the snake) underneath.'

Consider also the following contrasts:

(1054) *xəte 'lie' versus jixəte 'hide, lie in ambush'*

(1055) *dâr-i   bən-i=kâ   ji-xəs-ə*   [SDD]

tree-OB   beneath-OB=LOC PVB-lie.in.wait-3S

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[142] This dialect is spoken immediately to the north of Masali.

'He lies in wait beneath the tree.'

(1056) *gate 'get'* versus *jigate 'grab, steal'*

(1057) *cama servat-un ji-gat-a=š=a* [MCB]

POSS.1P wealth-OB.P PVB-stole-PTC=3S=TR

'He has stolen our riches.'

(1058) *xâ-i kə əštan ming-i ji-ger-ə* [STS]

want-IMPF.3S COMP self nail-OB PVB-get-3S

'He'd been wanting to cut his toenails.'

(1059) *še 'go'* versus *jiše 'impale; go to one's doom'*

(1060) *əskəl ji-š-u xərs-i tərna=ku* [MSG]

stake impale-3S bear-OB stomach=LOC

'The stake sinks through the bear's stomach.'

(1061) *əm kina ji-š-u* [MSS9]

this girl PVB-goes-3S

'This girl goes down to her doom.' (Where she is later trapped and eaten by a monster.)

(1062) *pezârənde 'tear'* versus *jizerâzer (Adj.) 'ripped to pieces'*

In addition, Yarshater (1999, p.97) lists three examples from his Asalemi data, of which only the third contains the morally negative overtones found more often in Masali:

(1063) *jidue* 'to place under, to let a lamb or kid suck milk'

(1064) *jikarde* 'to spread, throw open (rugs)'

(1065) *jivašte* 'to jump out (from a place or ambush)'

This predilection of an affix meaning 'down' to carry negative connotations accords with typological observations about the ubiquity of the concept as a negative orientational

metaphor (e.g. Krzeszowski 1997). In this respect the relationship between *ji-* and *vi-* is of particular interest: both relate directly to the axiological spatial prototype DOWN, but only the former has a default negative force.

7.3   Conclusion: Path or Manner?

Because Taleshi preverbs began life as adpositions, it is natural to assume that they simply specify verb path, be it 'up', 'down', 'across' or 'back'. The first three preverbs discussed above (*pe-, vi-, da-*) do indeed often add such a sense to the meaning of their host verb, especially when combined with verbs of motion. However, with other verbs they are at least as much concerned with manner as with path, and this is even more the case with *â-* and *ji-*. In some cases this means that the verb's path specification is bleached (e.g. *xəte* 'lie', *daxəte* 'hide' whether the hider is lying, standing or sitting). In other cases, the preverb-verb combination may involve a metaphorical extension distant enough that it is no longer possible to recover the original, directional nature of the preverb, leading to full lexicalization; for example *vigate* 'buy' and *âše* 'sting'. These and other examples of verbs which can take a wide set of preverbs are set out in the table below:

Table 50: Common verbs taking a wide range of preverbs

	pe- **'up'**	*vi*- **'down'**	*da*- **'in'**	*â*- **'back'**	*ji*- **'down/nasty'**
be **'be'**[143]	get up, awake	spill	coincide	become	
karde **'do'**	sprinkle	pour	put into	open, let go	
lake **'fall'**	fall upon	fall down, flow	set off; occur	change fast	
še **'go'**	go up	plunge	go in	go away	impale (drive down into)
ume **'come'**	grow, rise	climb down	enter	infect	
gate **'get'**	pick up	buy	throw		steal; grab

---

[143] The forms of these preverbs and verbs vary across dialects; those given here are from Masali.

8   Narrative discourse features

8.1   Introduction

Roberts (2009) used a methodology developed by Dooley and Levinsohn (2001) to explore a wide range of text linguistic issues in Persian narrative texts, including cohesive devices; the linguistic encoding of thematic groupings (covering issues such as foreground and background, and patterns of speech encoding); and how participants are tracked. More recently this same methodology has been applied by Barjasteh-Delforooz (2010) to analyze a series of oral narratives in the Balochi of Sistan, in south-east Iran.

In this chapter a briefer analysis of salient discourse features found in Taleshi narrative texts will be presented. These features group around two themes: how events are structured through narrative; and how participants are tracked. Aspects of event structure presented here are how tense and aspect (§8.2) and highlighting devices (§8.3) are used to structure narratives; how motion verbs (§8.4) and developmental markers (§8.5) are used at episode boundaries; and the role of coordinating conjunctions $=(a)ni$ and *ham* to signal relations between propositions (§8.6).

With regard to participant tracking, we examine how participants are encoded (§8.7), and the use of demonstratives to express deictic relations (§8.8).

8.2   Tense, aspect and discourse structure

Dooley and Levinsohn (2001) define foreground and background as follows:

"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." (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001, p.79)

In the specific context of narrative discourse, Dooley and Levinsohn (ibid, p.81) cite Grimes's (1975) distinction between events (foreground) and non-events (background). They define an event as "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." This temporal sequence makes up the narrative's storyline, or event line. Non-events in a narrative include participant orientation, setting, explanation, evaluation, discourse irrealis, and performative information.

In all the dialects in which the Pear Story narrative was recorded, the simple past tense is used to present main line events. In such texts we therefore take the simple past to be the default tense.[144]

8.2.1 Past perfect

The past perfect is commonly used for setting the scene, or providing backgrounded event information which helps to put main line events into context. For example, in the Anbarani Pear Story the scene is set with an introductory clause featuring a past perfect verb to explain what had happened immediately before the story begins (1066), while in (1067) a second participant enters the scene leading a goat and again we are told what he had done immediately before he begins to take part in the action of the narrative:

(1066) *i*   *rüž*   *i-la*   *buǧavun*   *əštan*   *du*   *sa=ku*   *be-š-a=bə*   [ANP2]

one   day   a-CL   gardener   self   tree   head=LOC   PST-went-PTC=AUX.3S

'One day a gardener had climbed his tree.'

(1067) *i-la*   *merd*   *gəl=əš bəz-ə*   *nəxta*   *gat-a=bə*   [ANP8]

a-CL   man   CL=3S   goat-OB   leash   got-PTC=AUX.3S

'A man had taken hold of a goat on a leash.'

Other similar categories of background event, where an event breaks the sequential chronological order of the narrative, include resumptive asides and explanatory remarks. An example of the former occurs in the Asalemi Pear Story: after explaining that one pear fell to the ground (main line event), the narrator describes a few further events before commenting:

(1068) *a*   *xəj-i*   *ki*   *vi-gənəst-a=b-a*   *zamin*

DEMD   pear-RCH   REL   PVB-fell-PTC=AUX-3S   ground

a-i   *tamiz*   *âr-a-ka*   [ASP7]

3S-OB   clean   PVB-3S.PRS-do

'That pear which had fallen to the ground, he cleans it.'

Similarly, the second clause in example (1069) explains the first:

(1069) *ləng=əš*   *udiž*   *uma,*   *cün*   *dəzdi=š=bə*   *kârd-a* [ANP30]

leg=3S   pain   came.3S   because   theft=3S=AUX.3S   did-PTC

'His leg was in pain, because he had committed theft.'

---

[144] The present tense was regularly employed for telling folktales, especially in southern dialects such as Masali and Shandermani.

An explanatory remark is made in the Asalemi Baldy Story, when the angry uncle takes his nephew 'baldy' to the forest in a sack. The second clause in the example below is in the past perfect tense, because it helps to clarify that the baldy is stuck inside the sack because of a previous event that has taken place – the uncle had sealed it earlier:

(1070) *pis=əš*   *bard=a*   *i-la*   *viša*   *dela=kâ.*

       baldy=3s   took=TR   a-CL   forest   in=LOC

       kisa   *sar=əš=ani*   *da-bast-a=b-a.*

       bag   top=3s=also   PVB-closed-PTC=AUX-3s

       nâ=š=a   *viša*   *dela=kâ*   [ASB48]

       put=3s=TR   forest   in=LOC

       'He took baldy into a forest (he had sealed the top of the sack). He put him in the forest.'

In Masali the past perfect performs the same function. While the immediate semantic effect is to "indicate that the temporal reference point of the past perfect verb is prior to the reference point already established in the discourse context" (Roberts 2009, p.267),[145] the discourse-pragmatic effect is to present background information which will be helpful to the reader in understanding how the narrative works. In (1071) the existence of some baskets on the ground is mentioned, which will be crucial to understanding how a boy can later come and steal some pears, and later how the gardener realizes that some have been stolen; while in (1072) the description of the man as "the one whose pears this boy had stolen" is sufficient to identify him on the basis of this previous occurrence:

(1071) *əm*   *kə*   *dâr*   *pe-š-a*   *se*   *câr*   *gəla*   *zambil=am*

       DEMP   COMP   tree   PVB-went.up-3s   three   four   CL   basket=also

       cind-a=š=â   *u*   *ate*   *nu-a=š=â*   *harjur* [MPS10]

       picked-PTC=3s=AUX.3s   and   there   put-PTC=3s=AUX.3s   anyhow

       'Before he went up the tree, he had picked three or four basketfuls and put them there any which way.'

(1072) *ha*   *merdak-a*   *ate*   *ku*   *ce*   *golâbi*   *əm*   *zua*

       SAMED   man-DISC   there   COMP   POSSD.3s   pear   DEMP   boy

---

[145] Roberts writes this in a description of the past perfect in Modern Persian, but it applies equally well to Taleshi.

dəzdi=â   [MPS37]

stole=AUX.3S

'That same man there whose pears this boy had stolen.'

8.2.2 Present perfect

Reichenbach (1947) described the role of the present perfect as describing an event (E) which occurred before the reference time (R), taken to be simultaneous with the time of speech (S). He expressed this with the formula E < (S = R).[146] In other words, the present perfect commonly expresses the result of a state or event which occurred before the time of the utterance but which is relevant to the present state of affairs (cf. Comrie 1976, p.56, cited in Barjasteh-Delforooz 2010, p.85). Roberts (2009, p.268) goes further in suggesting that for Persian, it "is used where the evidence for the event is inferred rather than direct." This analysis fits for Taleshi too. In (1073) the baldy claims to have put gold into his sacks, but his addressees must take the claim on trust for there is no direct evidence. Similarly, in (1074) the perfect is used to frame a hypothetical accusation based on circumstantial evidence:

(1073) *tele=m   da-kard-a=ya*   *əm*   *kisa-mun*   *dela=kâ*   [ASB17]

gold=1S   PVB-poured-PTC=TR   DEMP   sack-OB.P   in=LOC

'I have poured gold into these sacks.'

(1074) *vâ-i*   *âǧâ*   *šəma*   *cəmən golâbi dəzdi-a=run=a*   [MPS45]

say-IMPF.3S   mister 2P   POSS.1S pear   stole-PTC=2P=TR

'Otherwise he would have said, "Mister, you stole my pears!"'

8.2.2.1 Past imperfective and past progressive

The past imperfective tense is commonly used to describe habitual actions and to present background information. In example (1075), every clause is imperfective. None of the actions they describe are contained within any one single event on a particular day; rather, each is habitual, describing the general kinds of things that the narrator would do whenever he went out to the desert with his grandfather.

(1075) *cəmân   yud=anda=y*   *əštân   piadada=nda*   *ba*   *kâfšan*

POSS.1S memory=LOC=COP.3S   self   grandfather=LOC   to   desert

---

[146] This contrasts with the past perfect, discussed above, for which the formula is E < R < S: the event happened before the reference time, which itself is placed temporally before the speech time.

a-š-im.	bavə=ru	âsp=anda	bu	a-kərn-im.
AUG-go-IMPF.1S	3S.IOD=for	horse=LOC	load	AUG-load-IMPF.1S

gândəm	devan	a-k-im.
wheat	scythe	AUG-do-IMPF.1S

mažü	dâstavaž	a-k-im	[ANR9-12]
lentil	hand.picking	AUG-do-IMPF.1S	

'I remember I used to go to the desert with my grandfather. I was loading up the horse for him. I was scything the wheat. I was picking the lentils.'

In example (1076) the past imperfective is used to present background information. Here the hero of the story (the boy described) has already been introduced; later we will witness how his schemes against his uncle ultimately bring him wealth and success. First, however, we need to know that the boy would engineer regular meetings with his uncle in the hope of persuading him to let him marry his daughter. This knowledge will help us to understand how it is that the two coincide so regularly. It is background information, and so is presented with an imperfective verb.

(1076)	əm	zua	har	jəgâ	ki	a-š-i
	DEMP	boy	any	place	REL	AUG-go-IMPF.3S

	a	əštan	amu	var-i=kâ	daivard-e=râ	[ASB4]
	DEMD	self	uncle	way-OB=LOC	pass.by-INF=for	

'This boy, wherever he was going, it was for passing by where that uncle of his was.'

Finally, sentence (1077) shows how an imperfective verb can be used in a clause to present an explanatory aside, which helps the listener to understand why the robbers do not chase the baldy to reclaim what he has stolen from them. The narrator explains the reason: they do not know where his house is:

(1077)	oma	əštan	mala.	a-e=ni	ki	n-a-zun-in	cimi
	came.3S	self	place	3-P=also	COMP	NEG-AUG-know-IMPF.3P	POSSD.3S

	ka	kayâ=ra	[ASB31-32]
	house	where=COP.3S	

'He came to his own place. They, after all, weren't to know where his house was.'

In Anbarani and Asalemi the past progressive is often used to introduce a participant or group of participants, either into the narrative for the first time, or into a new episode of

the text. In the Anbarani Pear Story examples (1078) to (1082) below, the first clause or two in each example contains a past progressive verb, and describes the activity these participants were engaged in as they came on the scene. Following clauses then set out the event-line actions in which they engage to further the plot of the story, and these clauses contain perfective verbs.

(1078) *ânbu=bə   cəni=na*   [ANP3]
     pear=AUX.3S   pick=LOC

     'He   was picking pears.' The weather was good …

(1079) *i-la   gada   zua   davârdi=na=bə   dücarx=anda*   [ANP17]
     a-CL   small   boy   pass.by=LOC=AUX.3S   bicycle=LOC

     'A small boy was passing by on a bicycle.' He thought to take a pear …

(1080) *se   gəla   cavə   hamrun=u   nava=na=b-in.*
     three   CL   POSSD.3S   companion=LOC   pass.by=LOC=AUX-3P

     əštân   dâst=anda   gada   tâxt=anda   hüwja=b-in   kâ=na [ANP27-28]
     self   hand=LOC   small   board=LOC   play=AUX-3P   do=LOC

     'Three of his companions were passing by. They were playing with a small board in their hands.' They came and helped him …

(1081) *se   gəla   ši=na=b-in   âmbu   hârd-e hârd-e* [ANP34]
     three   CL   go=LOC=AUX-3P   pear   eat-INF eat-INF

     'The three were going along, eating pears.' The gardener came down …

(1082) *əm   se   nafar   âmbu=b-in   hâ=na* [ANP37]
     DEMP   three   person pear=AUX-3P   eat=LOC

     'These three were eating pears.' Because of the direction they'd come from, the gardener was embarrassed …

In Asalemi, the use of past progressive verbs (auxiliary *kâ* plus infinitive) to introduce minor participants is again common:

(1083) *i-la   merd=ani   i-la   bəz-i   sar-i=kâ   […]   lâfənd=əš*
     a-CL   man=also   a-CL   goat-OB head-OB=LOC   rope=3S

     da-kard-a   kâ=b-a   a-i   darâkunəst-e [ASP9]
     PVB-threw-PTC   PROG=AUX-3S   3S-OB   lead-INF

'(At this moment,) a man, having thrown a rope round the head of a goat, was leading it.'

(1084) *vind=əš=a*   *i-la*   *kəla*   *xanəm=i*   *da-nəšt-a*   *ducarxa,*

saw=3S=TR   a-CL   girl   lady=IND   PVB-sat-PTC   bicycle

rubaru=kâ   *kâr=a*   *âm-e*   [ASP13]

face.to.face=LOC   PROG=3S   come-INF

'He saw that a young lady sat on a bicycle was coming opposite.'

(1085) *dumla=kâ*   *də*   *se*   *nafar*   *ca*   *rafiğ-e*

after=LOC   two   three   person   POSSD.3S   friend-P

a   *var-i=kâ*   *kâ=b-in*   *âm-e*   [ASP17]

DEMD   way-OB=LOC   PROG=AUX-3P   come-INF

'Later, two or three of his friends were coming from that direction.'

(1086) *kâ=b-in*   *ha*   *xəj-i*   *hard-e* *hard-e* *âm-e*   [ASP24]

PROG=AUX-3P   SAMED   pear-OB eat-INF   eat-INF   come-INF

'They were eating those same pears as they came along.'

(1087) *deišt=a*   *vind=əš=a*   *də*   *se*   *gəla*   *xərdan* *kâ=n*

looked=TR   saw=3S=TR   two   three   CL   child   PROG=3P

əm   *xəj-un=kâ*   *hard-e* *kâ=n*   *âm-e*   *daivar-un*   [ASP26]

DEMP   pear-P=LOC   eat-INF   PROG=3P   come-INF   SBJ.pass.by-3P

'He looked and saw that two or three children are eating these pears and coming along to pass by.'

In the Masali Pear Story, past imperfective and past progressive verbs are used to achieve distinct effects. The past imperfective verbs appear in independent clauses to describe isolated scenes of ongoing action. Clauses with progressive verbs, on the other hand, always paint a picture of an action going on in the context of something else: the progressive action is perceived by another character, or is already happening at the point when a main-line event then occurs.[147] Examples in chronological order through the text are as follows:

[PROG] when we saw that:

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[147] For Persian, Roberts (2009, pp.271 and 287) suggests that the use of the progressive auxiliary "adds dramatic vividness" to the narrative. This is not the case in Taleshi.

(1088) ama   kərâ   râ=dəre   š-imun,   vind=a   kə   [MPS2]

    1P   PROG   way=SRCE   go-IMPF.1P   saw=TR   COMP

'We were going along (when) we saw that…'

We saw that [PROG]:

(1089) vind=əmun=a   merdak-a   kərâ   golâbi   cin-ə   [MPS3]

    saw=1P=TR   man-DISC   PROG   pear   pick-3S

'We saw that this man is picking pears.'

IMPERFECTIVE: Independent episode describing the activity of pear-picking:

(1090) i-la   dasmâl=am   dâr-iste

    a-CL   cloth=also   had-IMPF.3S

    golâbi-un   kə   zamin   balak-en   a-vun   pâk   â-kar-iste.

    pear-OB.P   REL   ground   fall-3P   3-OB.P   clean   PVB-cause.do-IMPF.3S

    bad   golâbi   əštan   dumla=ku   da-kar-i,

    then   pear   self   apron=LOC   PVB-pour-IMPF.3S

    vuwar-i   a   zambil-i=ku   dana-kar-iste   [MPS4-5]

    bring-IMPF.3S   DEMD   basket-OB=LOC   PVB-pour.in-IMPF.3S

'He had a cloth. He was cleaning those pears which fell to the ground. Then he was pouring pears into his apron, bringing them down and putting them into that basket.'

This man did not see because (he was busy [PROG])

(1091) əm   xərdan-a   uma   u   əm   merdak-a   ne-vind=əš=a

    DEMP   child-DISC   came.3S   and   DEMP   man-DISC   NEG-saw=3S=TR

    kərâ   golâbi   cin-iste   [MPS12]

    PROG   pear   pick-IMPF.3S

'This child came and this man did not see: he was busy picking pears.'

IMPERFECTIVE: Pear-picker's oblivion described in isolation, not specifically in the context of any other activity:

(1092) merdak-a=ni   a-i   ne-vin-iste   [MPS18]

    man-DISC=also   3S-OB   NEG-see-IMPF.3S

'This man kept on not noticing him.'

IMPERFECTIVE: Isolated, non-time dependent fact reported:

(1093) *carx-i*　　　　*piš-i=ku*　　*i-la*　　*ajura*　　*bârband*　　*dâr-iste* [MPS20]

bicycle-OB　　front-OB=LOC　a-CL　like.that　strap　　　had-IMPF.3S

'The bicycle had that kind of strap on the front of it.'

He saw that [PROG]

(1094) *vind=əš=a*　　*kə*　　*i*　*kila-te=ni*　*carx-i=na*　　*kərâ*　*â-iste* [MPS21]

saw=3S=TR　　COMP　a　girl-DIM=also　bicycle-OB=with　PROG　come-IMPF.3S

'He saw that a little girl was coming on a bicycle.'

IMPERFECTIVE: the verb does not describe a separate ongoing action, but rather explains an existing one:

(1095) *š-a*　　*əštan*　*masir-i=ku.*　　*əštan*　　*ka=râ*　　*xâ-i*

went-3S　self　direction-OB=LOC　self　　　house=for　want-IMPF.3S

bə-š-iste　　　　[MPS29-30]

SBJ-go-IMPF.3S

'He went on his way. He was wanting to go to his house.'

[PROG] in direction of that same man who…

(1096) *əm*　　*xərdan-en*　*a*　　*golâvi-a*　*cin-i*　　*taraf-i=na*　　　　*kərâ*

DEMP　child-P　　DEMD　pear-LNK　picker-OB　direction-OB=with　　　PROG

š-istine　　　　*ha*　　　*merdak-a*　*ate*　*ku*　*ce*　　*golâbi*　*əm*　*zua*

go-IMPF.3P　　SAMED　man-DISC　there　COMP　POSSD.3S　pear　　DEMP　boy

dəzdi=â　　[MPS36-37]

stole=AUX.3S

'These children were going in the direction of that pearpicker, that same man there whose pears this boy had stolen.'

As [PROG], [PROG]

(1097) *câr*　　*pin*　　*nafar*　*xərdan*　*kərâ*　*a*　　*sar=dəre*　　*ke*　　*â-n*

four　　five　　person　child　　PROG　DEMD　direction=SRCE　COMP　come-3P

har　　*i*　　*i-la*　　*golâbi*　*kərâ*　*har-ə* [MPS42]

each　one　a-CL　　pear　　PROG　eat-3S

'Four or five children were each eating a pear as they came from that direction.'

As [PROG], he said:

(1098)

a-ven	kərâ	a	sar=dəre	ke	â-istine	vât=əš=a
3-P	PROG	DEMP	direction=SRCE	COMP	come-IMPF.3P	said=3S=TR

xob	âm-en	de	cə	da-fars-əm?	[MPS46]
well	come-3P	anyway	what?	PVB.SBJ-ask-1S	

'Since they were coming from that direction, he said (to himself) "Well, when they come, what shall I say in any case?"'

8.2.3 Repetition and durative action

One way to express durative action is reduplication of the verb. This is effective in both simple past and present tenses:

(1099)

cəni=š=e	cəni=š=e	a-kâ=š=e	ba	əštân	dümana	[ANP6]
picked=3S=TR	picked=3S=TR	PVB-poured=3S=TR	to	self	apron	

'He picked and picked (pears and) poured (them) into his apron.'

(1100)

uma	uma	ânbu=ku	da-vârd-e	[ANP10]
came.3S	came.3S	pear=LOC	PVB-passed-3S	

'He came closer and closer. He passed the pears.'

In Masali, occasional use is made of repeated verbs to convey the same durative aspectual sense, where they are chained together with the conjunction 'and':

(1101)

ner-i	piger-ə	u	šu	u	šu	u	šu	u	šu	[MBB]
ram-OB	take-3S	and	go.3S	and	go.3S	and	go.3S	and	go.3S	

'He takes the ram and goes a long way.'

(1102)

bad	š-a	u	š-a	golâbi	bə-dəzd-ə	[MPS15]
then	went-3S	and	went-3S	pear	SBJ-steal-3S	

'Then he crept up to steal a pear.'

8.2.4 Present versus past tense

In the Asalemi Pear Story, the present tense is used for the first twenty three clauses of the narrative, describing not just the opening scene but also the initial activities of the pear picker. Only when the first in a series of additional participants is introduced does the narrative switch to past tense, where it remains for the remainder of the text.

Unlike all the other Pear Stories, which remain in the past tense for the majority of their narratives, the Masule Pear Story divides into ten episodes which alternate between

present and past tense. This is shown in Table 51 below. In each case the material described in the past tense is descriptive information; whereas the present tense material presents each of the key episodes which develop the plot. Note how in each case the descriptive information is introduced with a temporal relative clause. A similar device (*əm heynikâ* 'at this moment') is used to introduce the tense switch in the Asalemi Pear Story mentioned above.

Table 51: Present and Past Tense Marking in the Masule Pear Story

Clause	Pre-Core Slot	Past	Clause	Present
1-7		gardener's location and general activities	8-15	detailed pear-picking activity step by step
16-33	*dar əm beyn* *at this moment*	description of passers-by and arrival of boy	34-48	the theft and escape
49-54	*dar ha beyni kə* *at that moment*	description of girl passing by	55-62	the crash
63-71	*dar ham beyni kə* *at that moment*	description of crash scene	72-114	the rescue, exchange of pears and departure
115-116	*dar həm beyni kə* *at that moment*	description of gardener's confusion	117-129	the suspected thieves run the gauntlet

8.3   Highlighting Devices

Levinsohn (2003, §5.13) notes that sentences are typically highlighted when they relate to a climax or when a significant development or a change of direction occurs. He observes that devices for highlighting sentences include introducing non-event (background) information immediately beforehand, and repetition of important, focal information. Both of these devices are employed in Taleshi texts. Examples of introducing background material in ANP include the comment just before the boy steals the pears that "he sees the gardener is busy and not looking" (19); the comment just before the crash that the boy's concentration was thrown by his hat falling off (24); and an *irrealis* description of the gardener's embarrassed desire to accuse the boys, before the sudden anticlimax of the boys walking past without being challenged (37).

An example of repetition of important, focal information can be found immediately preceding a similar climactic moment in MPS23-24:

(1103) *əm   kina-te   kəlâ   piget=əš=a*

DEMP   girl-DIM hat   took=3s=TR

kina-te   kəlâ   piget=əš=a

girl-DIM hat   took=3s=TR

cimi	havâs	part	â-b-a	u	əm	balak-a	zamin
POSSP.3S	concentration	thrown	PVB-became-3S	and	DEMP	fell-3S	ground

'This girl took his hat. This girl took his hat, his concentration was thrown, and he fell to the ground.'

In Taleshi, repetition of a verb in isolation commonly implies either protracted duration of an activity (e.g. *cəniše cəniše* 'he picked he picked, i.e. he kept on picking' in the Anbarani Pear Story) or movement from one event to the next along the event line (see Grimes 1975, p.96). In this case, while there is certainly movement from one event to the next, repetition of the entire clause is unusual enough to be considered a marked narrative feature, and serves the additional purpose mentioned above of highlighting a following climactic event.

8.4 Motion Verbs as Orientation Devices

We have seen above that the deictic system of a language will always include reference to distance, most commonly temporal and/or locational distance; and that a key function is to explain how the time and place of the narrated event relate to the speech event. The basic motion verbs *ume* 'come' and *še* 'go' are used in Taleshi to indicate the deictic locational centre of the narrative during each episode. Table 52 below illustrates the use of these verbs in the Baldy Story, an Asalemi text (see Appendix B for the full text).

The first notable feature is that these two verbs (along with limited use of the motion verb *barde* 'take') are used at each boundary between episodes to move the main participant from the location of the previous episode to the location for the new episode. So at the beginning of episode 2 baldy, the hero, GOES from the village, the location of the previous episode, and meets some thieves who COME to the river, the location of this episode. At the next episodic boundary baldy COMES to the village, the first location for episode 3, and the uncle GOES to town, the second location for this episode, and COMES back to the village. He TAKES baldy to the forest, the location for episode 4. At the end of that episode, baldy COMES to the village, the first location for episode 5, TAKES his uncle to the sea, the second location, and the uncle GOES into the sea and drowns. Finally, baldy COMES back to the village, the location of the final episode.

Secondly, note that these verbs may be employed to introduce a location centre for a potential episode which is suggested by a participant internal to the narrative but never realized. In addition to the main episodic locations village, town, forest and sea, core motion

verbs are also used to introduce hypothetical motion to three locations at which no narrative events occur: the thieves' intended village; the king's palace; and the shepherd's hut.

Table 52: How core motion verbs mark episodes and key locations in the Asalemi Baldy Story

Clause					
1. Introduction					
	There was a baldy who loved his uncle's daughter. Wherever he GOES, he asks his uncle for her hand, and makes plans to take the girl and GO. But uncle refuses, and sets baldy's house on fire.				
4a, 6b	**VILLAGE**	baldy GO ->			
2. Thieves Tricked: River					
	Baldy GOES out of village. Some thieves COME and invite him to COME join them and GO to their village. He tricks them out of their gold, and COMES back to the village.				
9a	**VILLAGE**	baldy GO ->			
9c		**RIVER**	<- COME thieves		
13a			**THIEVES' VILLAGE**	<- "COME!" baldy	
13d		**RIVER**	baldy "GO!" ->		
18d,19c	**VILLAGE**	<- COME baldy			
3. Uncle Tricked: Village and Town					
	Baldy tricks his uncle into burning his own house. The uncle GOES to town, realizes his mistake, COMES back, seizes the baldy and TAKES him to the woods, tied up in a sack, to die.				
22d,24	**VILLAGE**	uncle GO ->	**TOWN**		
28a	**VILLAGE**	<- COME uncle			
31a		uncle/baldy TAKE ->	**FOREST**		
4. Shepherd Tricked: Forest					
	A shepherd COMES to the forest and GOES to the sack. Baldy says the king told him to COME to the palace and marry his daughter, but baldy didn't want to. The shepherd invites him to COME from the sack; the shepherd will happily be TAKEN to the palace and TAKE the girl. The shepherd COMES and GOES into the sack; baldy ties it up, steals the flock and COMES to the village.				
33a,34a		**FOREST**	<-COME shepherd		
35a		shepherd GO ->	**SACK**		
37b				**PALACE**	<- COME!" baldy
38c		**FOREST**	<-"COME!" baldy		
39c			shepherd "TAKE!" >	**PALACE**	
39d				girl "TAKE!"->	**SHEPHERD'S HUT**
42b,c			**SACK**	<- COME/GO shepherd	
43c	**VILLAGE**	<- COME baldy			

	5. Uncle Tricked Again: Village and Sea				
	The uncle invites baldy to COME, take him to the forest and leave him in a sack so he can marry the princess. Baldy seizes him, but takes him to the sea. The uncle GOES into the sea and dies.				
48a	**VILLAGE/UNCLE**	<- COME baldy			
51a		baldy/uncle TAKE ->	**SEA**		
52a		uncle GO ->	**SEA**		
	6. Baldy's Happy Ending				
	Baldy COMES to the village and marries his uncle's daughter.				
53a	**VILLAGE**	<- COME baldy			

In each case the motion verb occurs as part of the speech not of the narrator but of one of the participants. The thieves invite baldy to COME with them (presumably to their village, cl.13a). Baldy reports how the kings' men invited him to COME with them to the palace (cl.37b). The shepherd says he would be happy for the king's men to TAKE him to the palace (cl.39c); then he would TAKE the king's daughter (into his own home in marriage, cl.39d).

Thirdly, note that wherever the main participant 'baldy' is topical, every occurrence of these verbs anchors him to the deictic centre in one of two ways: either as the verbal subject,[148] moving towards or away from this centre; or located at the goal towards which other participants are moving. This latter pattern occurs when the thieves come to meet him at the river (cl.9c); and when the shepherd comes to the forest (cl.33a) and then goes to the sack (cl.35a).

Finally, note how these motion verbs function to denote the village, the home of the main participant, as the default reference point throughout the narrative. The table shows how it is present (see second column) in every episode; and how other locations of secondary (e.g. river, town) or tertiary importance (e.g. sack, "hypothetical" locations) are nested within the framework.

Each of these four features indicates a proximal emphasis within the deictic system. The motion verbs function to keep the central location of the narrative focussed on the main participant across episodes, and establish the default centre as this participant's home location. Where the verbs indicate a different location, i.e. 'COME to' or 'GO from' a location which is not directly anchored to the main participant, this is because they are part of the direct speech of one of the participants, for whom – in contrast to the narrator – 'baldy' is not the central character.

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[148] Or sometimes as the object in the case of TAKE.

The idea of participants 'coming' when they are travelling towards the deictic locational centre, and 'going' when they are travelling away from it, is also reflected in Anbarani and Masali texts. The three tables below present the use of 'come' and 'go' in three Anbarani texts. In each case a thick line indicates the establishment of a new locational centre.

Table 53: Use of 'come' and 'go' in the Anbarani Pear Story

2a	the gardener had gone up a tree	tree-base →
7a/b	a man came	→ tree
15b/c	(the boy) went, went	→ tree
22a	(the boys friends) came	→ crash site
25a	they went a little further	crash site →
28a	they came (back)	→ crash site
28b	they went	crash site →
29a	the three were going	crash site →
32a	since they were coming from over there	→ tree

Table 54: Use of 'come' and 'go' in the Anbarane Mahalle Pear Story

3a	(the gardener) went up a tree	tree-base →
3b	a child had come	→ tree
4a	he came	→ tree
5a	he went	tree →
5d	some children came	→ crash site
7d	eating they came	→ tree
8a	the gardener came down	→ tree-base
9a	the children came	→ tree
11b	they went in that direction	tree →

Table 55: Use of 'come' and 'go' in the Anbarani Nostalgia Story

4a	we came from Kulash to Talesh	→ Talesh
6b	I used to go with my granddad to the desert	Kulash home →
14b	I used to go into small caves	granddad →
18a	I would go and fetch water	granddad →
20a	until the sun went down	sky →
21a	when we arrived home	→ Kulash home
30a	in those days when we came to Talesh	→ Talesh

8.5   New Developments and Theme Line Resumption

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" (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001, p.93). Developmental markers in

Taleshi include *dumlakâ* in (Asalemi) and *bad/badaz/badan* (Masali).[149] These markers are typically used at episodic boundaries, as shown in the following examples. In sentences (1104) and (1105) respectively, *dumlakâ* and *badan* are used to mark the boundary between the crash and the friends arriving to help in the Pear Story. In (1106) *dumlakâ* is used in direct speech to mark the boundary between a proposed present action and its intended future consequence; while in (1107) *badaz* signals the boundary between a baldy's dealings with a royal court and his subsequent adventure in a different place.

(1104) *sava   gərd   xâli   â-b-a.   dumlakâ də   se   nafar   ca*
       basket   all   empty   PVB-became-3S next   two   three   person POSSD.3S

       rafiğ-e   a   var-i=kâ   kâ=b-in   âm-e [ASP16-17]
       friend-P   DEMD   direction-OB=LOC   PROG=AUX-3P   come-INF

       'The basket emptied completely. Next, two or three of his friends were coming from that direction.'

(1105) *əštan   gurave   sar   bə   sar   jir   kard=əš=a   u   fəlân.*
       self   sock   head   to   head   down   did=3S=TR   and   so.on

       badan   də   se   nafar   a   sar=dəre   …   um-ina [MPS25-26]
       later   two   three   person DEMD   direction=SRCE   came-3P

       'He pulled down his sock and so on. Later, three people … came from that direction.'

(1106) *tə=ni   bama=na   hamrâ   bəb.   dumlakâ   əm   tele-mun*
       2S=also 1P.IO=with companion   be!   later   DEMP   gold-OB.P

       yandə=na   baxš   â-mun-a-kard [ASB24-25]
       each.other=with   share   PVB-1P-AUG-cause.do

       'You join up with us! Later, we shall share the gold with each other.'

(1107) *geša   pi-ger-ə   davaz-ə   šu.*
       bride   PVB-take-3S   flee-3S   go.3S

       badaz, xaili   râ   šu   vin-ə   sâz=i   sedâ   kar-ə [MBB]
       later   much   way   go.3S see-3S   instrument=IND noise make-3S

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[149] In Anbarani, the Anbarani Pear Story uses the phrase *i-tka mând-e* a-little stayed-3S 'A little time went by' in this function. Other dialects (including Anbaran Mahalle, Vizne, Jokandan and Asalemi) also used *əmsafa* (and cognate forms) 'then'.

'He takes the bride, flees and runs. Later, he goes a long way and sees that an instrument is playing.'

Speece (1989) makes a four way distinction between repeated items which do or not conserve grammatical form, and which are adjacent or not adjacent to each other. Adjacent repeated forms were discussed in the section above on highlighting devices. Speece suggests that where non-adjacent repetition occurs, this signals a return to the event line after the insertion of background material.[150] This phenomenon is common in Taleshi texts, and can be illustrated with two pairs of examples from the Anbarani Pear Story:

(1108) *ânbu=bə*   *cəni=na*   [ANP3,6]

pear=AUX.3S   pick=LOC

'He was picking pears.'

[Three clauses of background information follow, describing the weather.]

(1109) *cəni=š=e*   *cəni=š=e*

picked=3S=TR   picked=3S=TR

'He carried on picking.'

And the second example:

(1110) *š-en*   *ba-štân*   *ru*   [ANP34,37]

went-3P   to-self   way

av=an   *da-gəni*   *ba-štân*   *ru*

3S=also   PVB-fell.3S   to-self   way

se   *gəla*   *š=ina=b-in*   *âmbu*   *hârd-e* *hârd-e*

three   CL   went=LOC=AUX-3P   pear   eat-INF eat-INF

'They went on their way. He also set off on his way. The three of them were going, eating pears …'

[The following four clauses describe the gardener's realization that one of his baskets of pears is missing.]

(1111) *əm*   *se*   *nafar*   *âmbu=b-in*   *hâ=na*

DEMP   three   person pear=AUX-3P   eat=LOC

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[150] Speece based his findings on data from Angave, a Papuan language. However, his observation regarding the function of non-adjacent repetition fits the Taleshi data well.

'These three people were eating pears.'

8.6   Coordinating Conjunctions =an(i) and ham

In addition to the role of =*an* (Anbarani) / =*(a)ni* (Asalemi and Masali) 'also' as a
marker of 'both … and' (§5.5.1), the word has a broad semantic set of roles expressing
parallelism, contrast and topicalization. Six discrete functions of the marker at the clausal level
are identified here:

- parallelism between propositions which have the same predicate and different
  subjects;
- parallelism between propositions which have different predicates but the same
  subject;
- confirmation of the least likely of a set of propositions ('even');
- introduction of a contrastive proposition;
- topicalization;
- cause-result relationship.[151]

First, then, =*an*/=*(a)ni* may express parallelism between propositions which have the
same predicate and different subjects: A did X; B also did X. The parallelism may exist across
adjacent clauses, as in (1112) and (1113), or across a space of several clauses, as in the
parallelism between (1114) and (1115).

(1112) *um-en   š-en   ba-štân   ru,   av=an da-gəni   ba-štân ru   [ANP34]*

came-3P went-3P   to-self   way   3s=also PVB-fell.3s to-self   way

'They came (and) went on their way; he too set off on his way.'

(1113) *bəz   ke   ne-šâ   hard-e vašt-e   ne-šâ.*

goat   REL   NEG-could.3s   eat-INF jump-INF   NEG-could.3s

gusand=ni   ne-šâ   hard-en vašt-e   ne-šâ   [MSG]

sheep=also   NEG-could.3s   eat-INF jump-INF   NEG-could.3s

'The goat, which could not eat, could not jump. The sheep too could not eat and could
not jump.'

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[151] Barjasteh-Delforooz (2010, pp.273ff) finds all of these functions in his analysis of ham in Iranian
Balochi, while Roberts (2009, pp.209ff) finds the first four in Modern Persian. The function of the marker
in linking phrases is also noted in §5.5.1.

(1114) *tele=m*   *da-kard-a=ya*   *əm*   *kisa-mun*   *dela=kâ.*

gold=1S   PVB-poured-PTC=TR   DEMP   sack-OB.P   in=LOC

asb-i=m   *ž=a*   *jəgâ=i=kâ=m*   *dəzdi=a*   *[ASB17-18]*

horse-OB=1S   hit=TR   place=IND=LOC=1S   stole=TR

'I have poured the gold into these sacks. I put it on the horse – I stole it from somewhere.'

(1115) *vât=əšun=a*   *valla*   *ama=ni*   *dəzd=imun.ama=ni*   *hânta*   *əm*   *bâr-e-i*

said=3P=TR   by.God   1P=also   thief=1P   1P=also   like.that   DEMP   load-P-RCH

ki   *ž-a=mun=a*   *əm-e=ni*   *tele=n*   *[ASB20-21]*

REL   hit-PTC=1P=TR   DEMP-P=also   gold=3P

'They said, "By God, we are thieves too. We too – those loads which we have loaded – these too are gold."'

Second, the parallelism may be between propositions which have a different predicate, but the same subject: A did X; A also did Y. Again, the parallelism may exist across adjacent clauses as in (1116), or across a space of several clauses as in (1117).

(1116) *i-la*   *merd*   *gəl=əš bəz-ə*   *nəxta*   *gat-a=bə.*

a-CL   man   CL=3s   goat-OB leash   got-PTC=AUX.3S

ca   *šux=əš=an*   *i*   *dâst=anda*   *gat-a=bə*   *[ANP8-9]*

POSSD.3S   horn=3S=also   a   hand=LOC   got-PTC=AUX.3S

'A man had got hold of a goat by a leash. He had also got its horn with one hand.'

(1117) *har*   *kas-i*   *ki*   *kisa*   *dela=kâ*   *darafan-un,*

any   person-RCH   REL   sack   in=LOC   SBJ.throw.in=3P

kâ=n   *bai*   *i*   *rama*   *pas*   *du-e*   *[ASB71]*

PROG=3P   3S.IOD   a   flock   sheep   give-INF

'Whomever they throw into a sack, they are giving him a flock of sheep.'

Third, *=an/=(a)ni* may mean 'even', in the sense of confirming the least likely of a set of propositions: A even did X. This is illustrated in the following two examples:

(1118) *a.*   *i-la*   *du=an*   *sut-a*   *nə-bə*   *[AnNP]*

a-CL   tree=also   burnt-PTC   NEG-was.3S

b.   i-la   dâr=ani   sut-a   na-b-a   [AsNP]

     a-CL   tree=also   burnt-PTC   NEG-was-3S

c.   i-la   dâr   ham   sist-a   ni=â   [MaNP]

     a-CL   tree   also   burnt-PTC   NEG=COP.PST.3S

'Not (even) one tree was burnt.'

(1119) av   i-tka=n   vəi=y   hâ=na [AnVP]

       3S   a-little=also   more=3S   eat=LOC

'He is eating even a little more.'

Fourth, =an/=(a)ni may introduce a contrastive proposition. This may involve different subjects and predicates – A did X; on the other hand, B did Y – as in examples (1120) and (1121); different subjects but related predicates, as in (1122); or the same subject but different predicates, as in 0.

(1120) cəmân dada   ciman=anda   âlaf   dargaz a-žan-i,

       POSS.1S father meadow=LOC   grass   sickle AUG-hit-IMPF.3S

       âz=an bavə=ru   âlaf=anda   bândan tümü   a-k-im   [ANR14]

       1S=also 3S.IOD=for   grass=LOC   bundle making AUG-do-IMPF.3S

'My father was scything grass in the meadow; I, on the other hand, was bundling the grass for him.'

(1121) gusand i   gula   mâst   sâz-ə.   šu-n   piš=e   məllâ.

       sheep   a   bowl   yoghurt make-3S   go-3P   in.front=EZ mullah

       xərs=ni   kana   kisa=i   pi-ger-ə   [MSG]

       bear=also   tattered   sack=IND   PVB-take-3S

'The sheep makes a bowl of yoghurt. They (sheep and goat) go in front of the mullah. The bear, on the other hand, takes a tattered sack.'

(1122) i gəla merd b-a,   num=əš   adi   b-a.

       a CL   man was-3S   name=3S   Adi   was-3S

       žen-i   num=ani gudi   b-a   [ASA]

       woman-OB name=also Gudi   was-3S

'There was a man whose name was Adi. His wife's name, on the other hand, was Gudi.'

(1123) *de   hada=mun   ba-must,*

anyway that.much=1P   PRS-know

cimi=kâ   səvâi   de   šəma=râ=ni   nə-m-a-must   [ASA]

POSSP.3S=LOC   more   anyway 2P=for=also   NEG-1S-AUG-know

'So, I (lit. we) know that much. More than that, on the other hand, I don't know to tell you.'

Fifth, *=an/=(a)ni* may function as an additive topicalizer, introducing a new topic whose status in some way parallels that of the previous topic. For example, previous to the action described in sentence (1124), a gardener has been active picking pears. Now the focus shifts to a new topic: a man who enters the scene dragging a goat; and a few clauses later, another new participant is introduced and becomes the topic. In both of the clauses introducing these participants as topics, the marker *=ni* is used. In (1125) the situation is similar: various animals have described the treasures that they own, and now it is the mouse's turn. The mouse becomes the topic, and is marked with *=ni*.

(1124) *əm   heyn-i=kâ   i-la   merd=ani …   âma   … âma   daivard-a.*

DEMP   situation-OB=LOC a-CL   man=also   came.3s   came.3s   passed.by-3s

a   var-i=kâ=ni   i-la javân-a   zua=i   da-nəšt-a   [ASP9-10]

DEMD   side-OB=LOC=also   a-CL young-LNK   boy=IND   PVB-sat-PTC

'At this point, a man (also) came along. He came and passed by. From that direction (also), a young boy sat (on a bicycle came …).'

(1125) *muš=ni   vâ   haftdâd   gəla lira həm   cət-a   xəl-i=ku*

mouse=also say.3s   seventy   CL   lira SAMEP   rock-LNK hole-OB=LOC

dâr-əm   [MCB]

have-1s

'Now the mouse says, "I have seventy lira in this very cave!"'

In the Asalemi Mother-in-Law story (ASM), the hero's sons are briefly presented. In (1126) we read that they used to go off with the cattle, and then the narrator asks what the hero's daughters-in-law would do. The daughters-in-law (*vayu*, literally 'bride') are marked with *=ni*, because this is a contrastive proposition; however, *=ni* also carries the additional

function here of introducing a new topic: the daughters-in-law will dominate the action for the next several clauses.

(1126) *a   mâl-un = na   a-š-in.   əm   vayu = ni   cə*

DEMP   cattle-OB.P=with   AUG-go-IMPF.3S   DEMP   bride=also   what?

a-kar-in?   [ASM]

AUG-do-IMPF.3P

'They were going with the cattle. Meanwhile, what were these daughters-in-law doing?'

Finally, in connection with topicalization, =*ni* may mark a Point of Departure. We defined this in §6.9.7 as 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. In (1127) we see =*ni* marking the temporal Point of Departure *jama* 'Friday', and so helping to move the narrative on to its next stage:

(1127) *jama = ni   mala   maǧrebi   â   [MSS80]*

Friday=also   village   sunset   come.3S

'On Friday, at sunset, she comes to the village.'

The last function of 'also' which we find in Taleshi is the identification of a cause-result relationship. In (1128) the =*ni* marker on *amu* 'uncle' functions to introduce a contrastive proposition; but it also helps to explain the relationship between the clause in which it appears (the uncle is tied up), and the following clause (the uncle drowns). Similarly, in (1129) the marker relates the cause – a child not crying – to a result – the child not needing milk.

(1128) *bard = əš = a   darafand = əš = a   daryâ   dela = kâ.*

took=3S=TR   threw=3S=TR   sea   in=LOC

amu = ni   ki   kisa = kâ   dastupâ   dabend-ist-a = b-a,

uncle=also   COMP   sack=LOC   hand.and.foot   tie.up-PASS-PTC=AUG-3S

amu   š-a   daryâ   bəni = kâ   mard-a [ASB77-78]

uncle   went-3S   sea   under=LOC   died-3S

'He (the baldy) took him (the uncle) and threw him in the sea. The uncle, since he was tied up hand and foot, the uncle went to the bottom of the sea and died.'

(1129) *agam   xərdan   nə-bram-u   bai   šət = ani   ni-š-a-dâ   [AsVP]*

if   child   NEG.SBJ-cry-3S   3S.IOD   milk=also   NEG-2S-AUG-give

'If the child does not cry, you will not give him milk.'

8.7   Participant Encoding

Dooley and Levinsohn (2001, pp.127ff) propose a method for analyzing reference patterns in texts. This involves identifying the context for each *activated subject* in a text, as follows:

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

S3: the subject was involved in the previous sentence in a non-subject role (other than S2)

S4: other changes of subject than those covered by S2 and S3

Similarly, the contexts of non-subjects may be identified as follows:

N1: the referent occupies the same non-subject role as in the previous clause or sentence

N2: the addressee of a reported speech was the subject (speaker) of a speech reported in the previous sentence

N3: the referent was involved in the previous sentence in a different role than that covered by N2

N4: other non-subject references than those covered by N1-N3

Tokens of each of these kinds of subject or object may then be counted to see how many are referred to by zero anaphora; how many by a pronoun or demonstrative; and how many by a full noun phrase. The highest count for each type reveals the default marking strategy for that type.

In this section we use these categories to analyze the reference patterns in the Anbarani, Asalemi and Masali Pear Story texts. Participant charts identifying the relevant contexts for both subjects and non-subjects in each of these texts may be found in Appendix C.

The first two figures below shows the proportions of S1 subjects and N1 non-subjects referred to by a verbal suffix (zero), a pronoun or demonstrative, or a full noun phrase. For subjects the figures are also shown for Farsi, based on Roberts' (2009, pp.336ff) analysis of a Farsi narrative text.[152] The charts show that the default marking for S1 is zero; in Anbarani this is also the case for N1, but for Asalemi and Masali the situation is less clear-cut. Note also how closely the situation in Masali mirrors that in Farsi.

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[152] The text is Behrangi, Samad (1997). *Māhi Siāh Kučulu.* [The Little Black Fish]. Bethesda, Maryland: Iranbooks.

Figure 18: S1 participant references   **Figure 19: N1 participant references**
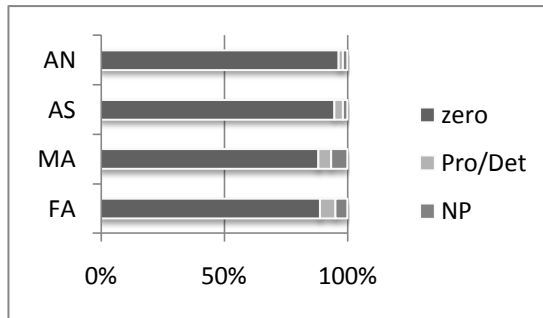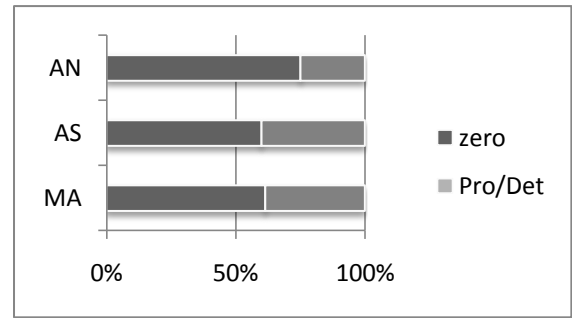
The second pair of graphs, Figure 20 and Figure 21, show the same proportions for S4 subjects and N4 non-subjects. For both S4 and N4 the default marking is clearly a full noun phrase across all three dialects, and also in Farsi.

Figure 20: S4 participant references   **Figure 21: N4 participant references**
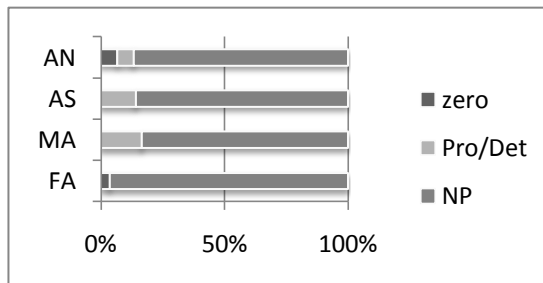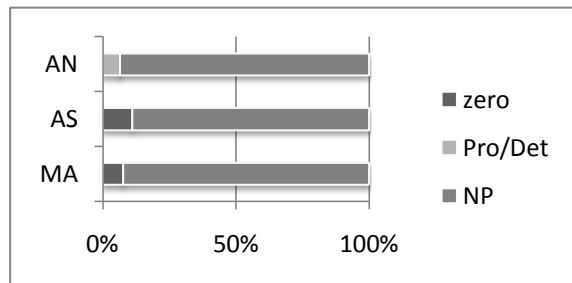
The third pair of charts shows the same proportions for S3 subjects and N3 non-subjects. Recall that S3/N3 participants are already activated in the text, but not in the roles which they now take. For these kinds of contexts, there seems to be a much greater dialectal variation. For S3, both Anbarani and Asalemi prefer zero, but the proportion of such instances drops to around 75% compared to N1 participants, and the proportion of pronouns and NPs rises commensurately. Masali, on the other hand, uses zero in only 31% of instances, mirroring Farsi's preference for an explicit form.

The Anbarani text contained only two instances of N3, but the figures for Asalemi and Masali show that explicit forms are strongly preferred for such referents, albeit not to the extent of N4 referents (see Figure 21 above).

Figure 22: S3 participant references   **Figure 23: N3 participant references**
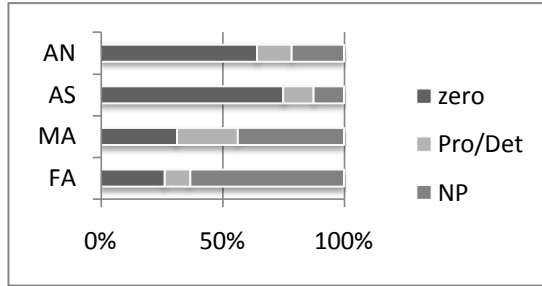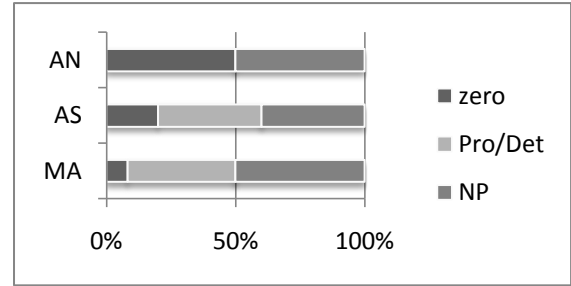
We conclude that the default participant reference strategies in Taleshi are those set out in Table 56 below. Default strategies are the same in all three dialects, except for the marking of subjects involved in the previous sentence in a non-subject role; in this case Anbarani and Asalemi still preferred zero, whereas Masali preferred an explicit form (either a full noun phrase or a pronoun).[153]

Table 56: Default participant reference strategies in all three dialects

S1:	zero	N1:	zero
S3:	zero (full NP in Masali)	N3:	Pro/NP
S4:	NP	N4:	NP

8.8 Determiners

8.8.1 Categories of Deictic Expression

Anderson & Keenan (1985, p.259) define deictic expressions as "those linguistic elements whose interpretation in simple sentences makes essential reference to properties of the extralinguistic context of the utterance in which they occur." Consider a sentence such as (1130) below:

(1130) *uri   u   sabâ   ama   zand-am   cama   kula   [MSG]*

   today   and   tomorrow   1P   bear-1P   POSS.1P young

   "Today and tomorrow we shall give birth to our young."

In this example we cannot tell when the event is taking place, or who is giving birth, until we know when the sentence is uttered, and by whom. Hence the temporal adverbs *uri* "today" and *sabâ* "tomorrow" and the pronoun *ama* are deictic expressions: the adverbs are anchored

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[153] In their respective analyses of Persian and Sistani Balochi, Roberts (2009) and Barjasteh-Delforooz (2010) find the same default marking strategy: S1 *zero*; S3 *full NP*; S4 *full NP*.

to the day of the utterance, and the inclusive first person pronoun to the one uttering it and her addressee.

Deictic expressions typically cover person, place and time (Fillmore 1997). In addition, distinctions must be made between references to non-linguistic entities within the speech situation, on the one hand, and to entities within the surrounding discourse on the other. Diessel (1999, p.6) follows Halliday & Hasan (1976, pp.57-76) in using the notions *exophoric* and *endophoric* for entities in the surrounding situation and for other entities respectively. Figure 24 below sets out Diessel's categories for endophoric demonstratives, and adds sub-categories for exophoric entities too:

Figure 24: Exophoric and endophoric categories of deictic expression
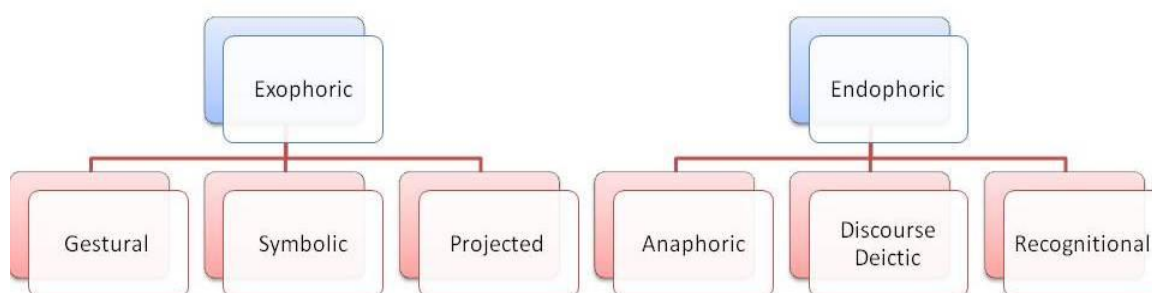
The following sections explore each of these categories in turn.

8.8.1.1 Gestural and Symbolic Uses

Fillmore (1997, pp.62f) explains how deictic expressions may be interpreted by knowing some aspect of the speech communication situation – exophoric usage – and distinguishes between *gestural* use and *symbolic* use. Levinson (1983, p.66) provides the following two examples to illustrate the difference:

(1131) a. *This finger hurts.* (gestural)

b. *This city stinks.* (symbolic)

In (1131)(a) "this finger" is an immediate, physical aspect of the communication situation. In (1131)(b), on the other hand, the utterance draws on more than what is immediately visible in the surrounding situation. Diessel (1999, p.95) gives a further example to show that "exophoric demonstratives are also commonly used with reference to entities that do not have a physical existence":

(1132) *This is a nice feeling.*

Projected use is defined and discussed in the following section (§8.8.1.2).

The Taleshi demonstratives *əm* "this" and *a* "that" provide a basic semantic contrast between proximate and distal reference. Deictic Shift Theory (Duchan, Bruder & Hewitt 1995) includes the foundational concept of a shifting Deictic Centre. At this centre, temporal, spatial and personal terms (such as *now, here, I*) are all proximate:

> "Deictic Shift Theory states that in fictional narrative, readers and authors shift their deictic center from the real-world situation to an image of themselves at a location within the story world. This location is represented as a cognitive structure often containing the elements of a particular time and place within the fictional world, or even within the subjective space of a fictional character." (Segal 1995, p.15)

Hence a gestural use of the proximate demonstrative refers to objects spatially close to the point of reference. In the direct speech of example (1133) below, both "this" and "these bags" refer to physical objects in the direct view of both speaker and addressee. The first line is a question asked by some thieves; the second and third lines constitute their addressee's response:

(1133) *âǧâ*   *əm*   *cici=ə?*

mister   DEMP   what?=COP.3s

'Mister, what is this?'

[… It is gold, which I've loaded up here. …]

tele=m   *da-kard-a=ya*   *əm*   *kisa-mun* *dela=kâ*   [ASB15-17]

gold=1s   PVB-poured-PTC=TR   DEMP   bag-OB.P   in=LOC

'I have poured the gold into these bags.'

The proximate/distal contrast is clear in the gestural use of the two pronouns in (1134):

(1134) *saxsari …*   *əm*   *var*   *a*   *var*   *š-imun*   [ASB23]

tomorrow   DEMP   way   DEMD   way   go-COP.1P

'Tomorrow we shall go in this direction (or) that direction.'

In contrast to these gestural usages, "this" in example (1135) constitutes a symbolic usage, namely an abstract noun describing an event:

(1135) *cəmən* *nana*   *sar-i*   *əm*   *âina*   *du=a*   [ASM]

POSS.1s mother   head-OB   DEMP   disaster gave=TR

'She brought this disaster on my mother's head.'

Similarly, the proximal and distal demonstratives in (1136) and (1137) respectively express a contrast between events which are temporally distant and temporally close:

(1136) a   rüž-ün   cəmân   yud=u   hic   ba-ši=na   ni=n [ANR35]

   DEMD   day-P   POSS.1S memory=LOC   no   FUT-go=LOC   NEG=3P

   'Those days will never go from my memory.'

(1137) əm   rüž-ün … əštân hərdân-un=anda   fursi=n

   DEMP   day-P   self child-OB.P=LOC   Persian=3P

   gap   ža=na [ANR41]

   speech hit=LOC

   'These days … they speak Persian with their children.'

8.8.1.2   Projected Use

The projected use, Bühler's "Deixis am Phantasma" (1934, pp.121-140), is described by Diessel (1999, p.95) as "shifting the deictic center from the speaker in the current speech situation to a person in a different situation that is evoked by the ongoing discourse." In other words, this entails that the deictic terms orient around a participant in the narrative, rather than around the speaker or addressee of the (exophoric) speech situation. Both proximate (əm) and distal (a) Taleshi demonstratives may be used in this sense:

(1138) …ha=ni   əm   var-i=kâ=ni   pe-nu=šun=a [ASA]

   SAMED=also   DEMP   side-OB=LOC=also   PVB-put=3P=TR

   'that same (bread) they put on this side too.'

(1139) a   var-i=kâ   i-la   javân-a   zua=i   âma   [ASP10]

   DEMD   side-OB=LOC   a-CL   young-LNK   boy=IND   came.3S

   'A young boy came from that direction.'

In (1138) the deictic centre is projected onto the narrative's chief protagonists, who are on one side of an oven. They put the bread to one side of the oven – the same side at which they themselves are located – and hence that side is referred to as əm var "this side". No regard is paid as to which side of the oven the bread may be located from the point of view of the participants in the speech act: the narrator and his or her addressees. In (1139) the deictic centre is not projected onto a person at all, but rather onto the central locational reference

point for this episode of the narrative: the tree at the base of which the main action occurs. Because the boy comes from a point distant from the tree, it is the distal demonstrative which is used to modify the word "direction". The point is that the boy, whether he be approaching the tree from the foreground or background in the imagination of speaker and hearer, is coming into the scene from a point distant from the tree, which is the deictic centre for this scene.

Example (1140) below provides an example of the projected use with a proximate-distal contrast:

(1140) *damand=a*   *əštan*   *a*   *zua*   *nava=râ*   *lailai* *vât-e.*

PROG=3S   self   DEMD boy   grandson=for lullaby say-INF

'She was singing a lullaby for that grandson of hers.'

əm   *zua*   *iâ*   *mand-a …*   *guš*   *â-kard=a*   *[ASM]*

DEMP boy here   stayed-3S   ear   PVB-opened=TR

'This boy (her son) stayed here … (and) listened.'

The deictic centre here is occupied by the son, who stands at the door and listens to his mother singing a lullaby for his own son, her grandson. Hence we find that the grandson is modified by the distal demonstrative, who is further from us as we observe the scene; while the son, who is relatively close, is modified by the proximate demonstrative (correlating to the proximate adverb *iâ* "here").

One final example of the projected use is shown in the following example. A boy is travelling on a bicycle, and is passed by a girl heading in the opposite direction. "That" direction means the opposite direction to that in which he is travelling, revealing that the deictic centre has been projected onto the boy himself:

(1141) *motavajeye*   *kəla*   *xânum* *ki*   *b-a,*   *â-gardəst-a*

noticing   girl   woman COMP was-3S PVB-turned.back-3S

a   *tarâ*   *[ASP14]*

DEMD direction

'Paying attention to the girl as he was, he turned back in that direction.'

8.8.1.3   Anaphoric and Discourse-Deictic Uses

The discussion so far has focussed on uses of demonstratives which are in some way connected to the relationship between the text-external and text-internal worlds. We turn now to pure text-internal uses.

Diessel (1999, p.6) follows Levinson (1983), Fillmore (1997) and others in distinguishing anaphoric demonstratives from discourse deictic demonstratives. Both must be interpreted with reference to endophoric entities; that is, entities which are anchored within the text world in some way. Anaphoric demonstratives are co-referential with a noun or noun phrase in the previous discourse, whereas discourse deictic demonstratives refer to propositions or speech acts (Diessel 1999, p.95).

The most common use of the proximate demonstrative *əm* "this" is in such anaphoric contexts, used co-referentially with a noun or noun phrase. Consider the following sentences, which follow each other almost consecutively in the ASB text, and note how demonstrative pronouns are used to track the two main participants (a "baldy" and his uncle) introduced in the first sentence:

(1142) *i-la*   *pis=i*   *hes*   *b-a*   *ki*   **əštan** **amu** *kəla=râ*

       a-CL   baldy=IND   exist was-3S REL   self   uncle girl=for

       da-gənəst-a=b-a   *…*

       PVB-fallen-PTC=AUX-3S

       'There was a baldy who had fallen for his uncle's daughter …'

(1143) *vali*   **cimi**   **amu**   *n-a-pi=b-a*

       but   POSSP.3S   uncle   NEG-AUG-want=AUX-3S

       'but this uncle of his was not willing'

       […]

(1144) **əm**   **zua**

       DEMP   boy

       'This boy' (kept pestering his uncle, but his uncle was opposed to giving her in marriage).

       […]

(1145) **əm**   **pis-i**   *har*   *jur=i*   *naxša* *kašt=a*

       DEMP   baldy-OB   every way=IND   plan   drew=TR

'This baldy kept concocting plans' (to go and carry off the girl, but he couldn't).

[...]

(1146) *âxər   i   ruz=i   **əm**   **amu**   pis-i   gat-a   …*

finally   one   day=IND DEMP uncle   baldy-OB   got-PTC

'Finally one day this uncle, having got hold of the baldy …'

The bald boy is introduced in (1142) with a heavy indefinite-article-plus-clitic combination, signalling that he will be a salient participant in the narrative: it turns out that he is the hero of the story. Subsequently, explicit references to him are frequently modified by the proximate demonstrative, which is also used in the final sentence of the example to modify the uncle when he takes over the action for the next few clauses.

Demonstratives may also be used in this anaphoric sense to establish a spatial frame of reference. The following example shows how two sets of participants are introduced, before an opposition is set up between proximate and distal demonstratives. This opposition then serves as a device to keep one set of participants onstage, while the other set is dismissed for the time being:

(1147) *"There was a lady … who had two daughters-in-law and two sons. The boys used to get up in the morning and go out with their flock."*

(1148) *a   mâl-un=na   a-š-in.*

DEMD   cattle-OB.P=with   AUG-go-IMPF.3P

'They were going with **those** cattle.'

[...]

(1149) *əm   vayu=ni   cə   a-kar-in?   [ASM]*

DEMP   bride=also   what? AUG-do-IMPF.3P

'As for **these** brides, what were they doing?

Example (1150) presents a selection of three clauses which occur at different points of a pear-picking episode. In the first two clauses, the nominal modified by the demonstrative *əm* "this" is co-referential anaphorically to a referent which is already active in the hearer's mental representation. By the time of the third clause, however, there has been sufficient other activity that the pear which had fallen needs to be reactivated; hence the relevant nominal is modified with a distal demonstrative *a* "that":

(1150) *əm*   *xəj-un*   *kâr = a*   *ci-e*

DEMP   pear-OB.P   PROG=3S   pick-INF

'He is picking these pears.   …'

[…]

(1151) *i-la*   *əm*   *xəj-un = kâ*   *vi-gənəst-a*   *hatâ*   *rəna*   *dela = kâ*

one-CL   DEMP   pear-OB.P=LOC   PVB-fell-3S   thus   straw   in=LOC

'One of these pears had fallen in the straw.   …'

[…]

(1152) *a*   *xəj-i*   *ki*   *vi-gənəst-a = b-a*   [ASP4,5,7]

DEMD   pear-RCH   REL   PVB-fall-PTC=AUX-3S

'That pear which had fallen … [he cleaned it].'

The discourse-deictic use, whereby the demonstrative refers to a proposition rather than a specific noun phrase, is demonstrated by the following examples, which come from two separate stories:

(1153) *dâstân-i*   *ki*   *ama*   *deišti = mun = a*   *əm*   *ravâyat*   *b-a*   *ki… [ASP1]*

story-RCH   REL   1P   saw=1P=TR   DEMP   form   was-3S   COMP

'The story that we saw was like this …'

(1154) *əm*   *žen-un*   *cimi = râ*   *əm*   *kard = a,*

DEMP   woman-P   POSSP.3S=for   DEMP   did=TR

xəsərg-i = š   *vât = a …*   *[ASM]*

mother.in.law-OB=3S   said=TR

'These women did this to her, (one) said to the mother-in-law:'

In (1153) the demonstrative refers to the form that the whole narrative will take; while in (1154) the second demonstrative in the clause refers to a series of subsequent clauses which will describe the various troublesome tasks the women impose upon their mother-in-law. Both of these are cataphoric instances of the discourse-deictic use, in that they point forwards rather than backwards in the text.

8.8.1.4   Recognitional and Introductory Uses

Himmelmann (1996) argues for the existence of a recognitional use for demonstratives, whereby specific shared knowledge between speakers is activated, rather

than any referent in the preceding discourse (anaphoric) or surrounding situation (symbolic). One example he cites is:

(1155) *… it was filmed in California,* **those** *dusty kind of hills that they have out here in*

Stockton and all, … so … (Himmelmann 1996, p.230)

Such usage is rare and there are no examples in the corpus. However, it is important to avoid confusing such usage with demonstratives which perform an introductory function:

(1156) *a* *vaxt-un* **əm** **kâsa-e** *hest* *b-in* *[ASM]*

   DEMD time-OB.P DEMP bowl-P exist was-3P

   'In those days there were **these bowls**.'

(1157) *nana* *sar=əš* *pe-gat=a,* *vi-xâst=əš=a* **əm** **gəl** *âv-i=kâ [ASA]*

   mother head=3s PVB-took=TR PVB-plunged=3S=TR DEMP boiling water-OB=LOC

   "The mother took her head and plunged it into **this boiling water**.'

In these examples above, the relevant demonstratives are performing a function akin to that of the indefinite determiner: introducing a new participant or prop which has not formed part of the previous speech situation or surrounding discourse, nor is part of the knowledge shared by the narrator and his or her audience.

8.8.2 The Proximate-Distal Contrast in Demonstrative Usage

Roberts (2009) argues that in Persian, text-internal reference to a discourse theme or topic consistently has precedence over gestural reference to a physical aspect of the communication situation. He cites examples such as:

(1158) *mi-guyad …* *in* *man* *na-bud-am* *ke* *ānjā*   *bud-am*

   IPFV-say.PRES-3sg this PN.1sg NEG-be.PAST-1sg CLM that.place be.PAST-1sg

   "He says, "… it was not me who was there"" (Roberts 2009, p.253)[154]

He observes that "the use of ānjā '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'. … In English 'that' would be used here" (Roberts 2009, p.253). He also asserts 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 discouse external context" (ibid, p.255).

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[154] Roberts' abbreviations are as follows: IPFV "imperfective", PRES "present", PN "pronoun", NEG "negative", CLM "clause linkage marker", sg "singular". The free translation here is amended from Roberts' original.

This section explores the relationship between exophoric and endophoric reference in Taleshi through its use of nominal demonstratives, before illustrating how the proximate-distal contrast is worked out in third person possessive pronouns.

8.8.2.1   Nominal Demonstratives

Like Persian, Taleshi exhibits a preference for giving precedence to a proximate reference over a distal one. Consider the following three examples:

(1159) əmsafar šəma   ma-š-irun   a-i   pe-ma-ger-un   ma-r-irun …

later   2P   PHB-go-2P   DEMD-OB   PVB-PHB-take-2P   PHB-eat-2P

'Later on, don't you go and take that and eat it.'

əm-e   š-un   harci   b-a   əm   âšmâš-e=šun   hard=in [ASA]

DEMP-P went-3P whatever was-3S DEMP stew-P=3P   ate=TR.P

'These went and ate whatever of this stew there was.'

(1160) əm   cə   kâr=i   b-a   tə   kard=a?   [ASB44]

DEMP what? deed=IND   was-3S 2S   did=TR

'What kind of deed was that which you did?!'

(1161) əm   cici=a   iâ?   [ASB55]

DEMP what?=COP.3S   here

'What is that in there?'

In the direct speech of the first clause in (1159), the owners of the stew refer to it with the demonstrative *a*, which could potentially be interpreted anaphorically or gesturally. In the second clause, however, it becomes clear from the demonstrative *əm* in the phrase "this stew" that a gestural use is intended. A distal, anaphoric reference here would have been equally successful in denoting the referent; but Taleshi prefers the proximate reference option.

In (1160), the preference is again for *əm*. The baldy had told his uncle a lie, as a result of which the uncle's house burned down. Now the uncle has returned to the site of his ruined house and is accusing his nephew of telling the lie. The demonstrative refers to the lie which the nephew told some time ago, but it is not a distal, anaphoric demonstrative; rather, the uncle uses a proximate demonstrative referring to the house, the visible evidence of the wrongness of the nephew's action.

In (1161) a shepherd approaches the baldy, who is tied up inside a sack, and asks him what is in the sack. English would usually prefer "What is that in there?", but the shepherd uses proximate expressions (*əm* 'this' and *iâ* 'here'), literally asking "What is this in here?" although he is an observer looking on from outside the sack.

This preference, however, is not universally applied. In example (1162), the hero of the story has already mentioned the king's daughter, who is far away in the king's palace. He then quotes the king's messengers, who have recently visited to tell him he must marry the princess. He uses the demonstrative *əm* "this" to refer to the princess, because she is already activated in the mental representation of the baldy's hearer within the story. Because we have a text within a text here, the demonstrative can be considered from two perspectives simultaneously. For the baldy's hearer within the text world, the usage is anaphoric: the demonstrative refers back to something he has already heard. For us, the usage is projected: the discourse centre is projected onto the text-internal speech situation.

(1162)	*tə*	*basi*	*b-â-i*	*əm*	*šâ*	*kəla*	*bə-bar-i*	*[ASB58]*
	2S	must	SBJ-come-2S	DEMP	king	daughter	SBJ-take-2S	

'You must come and take this king's daughter (in marriage).'

In example (1163) an anaphoric demonstrative is again used to refer to a physical object:

(1163)	*a*	*tele-ye*	*ca=râ*	*mand-in*	*[ASB79]*
	DEMD	gold-P	POSSD.3S=for	remained-3P	

'Those gold pieces were left over for him.'

This clause forms part of the end of a story, where the hero inherits the gold which has been mentioned earlier. Given that the precise location of the gold is not significant, the narrator chooses instead to use an anaphoric demonstrative to reactivate the gold in the hearer's mental representation, thus helping to pull all the strings of the narrative together at its conclusion.

Finally, examples (1164) and (1165) illustrate how the proximate/distal distinction applies when the narrator is describing scenes from a film. In the Asalemi sequence, the closing episodes of the story describe participants shown in the distance (all marked with *a*), except for one shot where some boys are shown in close-up (the penultimate line in the example) – and *əm* is used:

(1164) a   rafeğ-e a   səng-ə=ni   ki   ua   vi-gənəst-a=b-a

DEMD   friend-P DEMP   stone-OB=also   REL   there   PVB-fell-PTC=AUX-3S

a=šun   pe-gat=a   …   kâ=b-in   âm-e

DEMD=3P   PVB-picked.up=TR   PROG=AUX-3P   come-INF

'Those friends picked up that stone which had fallen there. … They were coming along'

[…]

ki   a   xəjacin   dâr-i=kâ   vir-ma   …   vind=əš=a

COMP DEMD   pear.picker   tree-OB=LOC   PVB-came.down.3S   saw=3S=TR

'when that pear picker came down from the tree … and saw'

hala   əm-e   əm   xəj-a   dâr-i   da-rast-a-ni-n

yet   DEMP-P DEMP   tree-LNK   tree-OB PVB-arrived-PTC-NEG-3P

'these (boys) have not yet arrived at this pear tree.'

[…]

de   a-e   âm-in   daivârd-in   š-in.   [ASP23,24,28]

so   DEMD-P came-3P   passed.by-3P   went-3P

'So they came, passed by and went on.'

In the Anbaran Mahalle sequence, the boys, man and pears are all described with proximate demonstratives until the final line, which refers to the man with a distal demonstrative. We suggest that the proximate demonstratives are all anaphoric, referring to referents which are all activated for the listener. The final demonstrative, on the other hand, is gestural, reflecting the increasing distance between the gardener in the story world, which is now ending, and the narrator and his listeners in the real world.

(1165) əm   hərdan-en=in xəj-ə   hard=a hard=a=in   um-en   daivard-in,

DEMP   child-P=3P   pear-OB eat=LOC   eat=LOC=3P   came-3P   passed.by-3P

əm   merd-ə   de   tasavâr   nə-kard=e   ki

DEMP   man-OB   anyway   imagine   NEG-did=TR   COMP

əm   cəmə jaba   xəc-un=ku   hard-e=da=in yâ jâ   vəra=ku=šun=e

DEMP   POSS.1S box   pear-P=LOC   eat-INF=LOC=3P or place other=LOC=3P=TR

cini-a.   hərdan-en daivard-in   bə-š-in   b-a   taraf,

picked-PTC   child-P   passed.by-3P SBJ-go-3P   to-DEMD   direction

hanuz=an	*a*	*merd*	*hala*	*əštan*	*du=bənd=a*	[AMP11-12]
still=also	DEMD	man	yet	self	tree=under=COP.3S	

'These children, eating pears, come to pass by. Of course this man could not think whether these (boys) were eating from "my" box of pears or had picked them from another place. The children passed by to go in that direction; still that man remained under his tree.'

8.8.2.2 Possessive Pronouns

Table 18 (§3.8.4 above) set out a contrast between proximate and distal possessive pronouns. Note that the proximity or distance in question relates to the *possessor*, not the *possessum*. We explore this contrast here by setting out contrasting examples from a single Masali text, before briefly illustrating the same contrast between two Asalemi examples.

In examples (1166) and (1167), the distal possessive pronoun *ce* refers to an entity referred to by *a* in the previous clause. In example (1168) a contrast is drawn between the mouse, on "this side", and the fox and the bear on the other. Hence the bear is removed from the deictic centre, and referred to by *ce* and *a*. Example (1169) again sets up a contrast between *az*, "I", and "my brother-in-law", who is absent from the scene. Again, the brother is therefore referred to with *ce*.

(1166)	*a*	*əspa*	*bə-kəš-ə*	*ce*	*kalla*	*mağz-i*	*pi-ger-ə* [MCB]
	DEMD	horse	SBJ-kill-3S	POSSD.3S	skull	brain-OB	PVB.SBJ-take-3S

'He should kill that horse (and take its brains).'

(1167)	*a*	*kəšt-a=m=a*	*ce*	*kalla*	*vin-i*	*â*	*nu-a=m=a* [MCB]
	DEMD	killed-PTC=1S=TR	POSSD.3S	skull	see-2S	there	put-PTC=1S=TR

'I have killed him – you see his skull, I have put (it) there.'

(1168)	*əm*	*var-i*	*muša*	*gəla*	*xumâr.*	*libâs*	*xumâr,*
	DEMP	side-OB	mouse	CL	depressed	fox	depressed
	xərs	*badbaxt.*	*ce*	*asp-i=š*	*a-i=ku*	*ji-get=a* [MCB]	
	bear	wretched	POSSD.3S	horse-OB=3S	3S-OB=LOC	PVB-stole=TR	

'On this side is the mouse, depressed. The fox is depressed, the bear wretched. He stole the horse from him.'

(1169) *az*   *n＝imâ*   *cəmən* *bərvarazâ＝yâ,*

1S   NEG=COP.1S.PST   POSS.1S brother-in-law=COP.3S.PST

xodâ   *ce*   *ka*   *xarâba*   *bə-kar-u*   [MCB]

God   POSSD.3S   house   destroyed   SBJ-do-3S

'It was not me, it was my brother-in-law! May God destroy his house.'

In the following three examples, proximate *cimi* is used instead of distal *ce*. In example (1170) the nephew arrives at his own house, and his physical presence is witnessed by his uncle. Meanwhile in examples (1171) and (1172), the same participant referred to with *əm* is then referred to with *cimi* shortly afterwards:

(1170) *vaxt-i*   *kə*   *əštan*   *ka＝ku*   *â-ras-ə,*

when-RCH REL   self   house=LOC   PVB-arrive-3S

cimi   *amu*   *vin-ə*   [MCB]

POSSP.3S   uncle   see-3S

'When he arrives at his own house, his uncle sees.'

(1171) *əm*   *pisakula*   *az*   *gir*   *bu-war-əm …*

DEMP   baldy   1S   involve   SBJ-bring-1S

az＝ni   *bə-šu-m*   *cimi*   *dumla*   [MCB]

1S=also   SBJ-go-1S   POSSP.3S   after

'I should get hold of this baldy … and also go after him.'[155]

(1172) *vâ*   *əm-i*   *ger-ən …*   *muš*   *cimi*   *i-la*   *cem＝i*

say.3S   DEMP-OB   IMP.get-2P   mouse   POSSP.3S   a-CL   eye=IND

kan-ə   [MCB]

dig-3S

'He says, 'Get him!' … The mouse gouges out one of his eyes.'

In a couple of instances in Masali texts, *cimi* and *ce* are used consecutively for closely related referents as part of a list. We take this to be an alternation for stylistic purposes. For example:

(1173) *cimi*   *izəm-i*   *bar-ə,*   *ce*   *xâl-i*   *bar-ə*   [MSS57]

POSSP.3S   timber-OB   take-3S   POSSD.3S branch-OB   take-3S

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[155] This example also illustrates how pronouns in Asalemi take the possessive, not the oblique case, when followed by postpositions.

'He takes its timber, he takes its branches.'

Finally in this regard, the last two examples illustrate the same proximate-distal distinction in Asalemi, this time with plural possessive pronouns. In example (1174) the bandits guard their own sacks so that other thieves will not come and take them. Proximate *cumun* is used to refer to them, as subjects in the immediately preceding clause. In example (1175), the thief leaves his own sacks behind and steals theirs – that is, the bandits'. In this case distal *camun* is used to refer to the bandits, who are no longer at the deictic centre.

(1174) *əm-e*   *damand=in*   *negahbâni*   *du-e*   *ki*   *dəzd-e* *n-â-n*

DEMP-P PROG=3P   guard   do-INF COMP thief-P NEG.SBJ-come-3P

cumun   *kisa-mun*   *nə-bar-un*   [ASB27]

POSSP.3P   sack-OB.P   NEG.SBJ-carry-3P

'They were standing guard so that thieves would not come and take their sacks.'

(1175) *əm*   *pis-i*   *əštan* *kis-e* *iâ*   *nâ=n*

DEMP   baldy-OB   self   sack-P here put=TR.P

camun   *kis-e=yəš*   *ž=in*   *əštan* *asb-i* [ASB31]

POSSD.3P   sack-P=3S   put=TR.P   self   horse-OB

'This baldy put his own sacks here; he loaded their sacks onto his horse.'

9 Intelligibility and Language Contact

9.1 Introduction

This chapter considers how the three Taleshi dialects of Anbaran, Asalem and Masal relate to each other and to the languages around them, both sociolinguistically and grammatically.

The first part of the chapter presents the findings of sociolinguistic survey conducted during the two research trips. In addition to eliciting wordlists and texts, we also conducted recorded text testing and sociolinguistic interviews. Our results confirmed the common linguistic division of the Taleshi dialect continuum in Iran into three areas, and established levels of intelligibility between and ethnolinguistic vitality within these areas. §9.2 sets out the research methodology of the survey; §9.3 the results of applying this methodology; and §9.4 some sociolinguistic conclusions.

The second part of the chapter presents a selective summary of evidence for language change in Taleshi, with a special focus on the Persianization of the Masali dialect.

9.2 Research methodology

9.2.1 Purpose, Goals and Research Questions

The purpose of this survey was to establish language and speech variety boundaries for Taleshi in Iran.

The goals were:

(1) To determine the basic speech varieties of Taleshi. The area is well known for its profusion of different dialects, with reports that varieties only a few kilometres apart display only partial mutual intelligibility. Therefore our research questions included:

   a. Can the region be divided into areas within which speakers can fully understand each other's speech?

   b. If so, what are these areas?

   c. What is the intelligibility of the most central area's representative speech variety to speakers in the other areas?

   d. What is the linguistic similarity between the dialects spoken in these different areas, at the phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical levels?

(2) <u>To investigate the sociolinguistic attitudes of Taleshi speakers.</u>

      a. What attitudes do Taleshi speakers have towards dialects of Taleshi and their use?

      b. What attitudes do Taleshi speakers have towards other languages in the area, especially Persian and Turkish?

(3) <u>To understand language use patterns of Taleshi within the community.</u>

      a. Which languages are used in the home and for social interaction?

      b. Which languages are used in other domains (including education, trade, work and for official business)?

9.2.2 Research Methods

9.2.2.1 General Points

The language for all elicitation and communication with respondents was Persian. In a very few instances where elderly respondents were not confident communicating in Persian, an interpreter was used to translate elicitation prompts into their own dialect of Taleshi.

All texts and elicitation lists (except for the 114-word lists) were digitally recorded using an Audiotechnica ATM63HE microphone and Sony MZ-RH1 Mini-disc recorder. Respondents were invited to listen to their own voice after recording to confirm that the recordings they had made were acceptable.

In all cases where recording was carried out, the nature and purpose of the research was explained to the respondent, and they were invited to sign a consent form which had been translated into Persian. All were happy to put their signature to this.

9.2.2.2 Sampling

Local government granted us research permission in the area on the understanding that we would focus on grammatical description. We were therefore unable to conduct sociolinguistic research on a large scale, nor to select random samples. This lack of randomness was of less concern for wordlists and dialect intelligibility testing (which are commonly uniform across communities), but did risk compromising the statistical validity of our attitude and language use questionnaires. We minimised this risk in two ways: by selecting the widest possible range of respondents in terms of age, education and gender; and by conducting some informal interviews with groups, where we sought to establish a consensus.

9.2.2.3   Rapid Appraisal

In 2006 we used a 114-word list for elicitation of wordlists in five areas: Anbarane Bala, Hashtpar, Alladeh, Rezvanshahr and Masal. The wordlist was based on one developed by Carleton and Carleton (1987) for use with Iranian Balochi. It included 76 words from the Swadesh 100 Word List, and all were chosen on the basis of Iranian cultural relevance, common usage, and to represent a variety of parts of speech. Two words from the original list – 'mango' and 'parrot' – were omitted, because neither of these items is indigenous to the Talesh area and so the Persian words are always used. The words were elicited using Persian; where the language helper could think of more than one Taleshi equivalent, preference was given to words which met the most of three criteria: vernacular (rather than Persian, Turkish or Gilaki); semantically central to the concept in question; and considered by the language consultant to be more common than the alternative(s) in normal speech.

The wordlists were transcribed live, and recorded onto tape cassette. The transcriptions were subsequently checked against the recordings and entered into a computer. During the rapid appraisal we also used informal interviews and observation; these techniques are described in more detail below.

9.2.2.4   Text Recordings

Two techniques were employed for eliciting texts. Firstly, respondents were told they would be shown a six-minute long film displaying a series of connected events with no speech or commentary, and then asked to describe what they had seen. They were then shown the "Pear Film", a film developed expressly to stimulate texts with interesting discourse features (see Chafe 1980). After seeing the film they were asked if they had understood the film's plot, then shown the film once again and asked to tell the story themselves in their own dialect of Taleshi, using as few Persian words as possible. The purpose of this exercise was to collect a set of natural speech recordings in different dialect areas which, because they described the exact same series of events, could constitute a basis for comparative analysis. Such texts were elicited, transcribed and translated in the following locations:

Table 57: Locations for recording the "Pear Film"

Dialect Area	Location
Northern	Anbarane Bala
	Aminjan
	Anbaran Mahalle
Northern/Central	Vizne
Central	Jokandan
	Khaleh Sara
	Alladeh
Southern	Taskuh
	Masule
Southern Tati	Kolur

The second technique was to invite respondents to tell a traditional Taleshi story or, failing that, narrate a personal recollection. Again they were encouraged to speak in their own dialect of Taleshi, using as few Persian words as possible. This technique was used extensively in the three research centres described in §1.1.1 and also to elicit a handful of texts in the other areas listed in the above table. A full list of texts referred to here, together with place-names and the length of each recording, is given in Appendix A.

9.2.2.5   Elicitation Lists

In order to collect some specific grammatical forms, elicitation lists were used with a selected consultant in Anbaran, Alladeh and Masal: a list of 254 phrases and sentences focussing on the verb phrase, and another of 233 phrases and sentences focussing on the noun phrase. These lists drew on ideas in elicitation lists presented in Bouquiaux and Thomas (1992);[156] the Manchester University Romani Project webpages; and unpublished data on Taleshi collated by the linguist Don Stilo.

Additional elicitation lists focussing on cleft clause and possessive phrase grammaticality judgements and on human and animal kinship terms were also collected from consultants in the same areas.

9.2.2.6   Recorded Text Testing

The Recorded Text Test (RTT) is a form of dialect intelligibility testing first described by Casad (1974), in which a short text is recorded by a mother tongue speaker of one dialect, and then played twice for speakers of another dialect; the second time around, playback is

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[156] Guizzo's (2003) dissertation also uses elicitation lists from that volume.

interspersed either with comprehension questions, or with invitations to retell the section they have just heard in their own words.

For our purposes here the narrative text elicited in Alladeh, Asalem by showing the Pear Film was used, after mother tongue Asalemi speakers confirmed that this recording was a good representation of the central dialect. The text was played to several respondents in the northern and southern dialect areas as a means of assessing how intelligible the central dialect was to them. Test candidates were categorized by whether or not they had had significant prior exposure to this dialect. We defined significant prior exposure according to two criteria:

a. They had visited the area and interacted with local speakers at least twice per year for at least three years; and/or

b. They had stayed in the area and interacted with local speakers at least once for a minimum of one week.

An interlinearized transcription of this text is provided at Appendix B, while a list of key information points in each section of the text which respondents were required to mention explicitly is given in §9.5. The retelling method was used: the respondent answered some basic autobiographical questions (name, age, place of birth, and places lived and visited), then listened to the whole story once on headphones. They were then asked whether or not the story was easy to understand, and how similar the speaker's dialect was to their own. They were then played the story again section by section, and invited to retell each section in Persian. For each section of the retelling they were scored out of 3, giving a total score of 21. A score of 3 meant that they included all the key details; a score of 2 meant they included most of the key details; a score of 1 that they included some of the key details; and a score of 0, none at all.

An equivalent text in the respondent's own dialect (northern or southern) was pilot-tested on an individual in each area, to ensure the reliability and validity of the testing methodology.

9.2.2.7   Informal Sociolinguistic Interviews and Observation

A number of informal sociolinguistic interviews were conducted throughout the research area, focussing on the question areas outlined in Appendix D. Answers were recorded in writing either during or immediately after interviews. Language use patterns of Taleshi speakers in a large variety of communicational contexts were also observed.

9.3   Results

9.3.1   Linguistic Similarity: Wordlists, Texts and Elicitation Lists

Wordlist collection during 2006 yielded the following approximate cognate percentages:

Table 58: Percentages of cognates found in the 114-word list

	Anbaran-e Ardabil	Hashtpar	Allahdeh	Rezvanshahr
Hashtpar	*80*			
Allahdeh	*81*	*89*		
Rezvanshahr	*80*	*87*	*97*	
Masal	*76*	*83*	*86*	*87*

9.3.2   Inherent Intelligibility: Recorded Text Testing

Average scores out of 21 for test candidates from Anbaran (22 candidates, 9 with high exposure to Asalemi) and Masal (16 candidates, 3 with high exposure) are shown in Figure 25 below:

Figure 25: Average RTT test scores for candidates in Anbaran and Masal
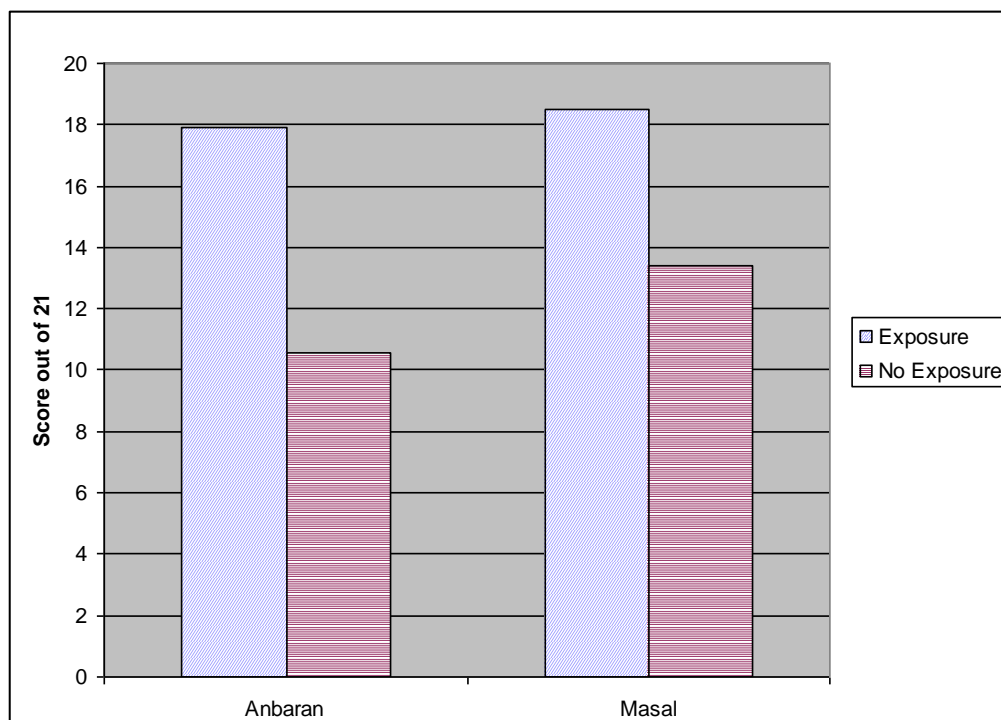
These findings suggest that the inherent intelligibility of Asalemi for Anbarani speakers is around 50%, although this rises to between 80 and 90% after a significant level of exposure to the central dialect. The level of inherent intelligibility of Asalemi for Masali speakers is a little higher – nearly 65%, while intelligibility after high exposure again rises to nearly 90%.

During informal interviews in Anbaran, respondents of all generations unanimously reported that they had no difficulty conversing in Taleshi with speakers in neighbouring Azerbaijan; many had visited friends or relatives there, and almost all had received visitors from Azerbaijan in their homes. They also reported that they could not understand Taleshi speakers from the southern dialect area, and so spoke with them in Persian. Speakers from Masal and Shanderman reported reciprocal difficulties.

9.3.3   Attitudes and Use Patterns: Interviews and Observation

Almost all Talesh we asked felt that only the older generation now spoke really pure Taleshi, a conviction they also demonstrated through repeatedly recommending men and women over 60 years old as the best representatives of the language for recording purposes. Even among this section of the population we found that Persian had had a big impact, especially on the lexicon; and the further south we went in the Talesh region, the more marked this impact was (contrary to claims by some Talesh further north that Masal-Shanderman constituted the Talesh linguistic heartland). Very few were familiar with reading Taleshi, though we met one Anbarani man who was keen to translate some surahs of the Quran into his dialect (Taleshi religious authorities had discouraged him from translating the whole Quran, on the basis that he would have to resort to Persian for so many of the technical words). In the central area, one poet reported that Taleshi poetry and music makes a significant contribution to local Talesh people's ethno-linguistic identity in 60-80% of cases.

Another gradual continuum we had been expecting to find was an increasingly strong Turkish influence the further north we went from Asalem, and an increasingly strong Gilaki influence to the south. In fact, the picture was more complex. Turkish is certainly the language of economic power in Hashtpar; we discovered that most Talesh in Jokandan had switched to speaking Turkish in the home; and our recordings of northern Taleshi speakers living in Ardebil and Anbaran Mahalle sounded very Turkish to Talesh from further south. On the other hand, respondents in Vizne reported the proportion of Turkish-speakers in their area at around 10% (with Persian speakers at only 2%); while in central Anbaran Ardebil, the heartland of northern Taleshi within Iran, we found a marked antipathy to Turkish amongst younger and middle-aged people (although they acknowledged that many of the surrounding villages were shifting away from Taleshi to Turkish). Hence it seems too early to say that Turkish is "taking over" Taleshi

north of Hashtpar: the picture is more fine-grained, and dependent on the interaction of several variables.

As for language contact in the southern area, anecdotal evidence suggests that the influence of Gilaki has been patchy: amongst communities who trade regularly with Gilaki-speakers, proficiency in Gilaki may be high (especially amongst the male population); but in other areas, such as Masule, Persian is very influential but Gilaki much less so.

With regard to Persian, we found very few people who could not converse with us fluently. The exceptions were a very few elderly people (whose difficulty may have been more that they did not know us than that they could not speak Persian); and a father and son in one rural community (Cətbən) in the Shanderman district who appeared to have received little schooling and whose Persian may have been around 3+ on the Interagency Language Roundtable (ILR) scale.[157] Only a handful of parents reported speaking Taleshi consistently to their children: three fathers in Asalem and one in Masule (out of thirty questioned). Parents repeatedly explained to us that they preferred to speak Persian to their children, because otherwise they might grow up with a noticeable Taleshi accent when they spoke Persian, which would make it more difficult for them to find a good job. Meanwhile, although a group of teenage boys in Anbaran Ardebil claimed they spoke only Taleshi in the home and with each other, we observed that children generally replied in Persian to their parents even if the latter spoke to them in Taleshi.

A disparate set of local scholars work on Taleshi sporadically. In addition to the works cited in the bibliography, various MA theses have been written on aspects of Taleshi grammar at Gilan University, along with a Taleshi-Persian dictionary; and there are plans there to introduce an undergraduate course on Taleshi.

9.4   Conclusions

Although only a limited number of respondents were available to contribute to this survey, nonetheless the following conclusions may tentatively be reached:

i. Taleshi remains the dominant language in informal domains for many aged 25 and over, albeit mixed with a high volume of Persian and/or Turkish loanwords in many areas.

ii. Taleshi is mostly spoken by middle-aged and older people. The younger generation (0-25 years) are experiencing language shift to Persian (with some shift to Turkish in private domains north of Asalem), although this process is neither complete nor ubiquitous.

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[157] The levels are described in Interagency Language Roundtable (2004).

iii. The three main dialects are not immediately mutually intelligible; however, Asalemi becomes 90% intelligible to northern and southern dialect speakers after significant exposure (see definition above, section 9.2.2.6).

iv. Language attitudes to Taleshi for use in the home and as a medium for artistic expression (e.g. songs and poetry) are generally positive, However, most parents preferred their children to learn Persian, to which attitudes were positive across all generations. Most felt that a Taleshi accent was a disadvantage when looking for a job; and many reported that Taleshi was a language whose time was passing.

9.5   RTT test and scoring criteria

9.5.1   Text in English

The story we saw was in this way: a man comes and goes up a pear tree, and is plucking pears.

He plucks pears and throws them one by one into his apron.

He has tied a cloth round his neck too.

He is plucking these pears, bringing them down and throwing them into a basket he has put on the ground.

While he is bringing them down and throwing them into the basket, one of these pears falls down like this into the straw.

He comes, empties out his load and loosens the kerchief around his neck.

He cleans that pear which had fallen to the ground, and empties the whole lot into the basket.

So he goes up into the tree.

Into this situation a man comes along, leading a pregnant goat, a rope thrown around its head.

From the same direction a young boy mounted on a bicycle, a hat on his head, comes and passes under tree.

When he sees the pears, he covets them. He dismounts, picks one of them up to eat, then sees that the man up the tree has not noticed him.

So he picks up the whole basket and puts it on the front of the bicycle.

He set out, and on his way saw a girl on a bicycle, coming towards him.

All his attention fixed on the girl, he turns; the wind blows, and the hat falls off his head.

He was still looking at the girl. The bicycle struck a stone, fell over, and the whole basket spilt.

The whole basket emptied.

After that, two or three of his friends were coming along from the other direction. They came, helped him collect up the basket, and threw all the pears into the basket and put them on his bicycle for him.

His leg had been hurt too. He went limping along with his bicycle when, behind him, his friends noticed his hat.

They whistled for him, and he stopped. They carried the hat over and gave it to him. In exchange he gave them some of those pears as a reward.

He gave them a few.

Those friends picked up that stone which had fallen there, and threw it alongside the track so that a similar incident wouldn't occur.

They were eating those pears, and came to pass underneath the tree when the pear picker came down and saw that one of his baskets is missing.

He looked and saw that two or three children are coming along, eating pears and passing by.

He thought to himself, and saw that now they have arrived at the pear tree. Should he ask them whether they have taken his pears or not? So they come and pass by, and this man is left standing there with his baskets in front of him.

9.5.2   Section 1 (0-22.2 seconds)

Man goes up – picking pear tree – picks pears, pours in apron – cloth round neck – picks pears, pours into basket on ground.

9.5.3   Section 2 (-44.5)

While carrying, one pear falls on straw/grass – unties kerchief around neck – cleans fallen pear – puts all in basket – goes back up tree – man leads pregnant goat by neck – reaches tree, passes.

9.5.4   Section 3 (-1:03)

Young boy on bicycle – hat on head – comes from there to pass tree – sees pears, wants, dismounts – takes one pear, sees man doesn't notice – takes basket – puts on bicycle.

9.5.5   Section 4 (-1:23)

Sets off – sees girl on bicycle coming opposite – focuses on her, turns that way, wind blows – hat falls from head – hits stone, falls off – whole basket spills.

9.5.6   Section 5 (-1:44)

2 or 3 friends come – collect basket contents – right bicycle – his leg was hurt – he goes slowly with bicycle.

9.5.7   Section 6 (-2:02)

Friend spots his hat – they whistle – he stops – they return hat – he rewards with pears – friends take stone and throw to side so another won't fall.

9.5.8   Section 7 (-2:28 end)

Eating pears – picker descends – sees one basket few – counts – sees 2/3 boys coming, eating pears – thinks whether they took pears – they come, pass by – that man stays, basket in front of him.

9.6   Extra-linguistic factors in language contact

We turn now to consider how the various dialects of Taleshi may be being influenced by contact with the speech varieties around them. In his classic study on language contact,

Weinreich (1953) emphasized the importance of including extra-linguistic factors in any attempted explanation of language change in which contact with another language was involved; since then, various typologies have been proposed to help predict the extent and direction of language change and/or language shift (such as that of Grenoble and Whaley 1998). We therefore list here some sociolinguistic factors which seem to have made a particularly significant contribution to the degree and kind of language contact influence.

a. *Domains of use*: Taleshi is used extensively in the home and socially by older generations, but less so by children and young people. Azeri and Persian (along with some Gilaki nearer Rasht) are the primary codes for social and business interaction, and Persian alone for government and official business and education.

b. *Language Attitudes*: Talesh attitudes to their own language range on a spectrum from pride to self-deprecation. Some actively promote language use and programmes of publication, while more – perhaps the majority – are no longer transmitting Taleshi to their children, preferring to speak to them in Persian. The situation is further complicated by varying perceptions of the domains for which Talesh use is appropriate: some welcome its use for poetry and song, but decry its use for anything other than folk literature. Native Azeri are close neighbours to the Talesh, particularly in northern and central areas; commonly intermarry with them; and share many other cultural links. Further, a good knowledge of Persian is needed to get ahead economically, and now acquired by young people at school if not earlier. For all these reasons, attitudes towards Azeri and Persian are rarely less positive than they are to Taleshi.

c. *Size and Homogeneity*: The 1996 census gives a figure of 2.2 million for the population of Gilan Province, of whom a maximum of half a million may be ethnically Talesh (cf. §1.1). Hajatpour (2004, p.37) gives figures around the 70% mark for proportions of ethnic Talesh in the major Talesh population centres, showing that even there the Talesh population is far from homogeneous. Note too that by no means all ethnic Talesh are proficient in the Taleshi language. Homogeneity varies from north to south: in the north, the Anbaran district is the only area where a network of villages preserves Taleshi in the home, and even here villages are switching to Azeri even in that domain. In the central area and southern areas there are more homogeneous village networks, but speakers in the towns are more disparate.

d. *Potential for mixing*: Taleshi is commonly described in Iran as a dialect of Persian, despite very low levels of intelligibility between the two languages. Hence the borrowing of loanwords and grammatical features from Persian is widely regarded as entirely legitimate. Azeri is

perceived differently, and often referred to as "Turki"; this alongside an Iranian government policy of broadcasting television and radio programmes in Northern Azeri, which helps to reinforce the perception of difference. However, these factors have not stopped Azeri from having a substantial influence on Taleshi (see below).

e. *Literacy*: Levels are very high in Persian, very low in Azeri (agreement has still not been reached on an acceptable orthography for Iranian Azeri in the Arabic script), and almost non-existent in Taleshi, in which print publications are extremely rare except for some volumes of poetry. Local academic studies of the language are written in Persian.

f. *Geography*: The nearby cities of Ardabil and Rasht dwarf Hashtpar, the largest Talesh settlement, and exercise an inevitable influence through their roles as centres for trade, employment and official business. From north to south, on the other hand, the natural boundaries of the Caspian Sea on one side and the Talesh mountain range on the other have helped to keep the Talesh population relatively concentrated, enabling many to continue their traditional patterns of biannual pastoral migration (though see §1.1).

9.7   Language change

Cumulatively, the extra-linguistic factors described in the previous section point to the likelihood of language shift over the coming generations, and also to an environment extremely conducive to language change, especially in the southern area where contact with the related languages of Persian and Gilaki is so high. In the remainder of this chapter we focus on the latter point, and explore ways in which Taleshi – especially Masali – is assimilating to Persian. The consequences of contact with Gilaki constitute an area rich in potential for future investigation, but is not discussed in detail here.

9.7.1   Phonology

Phonic interference is a common feature of language contact. This section considers the effect of language contact with Persian on Taleshi consonants, vowels, and suprasegmental features.

9.7.1.1   Consonants

Where there is dialect variation in voicing, Masali commonly patterns with Persian. For example, in Anbarani and Asalemi 'horn' is [ʃox] with a voiceless final consonant, whereas in Masali and Persian it is [ʃɑɣ], with a voiced final velar fricative. 'Flesh' is [ɡuʒd] in

Anbarani/Asalemi, with a voiced final consonant cluster, whereas in Masali and Persian it is [ɡuʃt], with a voiceless final cluster (cf. §2.2.5).

Various Persian words which contain /st/ clusters, such as dast 'hand', exhibit free variation in Taleshi between the Persian form and a simplified form, e.g. [das]~[dast]. The retention of the cluster is particularly prevalent in Masali.

9.7.1.2   Vowels

Soper (1987, pp.332ff) describes how Uzbek (Turkic), through contact with Tajik (Iranian), has lost its rounded front vowels and a central vowel and taken on the Tajik six vowel system. The reverse process has occurred in the case of contact between Azerbaijani (Turkic) and Taleshi (Iranian), however. Contact with Azerbaijani lies behind the continued significant presence of front vowel [y] in Anbarani, where it is in free variation with its back equivalent [u] (§2.3.1.2). Azerbaijani contains both [y] and [ø] in its vocalic inventory. The incidence of this front vowel diminishes as one progresses south through the Taleshi dialect continuum: it is still found in a number of words in the Central area, but Jirdahi (2008) lists only around fifty core lexical items in Masali which contain it, and a number of these are now pronounced with back vowel [u] by many speakers, especially for words where there is a Persian equivalent which uses this same vowel. [y] is not observed at all in Lazard's (1978) description of Masulei, to the south of Masal.

In Anbarani and Asalemi vowel-raising is observable in words such as 'water' (Anbarani *uv*, Asalemi *ov*) and 'sun' (Asalemi *oftov*). In Masali, on the other hand, the equivalent vowels are fairly open, as they are in Persian: *âv* for water (Persian *âb*), and *âftâv* for 'sun' (Persian *âftâb*). On the other hand, the [o] vowel present in Asalemi and Persian has merged with [u] in the contemporary Masali dialect (in Anbarani it is unstable and sometimes appears in free variation with [u]).

9.7.1.3   Suprasegemental features

All three dialects of Taleshi share a (C)V(C)(C) syllable template with many other Iranian languages, including Persian (§2.4 for Taleshi and Mahootian 1997, p.303 for Persian). As for intonation patterns, §2.7.4 shows that Anbarani and Masali both have falling intonation for content questions, like Persian (Mahootian 1997, p.319). Asalemi, on the other hand, differs from this pattern in having the same falling-rising pattern as all three dialects use with polar questions. This latter pattern may be original to Taleshi.

9.7.2 Morphology

9.7.2.1 Nominal morphology

In the realm of derivational morphology, Masali may use Persian nominal roots to construct compound nouns (§4.2.3). For example, the stem I form for 'cook' is *pej* in Asalemi, *pe* in Masali and *paz* in Persian. Asalemi derives from this the word *âš-pej-giri* stew-cook-taking 'cooking', but in Masali the Persian *âš-pazi* is used. However, other cases exist in which all dialects follow the Persian root. In Anbarani and Asalemi 'flower' is *vəl*, but in Masali and Persian it is *gul*. All three dialects add *dân* to the Persian form to give *gul-dân* 'flower vase' (and the South Azerbaijani form is *güldan*).

Another feature of Persian word-building is similative reduplication, found colloquially in words such as *ciz-miz* 'things' and *qâti-pâti* 'mishmash' from *ciz* 'thing' and *qâti* 'mixed' respectively (Mahootian 1997, p.340). This kind of reduplication is commonly found in Masali narratives; examples are provided in §3.7.

In §3.3.1 we discuss the "indefinite" clitic =*i*. Heine and Kuteva (2005, pp.71f) are among many to note the ambiguity between this element's source (numeral 'one') and target (indefinite article) meanings in many languages. In Persian the equivalent marker may be manifested as *yek*; *yek* plus classifier (commonly *tâ*); as an enclitic =*i*; or in combination <*yek* noun =*i*>. The relative frequencies of each of these manifestations is mapped onto Masali, but differs markedly from the situation in Anbarani and Asalemi. The use of "indefinite" =*i* in isolation is very rare in Anbarani (just one example in response to a Persian elicitation prompt) and Asalemi texts (only in combination with quantifiers), but a little more common in Masali texts and in Persian generally. This suggests that it is a borrowing from Persian which has established itself so far only in southern dialects of Taleshi (it is also found in Vafsi and Gilaki, but only inconsistently).[158] In combination with *i/i-la* (*-la* is the most common Taleshi classifier) it is not found in Anbarani but is reasonably common in Asalemi and Masali (as it is in Persian with *yek*). Finally, in Persian *yek* is much more common in isolation than it is in combination with a classifier. Again, Masali patterns with Persian, as the relative proportions of *i* and *i-la* in the three dialects demonstrate (cf. Table 16).

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[158] Stilo, D. L. (2010) personal communication.

We note also that the use of discourse marker -*a* (mirroring Persian -*e*) occurs only in Masali (in the Masali Pear Story), not in Anbarani or Asalemi (§3.3.1.1).

Haig (2008, p.134) delineates three main types of diachronic change in the case systems of Iranian languages:

> *"(1) Loss of the inherited Direct/Oblique case distinction*
>
> *(2) Intrusion of an innovated Object marker into the case system*
>
> *(3) Revitalization of the inherited Oblique case"*

He observes that it is common for the function of the plural Oblique marker to shift from being a marker of the Oblique Plural to simply marking the opposition Singular vs. Plural, with no accompanying case component. This has clearly occurred for both nouns and non-speech act participant (SAP) pronouns in Anbarani (as de Caro (2006) also describes for Azerbaijani Talyshi) – see §§3.3 and 3.8.1. Haig further notes that some languages have (presumably) innovated a Direct Plural suffix -*e,* while retaining the inherited Oblique Plural -*ā(n)* in its original function. This is the situation in Asalemi and Masali. All three dialects have also lost the Direct/Oblique distinction on SAP-pronouns in plural forms and in the second person singular, but have retained it in the first person singular. This confirms the sequence proposed by Haig (ibid, p.143).

In the first person singular, however, the Direct/Oblique distinction for the pronoun has been retained: *az* vs. *mǝn* (*âz* vs. *mân* in Anbarani). This brings us to the third of Haig's changes: the revitalization of the inherited Oblique case. What Haig (ibid, p.148) terms a "revitalized Oblique marker" has been added to the system in Anbarani, where (as in Azerbaijani Talyshi) it functions as a general object marker in both tenses.

There was no evidence in the corpus of the second change – the intrusion of an innovated Object marker into the case system. However, see De Caro (forthcoming) for discussion of this possibility in Masali.

With regard to changes induced by language contact in this context, §3.9.1 presents the availability of double oblique marking in Masali in transitive past perfective environments, while §4.10.4 discusses the grammaticalization of clitics to verbal endings in Masali (an example of "narrowing" in Heine and Kuteva's (2005) terminology). Both of these changes have had the effect of aligning the verbal system in Masali with that in Persian, which itself has an entirely nominative-accusative system.

Two further features of the Taleshi pronominal system are also worth noting. One is the occasional use of pronominal clitics as possessive markers, by analogy with Persian (§3.5).

The second is the use of indirect object pronouns in Anbarani and Asalemi, a paradigm which Masali has jettisoned in favour of simple oblique pronouns in most cases (cf. §3.8.4).[159] Finally, the usage of the reflexive pronoun *əštan* in Masali alongside motion verbs (with only occasional attestation in Asalemi and none in Anbarani) suggests it may have developed under influence from Gilaki *xu-re* (see §3.8.3).

9.7.2.2   Verbal morphology

Separate verb stems are retained in Asalemi and Masali where they have fallen together in Anbarani; Persian could be an influence here, given the retention of stems such as *xun/xund* (Persian *xân/xând*) and *kəš/kəšt* (Persian *koš/košt*) (Table 23).

Persian contains a large number of light verbs, which may combine with other elements to form complex predicates. This is a feature which S. Azerbaijani has borrowed (Dehghani 2000, p.224); though a key difference is that in Persian the process has led to the obsolescence of the older equivalents, whereas in Azeri, these are generally retained in parallel. While similar constructions appear in all three Taleshi dialects, we argue in §4.2.3 that they are best treated as frozen complement-verb idioms rather than true complex predicates. The number of non-Persian innovations involved in their construction is very small. Meanwhile, responses to elicitation lists included a number of examples where a complex verb was cited for Masali in contrast to a simple verb in the equivalent Anbarani and Asalemi sentences, suggesting that again Persian has had greater influence in southern dialects. While all three dialects make extensive use of preverbs (§4.2.2), Masali resorted more frequently than Anbarani and Asalemi to the inclusion of an additional non-verbal element to create a complex verb construction with a direct Persian cognate. For instance, in the following example *ube / âbe* signifies 'open' in Anbarani and Asalemi, but Masali uses the phrase *bâz âba* 'open became' in parallel with the Persian equivalent *bâz šod* 'open became':

(1176) a.   *žia*   *ângəl*   *u-b-ə*   *[AnVP]*

          rope   knot   PVB-opened-3s

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[159] Since Persian also has such indirect object pronouns, combining preposition *be* 'to' with personal pronominal clitics (Mahootian 1997, p.265), this appears to be an instance where Anbarani and Asalemi are more in line with Persian than Masali.

b. *lâfund-i*   *angəl*   *â-b-a*   [AsVP]

    rope-OB   knot   PVB-opened-3S

c. *tanâb-i*   *angəl*   *bâz*   *â-b-a*   [MaVP]

    rope-OB   knot   open   PVB-became-3S

'The knot came undone.'

In his study of the influence of Persian on the Turkic language Qashqay, Soper (1987, pp.364ff) describes how the simple present tense in the former language does double duty as the normal way of expressing the future, the more formal mechanism – a combination of an auxiliary plus verbal stem – being very rare in colloquial speech (Mahootian 1997, p.238). This feature of Persian/Tajik has had an effect on both Uzbek (where present tense forms can again commonly bear a future sense) and on Qashqay (where there is no longer any definite future tense marker). In Azerbaijani, a derivational form with copular suffix continues to be used (Dehghani 2000, p.122). Anbarani uses a similar form to Azerbaijani, but Asalemi and Masali do combine their present and future tense paradigms like colloquial Persian. Further, in Masali and Persian the verbal endings for this paradigm are suffixes and may not float forward (unlike Asalemi, where mobile clitics are used for personal agreement marking as in the equivalent Anbarani construction).

The Persian progressive form is built with the auxiliary verb *dâštan* 'to have' plus an inflected form of the main verb in the present or (imperfective) past tense, e.g. *dâr-ad mi-bin-ad* AUX-3S IMPF-see-3S 'he is seeing'. In Asalemi the main verb in the equivalent construction is in the infinitive, but in Masali the progressive auxiliary *kərâ* is followed by finite, inflected verb forms like Persian. Note also that *kərâ* is frozen in Masali, whereas in Asalemi a clitic marking person and number attaches to the equivalent form *kâr* (§4.4.2).

Pronominal agent clitics in Anbarani and Asalemi tend to float forwards and attach to the first constituent of the phonologically integral VP. In Masali, however, they usually remain on the verb – as in Persian – suggesting that they are undergoing a process of grammaticalization to become verbal subject markers. The exception to this in Masali is when a constituent is available for attachment in an appropriate subordinate clause; here, Masali observes the older pattern. These processes are set out with examples in §4.10.

Windfuhr (1987, p.392) notes the existence in Persian of an inferential form e.g. *mi-raft-e ast* 'apparently he was going', which developed from the perfective (as witnessed by the perfective -*e* suffix). He comments that this form does not extend into Azerbaijani Talyshi,

probably because of "substantial systemic pressure which did not allow gradual development."
In Anbarani and Asalemi a special form is used to express counterfactual conditionals; but in
Masali, one sentence was elicited which was clearly based on the Persian inferential form just
described (cf. §4.12.1). Note further that concessive conditionals in Asalemi and Masali are
expressed with the concessive particle *bâinki* (from Persian *bâ in ke* 'be it that'), whereas
Anbarani has its own concessive construction.

Haig (2008, pp.305ff) identifies a commonality in many Iranian languages between the
syntax of expressions of desire, obligation and possession, on the one hand, and Past
Transitive Constructions with ergative alignment on the other. He suggests that the parallels
are ultimately rooted in the semantics of "Indirect Participation", which he argues came to be
regularly expressed in Iranian languages with the Genitive case, and later with the Oblique
case and via clitic pronouns.

Both northern and central Taleshi manifest desiderative and possessive constructions
which reinforce such an analysis. In Anbarani and Asalemi 'wanting' is expressed with an
external possessor construction involving the verb *pie*. In Masali, as in Persian, this has been
abandoned in favour of a shortened form of Persian *xâstan* 'to want', which behaves as a
regular transitive verb. Meanwhile, possession is also commonly expressed with an external
possessor construction in Asalemi and Anbarani, as shown in the following two examples:

(1177) a.

agar	i-tka=š	pül	hest	bə	a-vu-i	[AnVP]
if	a-bit=3s	money	exist	was.3s	AUG-come-3s.IMPF	

b.

agam	tika=iši	pul	babe	a-v-i	[AsVP]
if	little=IND.3s	money	IRR.3s	AUG-come-3s.IMPF	

c.

agar	təlâğoli pul	bə-dâr-i	â-i	[MaVP]
if	bit money	SBJ-have-IMPF.3s	come-3s.IMPF	

'If he'd had some money he would have come.'

(1178) a.

mâ=ru	ila=n	ka	hest=e	[AnNP]
1s.OB=for	a-CL=also	house	exist=COP.3s	

b.

mə=râ	diar	ka=ni	hest=a	[AsNP]
1s.OB=for	other	house=also	exist=COP.3s	

c.

az	i-la	ka=ni	dâr-əm	[MaNP]
1s	a-CL	house=also	have-1s	

'I have another house.'

With regard to word order, Taleshi manifests similar patterns to other western Iranian languages. Basic word order is SOV; an indirect object may precede or follow the object, depending on whether it is definite or indefinite; and goals are commonly positioned post-verbally. Further, left dislocation may be used for Points of Departure, and right dislocation for afterthoughts and clarifications. These strategies are all also found in Shahrudi Tati, Gilaki, Sistani Balochi and Persian, for example.[160]

Finally, note that complement-taking verbs take *ke* more commonly in Masali than in Anbarani and Asalemi (Figure 17 of §6.4.2); *ke* is common in this function in Persian too, especially in spoken texts, as shown by Roberts (2009, p.295).

9.7.2.3   Other morphology

Dehghani (2000) lists a number of morphosyntactic borrowings from Persian into Azeri, including some prepositions (e.g. *barâye* 'for'); subordinators (*cun* 'since, because' and *ki* 'relative clause marker'); the conjunction *va* 'and'; derivational affixes such as *bâ* 'with' in e.g. *bâ-adab* 'with manners, polite' and *-istan* 'place' in e.g. *gulistan* 'place of flowers, flower-bed'; and the comparative suffix *-tar* 'more'. In Iranian Taleshi the preposition *barâye*, subordinators *cun* and *ki* and the conjunction *va* can also be found; in Masali, in addition, the *-tar* prefix is an increasingly common way to form comparative adjectives in words such as *kam-tar* 'less' and *bištatar* 'more' (cf. Persian *kamtar* and *bištar*). However, none of the dialects borrow the Persian superlative suffix *-tarin*.

Forms with *bâ-* are not found in the three dialects under investigation here, although words such as *bâ-ârâmi* 'peacefully' and *bâ-gunâ* 'guilty' do occur in Shandermani. Miller (1953) cites similar borrowings into Azerbaijani Talyshi: its conjunctions and particles include *va/və* 'and', *ki* (general subordination) and *-an* (focus particle, derivable from *ham*).

In Persian, the "ezafe construction" is an unstressed *e* placed between the head of a phrase and the modifying elements which follow it. It links a head noun to an adjective (phrase), noun (phrase), adverb (phrase), prepositional phrase or infinitive. It can also link

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[160] See Lockwood and Nabhani (2007) for Gilaki, Barjasteh-Delforooz (2010) for Sistani Balochi, and Roberts (2009) for Persian. For Shahrudi Tati, see the Koluri Pear Story in Appendix B.

adjective, quantifier and prepositional heads to their complements (Mahootian 1997, p.66). Masali texts manifested several adjectives with attributive function borrowing this construction, while in Asalemi the ezafe appeared only very rarely, and usually encliticized to a Persian loanword.[161]

In Persian the preposition *be-* is commonly used to introduce indirect objects and destinations. This use is common in Anbarani (where the word is *ba-*), but rare in Asalemi and Masali except in fixed phrases borrowed directly from Persian (§5.1.3.1). On the other hand, the Persian word *az* 'from' is occasionally used in Masali only – in some fixed phrases borrowed from Persian, and in more Persianized texts (§5.1.3.2).

The definite quantifier *hama* in Masali acts like *hame* in Persian, functioning attributively and as a pronoun; whereas in Anbarani and Asalemi it is only found in a couple of frozen phrases, and the quantifier *gərd* is preferred (cf. §5.4.2).

Persian subordinating *ki/ke* has now been borrowed fully into Iranian Taleshi in both complementizer and relativizer functions, and its usage parallels that in Persian, including its use as an emphatic particle in all three dialects (§5.5.2.1).

The Taleshi equivalents of Persian *ham* (=*an*, =*ani* and =*am* in the three dialects respectively) have developed the same semantic and discourse-pragmatic properties as *ham* has in Persian, including the ability to express 'both … and' (§5.5.1) and to constrain an additive 'furthermore' interpretation (§8.6).

Finally, a number of Persian conjunctions are more common in Masali than in the other two dialects. For example, in Masali *balke* occurs twice in direct elicitation responses to *balke* in the Persian prompt, and *barâye* 'for, on behalf of' three times. Further, *piš* is used for 'before, earlier' where Anbarani and Asalemi have *banâ* and *bana* respectively (§5.1.1.3). Conversely, Anbarani and Asalemi omit *balke* in favour of an intonational break, and favour *cə=ru* 3s.IO=for 'for him' et cetera over *barâye*. The use of the Persian conjunction *agar* 'if' to introduce conditional clauses was restricted to southern dialects: a small number of occurrences in Masali, and rather more in somewhat Persianized Shandermani texts.

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[161] Gilaki has also borrowed this construction from Persian (Stilo 1992, p.662).

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Maps

Gita Shenasi. n.d. *naghsheye rahnamai-ye alborz-e gharbi.* [Map of West Alborz (Gilan).] Map No. 144. Tehran: Gita Shenasi Cartographic and Geographic Organization.

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Appendix A – Record of Texts

The texts listed below are referred to in the main body of the thesis. The references given are the trigraphs used to label example sentences. The length of each text is given in minutes and seconds, except for the Gilaki pear story text which was provided to us in transcribed form.

Accent	Ref	Village	Text	Age	Length
Anbarani	ANP	Anbaran Sofle	Pear Film	50s	03:28
Anbarani	ANR	Kulash	Recollection	60s	03:58
Anbarani	AMP	Anbaran Mahalle	Pear Film	70s	01:39
Asalemi	ASB	Alah Deh	Baldy Story	40s	07:46
Asalemi	ASP	Alah Deh	Pear Film	40s	02:29
Asalemi	ASS	KhalehSara	Pear Film	60s	04:52
Asalemi	ASC	KhalehSara	Traffic Accident	60s	04:26
Asalemi	ASA	Khalifabad	Adi and Gudi	80s	04:35
Asalemi	ASM	Khalifabad	Mother-in-Law	80s	04:12
Jokandani	JOS	Jokandan	Izatu Story	60s	06:34
Jokandani	JOP	Jokandan	Pear Film	60s	03:06
Masali	MAS	Markieh	Alcohol Story	60s	04:55
Masali	MCB	Muslaxuni	Cave and Baldy	60s	07:37
Masali	MNP	Taskuh	Nonsense Poem	70s	04:55
Masali	MSG	Taskuh	Sheep and Goat	70s	06:00
Masali	MBB	Taskuh	Bread Box	70s	07:19
Masali	MSS	Taskuh	Seven Sisters	70s	07:16
Masali	MGS	Taskuh	Ghul Story	30s	05:14
Masali	MLD	Taskuh	LelaDule Story	40s	05:34
Masali	MPS	Taskuh	Pear Film	40s	03:33
Masali	MGP	Tatnesa Digah	Ghul and Pond	60s	18:52
Shandermani	STS	Shanderman	Three Sons	60s	07:03
Shandermani	SDD	Shanderman	Dad and Bidad	70s	14:41
Masulei	MASP	Masule	Pear Film	50s	04:51
Viznei	VIP	Vizne	Pear Film	50s	01:43
Viznei	VIM	Vizne	Pear Film	30s	02:49
Koluri	KPS	Kolur	Pear Film	30s	04:05
Gilaki	GPS	Rasht	Pear Film	30s	n/a

Appendix B – Interlinearized Texts

B1. ANP: Pear Story, Anbaran Ardebil

1 *ilei*   *hes* *bə*   *, ilei*   *nəbə*   .

 i *-le* *=i* *hes* *bə*   *i* *-le* *=i* *nə-* *bə*

 a Cl =Ind exist was.3S a Cl =Ind Neg was.3S

Once upon a time (lit: there was one, there was not one),

2 *i* *rüž* *ila*   *buğavün əštân ânbua*   *du* *saku*   *sərdanda*

 i *rüž* *i* *-la* *buğavün əštân ânbu* *-a* *du* *sa*   *=ku* *sərd*   *=anda*

 a day a Cl gardener self pear Lnk tree head =Loc ladder =Loc

pešabə   .

pe- *š*   *-a*   *=bə*

Pvb went.up Ptc =Aux.3S

One day, a gardener had gone up a ladder into a pear tree.

3 *ânbubə*   *cənina*   .

 ânbu *bə*   *cəni*   *=na*

 pear   was.3S picked =Loc

He was picking pears.

4 *havu*   *xuš* *bə*   *, üsmün âbi* *bə*   .

 havu   *xuš* *bə*   *üsmün âbi* *bə*

 weather good was.3S   sky   blue was.3S

The weather was good, the sky was blue.

5 *livân*   *ba* *šəxšəx* *bin*   .

 liv   *-ân* *ba* *šəxšəx* *b*   *-in*

 leaf   P   to rustle was   3P

The leaves were rustling.

6 *cəniše*   *cəniše*   *akâše*   *ba əštân*

  cəni   =*š*   =*e cəni* =*š*   =*e a-*   *kâ*   =*š*   =*e ba əštân*

  picked =3S   =Tr picked =3S   =Tr Pvb   poured =3S   =Tr to self

dümana .

dümana

apron

He picked and picked, then poured into his apron.

7 *dümanaš*   *pür bə*   , *ašə*   *sâru*

  dümana =*š pür bə*   *a-   š*   -*ə*   *sârü*

  apron   =3S full was.3S   Pvb   went.down   3S.Pst down

akâše   *ba sava*   .

a-   kâ   =*š*   =*e ba sava*

Pvb   poured =3S   =Tr to basket

His apron full, he went down and poured into a basket.

8 *itka   mânde*   , *ila   merd gələš   bəzə   nəxta*

  itka   mând   -*e*   *i*   -*la merd gəl* =*əš bəz* -*ə nəxta*

  a.little remained 3S.Pst a   Cl man Cl   =3S goat Ob leash

gatabə   .

gat   -*a*   =*bə*

got   Ptc   =Aux.3S

After a while, a man with a goat on a lead,

9 *ca   šuxəšan*   *i dâstanda   gatabə*   .

  ca   šux   =*əš*   =*an i dâst* =*anda gat* -*a*   =*bə*

  PossD.3S horn   =3S   =also a hand   =Loc got   Ptc   =Aux.3S

its horns gripped in his hand,

10 *uma   uma   ânbuku   davârde*   .

   uma   uma   ânbu   =*ku da-*   *vârd*   -*e*

   came.3S came.3S pear   =Loc Pvb   passed.by   3S.Pst

came and passed by the pears.

11 *bəzə*   *pia*   *sava*   *âu*   *âmbü*   *pegatə*   .

    bəz   -*ə*   *pi*   -*a*   *sava*   *âu*   *âmbu*   *pe-*   *gat*   -*ə*

    goat   Ob   wanted   3S   basket   there   pear   Pvb.Sbj   pick.up   3S.Sbj

The goat wanted to pick up a pear from the basket there.

12 *bəzə*   *suibə*   *nâhâšte*   .

    bəz   -*ə*   *suib*   -*ə*   *nâ-*   *hâšt*   =*e*

    goat   Ob   owner   Ob   Neg   allowed   =Tr

Its master wouldn't let it.

13 *dakərniše*   *ba*   *a*   *tarafə*   *ru*   .

    da-   *kərni*   =*š*   =*e*   *ba*   *a*   *taraf*   -*ə*   *ru*

    Pvb   dragged   =3S   =Tr   to   DemD   direction   Ob   road

He dragged it off.

14 *itka*   *mânde*   ,   *ila*   *sava*   *pür*   *ubə*   .

    itka   *mând*   -*e*   *i*   -*la*   *sava*   *pür*   *u-*   *bə*

    a.little   remained   3S.Pst   a   Cl   basket   full   Pvb   became.3S

After a while, one basket was filled.

15 *a*   *ila*   *sava*   *nima*   *bə*   .

    a   *i*   -*la*   *sava*   *nima*   *bə*

    DemD   a   Cl   basket   half   was.3S

Another basket was half full.

16 *buğavün*   *du*   *saku*   *bə*   ,   *saš*   *ğâl*   *bə*   *ba*   *əštân*   *âmbü*

    buğavün   *du*   *sa*   =*ku*   *bə*   *sa*   =*š*   *ğâl*   *bə*   *ba*   *əštân*   *âmbu*

    gardener   tree   head   =Loc   was.3S   head   =3S   hot   was.3S   to   self   pear

cəne   .

cən   -*e*

pick   Inf

The gardener was up the tree, his head was hot from pear picking.

17 *ila*   *gada*   *zua*   *davârdinabə*   *dücarxanda*   .

    i   -*la*   *gada*   *zua*   *da-*   *vârd*   =*ina*   =*bə*   *dücarxa*   =*nda*

    a   Cl   small   boy   Pvb   passed.by   =Loc   =Aux.3S   bicycle   =Loc

A little boy was passing by on a bicycle.

18 *havasəš*   *kâ*   *ila*   *âmbü pegatə*   .

  havas   =əš *kâ* *i* -la *âmbu* *pe-*   *gat*   -ə

  attention   =3S did.Tr a Cl pear Pvb.Sbj pick.up 3S.Sbj

He was aiming to take a pear.

19 *vindəše*   *buğavünə*   *sa*   *ğole*   , *vinnani*   .

  vind =əš =e *buğavün* -ə *sa* *ğâl* =e   *vin* =na -ni

  saw   =3S =Tr gardener Ob head hot =Cop.3S see =Loc Neg

He saw that the gardener is busy, and doesn't notice.

20 *ila*   *savaš*   *bituv*   *pegat*   , *nuše*   *carxə*

  i -la *sava*   =š *bituv* *pe-*   *gat*   *nu* =š   =e *carx*   -ə

  a Cl basket =3S complete Pvb picked.up put =3S =Tr bicycle Ob

nânda   , *dagəni*   *ba ru* .

nânda   *da-* *gəni*   *ba ru*

in.front.of   Pvb set.off.3S to road

He picked up a whole basket, put it on the front of the bicycle, and headed off.

21 *šə*   *šə*   , *ilaš*   *kina vinde*   , *cašəš*

  š -ə   *š* -ə   *i* -la =š *kina* *vind* =e   *caš* =əš

  go 3S.Pst go 3S.Pst a Cl =3S girl saw =Tr eye =3S

daâma   *ba kina* .

da- *âma*   *ba kina*

Pvb came.upon.3S to girl

He went on, saw a girl, and his eyes lighted upon her.

22 *vindəše*   *av* *mâhbube*   .

  vind =əš   =e *av* *mâhbub* =e

  saw   =3S   =Tr 3S dear   =Cop.3S

He saw she was pretty.

23
vu	ža	cavəš		kəlu bâ		, yula	kəluš	sanda	
vu	ža	cav	=əš	kəlu bâ		yul	-a	kəlu	=š	sa	=nda
wind	hit.Tr	PossD.3S	=3S	hat carried.Tr		big	Lnk	hat	=3S	head	=Loc

hes	bə	.
hes	bə	
exist	was.3S	

The wind blew and carried away his hat, the big hat which was on his head.

24
havâsəš		part	bə	, šə		gəni		ba ila	yula	
havâs	=əš	part	bə	š	-ə	gəni		ba i	-la	yul	-a
concentration	=3S	thrown	was.3S	go	3S.Pst	collided.3S		to a	Cl	big	Lnk

səğə	.
səğ	-ə
stone	Ob

His mind was thrown, and he went and collided with a big stone.

25
dagârda		, âmbü	sava	vâlu bə	.
da-	gârd	-a	âmbu	sava	vâlu bə
Pvb	fell	Ptc	pear	basket	spilt was.3S

He fell, and the basket of pears was spilt.

26
se	gəla	cavə	hamrunu			navanabin				.
se	gəla	cavə	hamru	-n	=u	nava	=na	=b	-in
three	Cl	PossD.3S	companion	P	=Loc	visit	=Loc	=Aux	3P

Three of his friends were passing by.

27
se	gəla	jukas	navanabin			.
se	gəla	jukas	nava	=na	=b	-in
three	Cl	stranger	visit	=Loc	=Aux	3P

Three folk were passing by.

28
əštân	dâstanda		gada	tâxtanda		hüwjabin			kâna	.
əštân	dâst	=anda	gada	tâxta	=nda	hüwja	=b	-in	kâ	=na
self	hand	=Loc	small	board	=Loc	game	=Aux	3P	do	=Loc

They were playing a game, with a board, held in the hand.

29   *umen*   *ba cavə*   *harâ kumakəšun*   *kâ*   ,   *âmbunəšun*

      um   *-en*   *ba cavə*   *harâ kumak*   *=əšun kâ*   *âmbu*   *-n*   *=əšun*

      come   3Pl.Pst   to   PossD.3S   cry   help   =3P   did.Tr   pear   P   =3P

gərd   akâ   .

gərd   a-   *kâ*

around   Aug   poured.Tr

They came to help in response to his cry, and gathered up the pears.

30   *xədu avə*   *bama nešun du*   ,   *ləngəš*   *udiž uma*   ,   *cün*

      xədu av *-ə*   *bama nešun du*   *ləng*   *-əš udiž uma*   *cün*

      God   3S   Ob   1P.IO   display   gave.Tr   leg   3S   pain   came.3S   because

dəzdišbə   *kârda*   .

dəzdi   *=š*   *=bə*   *kârd*   *-a*

steal   =3S   =Aux.3S   did   Ptc

God showed him to us, how his leg hurt, because he had stolen.

31   *itka*   *šen*   *ba nâ*   ,   *vindəšune*   *ca*   *yula*   *kəlu*

      itka   *š*   *-en*   *ba nâ*   *vind*   *=əšun* *=e ca*   *yul*   *-a*   *kəlu*

      a.little   go   3Pl.Pst   to   ahead   saw   =3P   =Tr   PossD.3S   big   Lnk   hat

yudu   *peša*   .

yud   *=u*   *pe-*   *š*   *-a*

memory   =Loc   Pvb   go   Ptc

They went on ahead a little, and saw he has forgotten his big hat.

32   *vüiazlüš*   *du*   ,   *avəš*   *sadu kâ*   ,   *caš*   *kəlu bavə*

      vüiazlü *=š*   *du*   *av*   *=əš*   *sadu kâ*   *ca*   *=š*   *kəlu bavə*

      whistle   =3S   gave.Tr   3S   =3S   sound   did.Tr   PossD.3S   =3S   hat   3S.IOD

du   ,   *ca*   *kəlu avazanda*   *se gəlaš*   *bavün âmbu du*   .

du   *ca*   *kəlu avaz*   *=anda se*   *gəla*   *=š*   *bavün âmbu du*

gave.Tr   PossD.3S   hat   exchange   =Loc   three   Cl   =3S   3P.IO   pear   gave.Tr

One whistled to call him, and returned his hat. In exchange for his hat he gave them three pears.

33 *avün zənna*   *nəbin*   *ki*   *ə*   *âmbu*

   avün zən   =*na*   *nə-*   =*b*   -*in ki*   *ə*   *âmbu*

   3P   know   =Loc   Neg   =Aux   3P Comp DemP pear

dəzdianine   .

dəzdi   -*anin*   =*e*

steal   Nec   =Cop.3S

They weren't to know that the pears were stolen.

34 *umen*   *šen*   *baštân*   *ru*   , *avan*   *dagəni*

   um   -*en*   *š*   -*en*   *ba-*   *štân ru*   *av*   =*an*   *da-*   *gəni*

   come   3Pl.Pst   go   3Pl.Pst   to   self   road   3S   =also   Pvb   set.off.3S

baštân   *ru*   , *se*   *gələ šinabin*   *âmbu hârde*   *hârde*   .

ba-   *štân ru*   *se*   *gələ š*   =*ina*   =*b*   -*in âmbu hârd*   -*e hârd*   -*e*

to   self   road   three   Cl   go   =Loc   =Aux   3P pear   eat   Inf   eat   Inf

They went off, and he also set out. The three were going along eating the pears.

35 *bâǧavün*   *du*   *ašə*   *sârü*   .

   bâǧavün   *du*   *a-*   *š*   -*ə*   *sârü*

   gardener   tree   Pvb   went.down   3S.Pst   down

The gardener came down the tree.

36 *âšmârdəše*   *i*   *də*   *vindəše*   *a*   *ila*   *sava*   *ni*   .

   âšmârd   =*əš*   =*e*   *i*   *də*   *vind*   =*əš*   =*e*   *a*   *i*   -*la sava*   *ni*

   count   =3S   =Tr   a   two   saw   =3S   =Tr DemD   a   Cl   basket   Neg

He counted: one, two... He saw that one basket wasn't there.

37 *əm*   *se*   *nafar*   *âmbubin*   *hâna*   , *cün*   *a*

   əm   *se*   *nafar*   *âmbu*   =*b*   -*in hâ*   =*na*   *cün*   *a*

   DemP three   person   pear   =Aux   3P eat   =Loc   because DemD

rubin   *avə*   *umana*   , *buǧavünə*   *xəjulat kaša bavun*

ru   =*b*   -*in av*   -*ə*   *uma*   =*na*   *buǧavün*   -*ə*   *xəjulat kaša bavun*

road   =Aux   3P 3S   Ob   come   =Loc   gardener   Ob   shame   drew   3P.IO

bəvutə   *əm*   *âmbunə*   *kurâi*   *vârda*   .

bə-   *vut*   -*ə*   *əm*   *âmbu*   =*nə kurâi*   *vârd*   -*a*

Sbj   said   3S.Sbj DemP   pear   =2P   where?   bring   Ptc

Those three people were eating pears. Because they were coming towards him from that direction, he was embarrassed to say to them: "Where have you brought those pears from?"

38 *davârdin*   .

    da-   *vârd*   *-in*

    Pvb   passed.by   3P

They went by.

39 *əm*   *dâstânan*   *uraxa*   .

   əm   *dâstân*   *=an*   *uraxa*

   DemP   story   =also   finished.3S

That's the end.

B2. ANR: Recollection, Anbaran Ardebil

1 *yula*   *xədu*   *nümanda*   .

  yul   *-a*   *xədu*   *nüm*   *=anda*

  big   Lnk   God   name   =Loc

In the name of almighty God.

2 *âz*   *ila*   *gadalia*   *zua*   *bim*   .

  âz   *i*   *-la*   *gada*   *-li*   *-a*   *zua*   *b*   *-im*

  1S   a   Cl   small   Dim   Lnk   boy   was   1S

I was a little boy.

3 *nav*   *sura*   *bim*   .

  nav   *sura*   *b*   *-im*

  9   year   was   1S

I was nine years old.

4 *šâš*   *gəlam*   *bəva*   *heste*   ,   *ila*   *huâ*   .

  šâš   *gəla*   *=m*   *bəva*   *hest*   *-e*   *i*   *-la*   *huâ*

  6   Cl   =1S   brother   exist   3S.Pst   a   Cl   sister

I had six brothers, and one sister.

5 *cama*   *dada*   *žagu*   *zenna*   *nabə*   *pül*   *bevârde*   ,

   cama   *dada*   *žagu*   *zen*   =*na*   *na*   =*bə*   *pül*   *be-*   *vârd*   -*e*

   Poss.1P   father   like.that   able   =Loc   Neg   =Aux.3S   money   Sbj   bring   3S

amaru   *sâxtbə*   *davâna*   .

ama   =*ru*   *sâxt*   =*bə*   *da-*   *vâ*   =*na*

1P   =for   difficult   =Aux.3S   Pvb   pass.by   =Loc

My father couldn't make money, so things were hard for us.

6 *ama*   *kulašu*   *ba*   *tuləš*   *umemün*   .

   ama   *kulaš*   =*u*   *ba*   *tuləš*   *um*   -*emün*

   1P   Kulash   =Loc   to   Talesh   came   1P

We came from Kulash to Talesh.

7 *hârcimün*   *hest*   *bə*   ,   *baštânandamün*   *vârde*   .

   hârci   =*emün*   *hest*   *bə*   *ba-*   *štân*   =*anda*   =*mün*   *vârd*   =*e*

   whatever   =1P   exist   was.3S   to   self   =Loc   =1P   brought   =Tr

Whatever we had, we brought with us.

8 *kulašanda*   *camaru*   *buǧ*   ,   *kaju* ,   *kâfšananda*   *hi*   ,

   kulaš   =*anda*   *cama*   =*ru*   *buǧ*   *kaju*   *kâfšan*   =*anda*   *hi*

   Kulash   =Loc   Poss.1P   =for   garden   yard   desert   =Loc   field

vəia   *vəramün*   *heste*   .

vəi   -*a*   *vəra*   =*mün*   *hest*   -*e*

much   Lnk   land   =1P   exist   3S.Pst

In Kulash we'd had a garden, a yard, desert and fields... a lot of land.

9 *cəmân*   *yudanday*   *əštân*   *piadadanda*   *ba*   *kâfšan*

   cəmân   *yud*   =*anda*   =*y*   *əštân*   *piadada*   =*nda*   *ba*   *kâfšan*

   Poss.1S   memory   =Loc   =Cop.3S   self   grandfather   =Loc   to   desert

ašim   .

a-   *š*   -*im*

Aug   go   Impf.1S

I remember going into the desert with my grandfather.

10 *bavəru*   *âspanda*   *bu*   *akərnim*   .

   bavə   =*ru*   *âsp*   =*anda*   *bu*   *a-*   *kərn*   -*im*

   3S.IOD   =for   horse   =Loc   load   Aug   transport   Impf.1S

I would take loads on the horse for him.

11 *gândəm*   *devan*   *akim*   .

   gândəm   *devan*   *a-*   *k*   -*im*

   wheat   sickle   Aug   do   Impf.1S

I would scythe the wheat.

12 *mažü*   *dâstavaž*   *akim*   .

   mažü   *dâstavaž*   *a-*   *k*   -*im*

   lentil   handpick   Aug   do   Impf.1S

I would pick the lentils.

13 *cə*   *harabâxta*   *rüžün*   *bin*   .

   cə   *harabâxt*   -*a*   *rüž*   -*ün*   *b*   -*in*

   what?   nostalgic   Lnk   day   P   was   3P

What happy days they were!

14 *cəmân*   *dada*   *cimananda*   *âlaf*   *dargaz*   *ažani*   ,

   cəmân   *dada*   *ciman*   =*anda*   *âlaf*   *dargaz*   *a-*   *žan*   -*i*

   Poss.1S   father   meadow   =Loc   grass   big.sickle   Aug   hit   Impf.3S

âzan   *bavəru*   *âlafanda*   *bândan*   *tümü*   *akim*   .

âz   =*an*   *bavə*   =*ru*   *âlaf*   =*anda*   *bândan*   *tümü*   *a-*   *k*   -*im*

1S   =also   3S.IOD   =for   grass   =Loc   tie   making   Aug   do   Impf.1S

My father would cut the grass in the meadow with a big sickle, and I would make ties out of the grass for him.

15 *cušta*   *vâxtanda*   *mustanda*   *udu*   *tümü*   *akimün*   .

   cušt   -*a*   *vâxt*   =*anda*   *must*   =*anda*   *udu*   *tümü*   *a-*   *k*   -*imün*

   lunch   Lnk   time   =Loc   yogurt   =Loc   dugh   making   Aug   do   Impf.1P

At lunchtime we used to make dugh out of yoghurt.

16 *teltaš*   *hârdanin*   *bə*   .

   teltaš   *hârd*   -*anin*   *bə*

   yogurt.drink   eat   Nec   was.3S

The yoghurt was wonderful to drink.

17 *cə*   *rüžün*   *davârdan*   .

    cə   *rüž* -*ün* *da*-   *vârd*   -*an*

    what? day   P   Pvb   passed.by   3P

What days passed by!

18 *caš ba ru*   *anəštim*   , *cəmân* *dada* *dargaz* *žayanda*   *ila*

    caš ba ru *a*-   *nəšt* -*im*   *cəmân* *dada* *dargaz* *ža* =*yanda* *i* -*la*

    eye to road Aug   sit   Impf.1S   Poss.1S father big.sickle hit   =Loc   a   Cl

verdə   *luna* *paidu* *bəka*   .

verd   -*ə* *luna* *paidu* *bə*-   *ka*

partridge   Ob nest find   Sbj   do.3S

I would sit waiting for my father to find a partridge nest while he was scything.

19 *dələm*   *ataki*   *ba* *šui* *cə*   *üwân*

    dəl -*əm* *a*-   *tak*   -*i*   *ba* *šui* *cə*   *üw* -*ân*

    heart   1S   Aug   tremble   Impf.3S to joy Poss.3S egg   P

pegatəm   .

pe-   *gat*   -*əm*

Pvb.Sbj   pick.up   1S.Sbj

My heart would tremble with joy at collecting its eggs.

20 *cəmân*   *pia dada*   *damânanda*   *peacxi*   .

    cəmân   *pia dada* *da*-   *mân*   =*anda* *pe*-   *a*-   *cx*   -*i*

    Poss.1S grandfather Instr   1S.Ob   =Loc   Pvb   Aug   castigated   Impf.3S

My grandfather would tell me off.

21 *cəmân*   *pia dada*   *damânanda*   *peacxi*   ,

    cəmân   *pia dada* *da*-   *mân*   =*anda* *pe*-   *a*-   *cx*   -*i*

    Poss.1S grandfather Instr   1S.Ob   =Loc   Pvb   Aug   castigated   Impf.3S

avâti   *ba* *üwân*   *dâst* *mažan*   .

a-   *vât* -*i*   *ba* *üw* -*ân* *dâst* *ma*-   *žan*

Aug   say Impf.3S to egg   P   hand Phb   hit

My grandfather would tell me off, saying "Don't touch the eggs!"

22 *əsa* *lâdie* *avün* *kiža* *bevan* .

   əsa *lâdi* =*e* *avün* *kiža* *be-* *v* -*an*

   now season =Cop.3S 3P chick Sbj bring 3P

"Before long they'll bring forth chicks."

23 *âz* *vəibim* *kâfšananda* *žəgu* *žagu* *təlana* .

   âz *vəi* =*b* -*im* *kâfšan* =*anda* *žəgu* *žagu* *təla* =*na*

   1S much =Aux 1S desert =Loc like.this like.that run =Loc

I spent a lot of time in the desert, running here and there.

24 *šinabim* *gada* *nuǧə* *dəlân* *dia*

   š =*ina* =*b* -*im* *gada* *nuǧ* -*ə* *dəlân* *dia*

   go =Loc =Aux 1S small cave Ob inside looking

kânabim .

kâ =*na* =*b* -*im*

do =Loc =Aux 1S

I used to go into a small cave and look inside it.

25 *havuša* *bâlân* *ki* *təlanabin*

   havuš -*a* *bâl* -*ân* *ki* *təla* =*na* =*b* -*in*

   rabbit Lnk baby P Rel run =Loc =Aux 3P

saatinabim *cavün* *dümâ* .

saati =*na* =*b* -*im* *cavün* *dümâ*

chase =Loc =Aux 1S PossD.3P after

The baby rabbits would run around, and I would chase after them.

26 *nazünim* *bavün* *rase* .

   n- *a-* *zün* -*im* *bavün* *ras* -*e*

   Neg Aug be.able Impf.1S 3P.IO reach Inf

I never could catch them.

27 *šüna* *papü* *ila* *vəranda* *təktək* *aki* .

   šüna *papü* *i* -*la* *vər* =*anda* *təktək* *a-* *k* -*i*

   woodpecker a Cl place =Loc pecking Aug do Impf.3S

In one place the woodpecker was pecking.

28 *kižân*   *ila*   *vəranda*   *jəkjək*   *akin*   .

     kiž   -*ân*   *i*   -*la*   *vər*   =*anda*   *jəkjək*   *a*-   *k*   -*in*

     chick   P   a   Cl   place   =Loc   chirping   Aug   do   Impf.3P

In another place, the chicks were chirping.

29 *kâfšananda*   ,   *hârvere*   *dia*   *kânabiš*   ,   *gərd*   *vərân*

     kâfšan   =*anda*   *hârvere*   *dia*   *kâ*   =*na*   =*b*   -*iš*   *gərd*   *vər*   -*ân*

     desert   =Loc   wherever   looking   do   =Loc   =Aux   2S   around   place   P

hâvzbiš   *vinna*   .

hâvz   =*b*   -*iš*   *vin*   =*na*

green   =Aux   2S   see   =Loc

In the desert, every place was green wherever you looked.

30 *bândə*   *saün*   *hâvza*   *âlaf*   *hiün*   *dəlân*   *gândəm*   *zârd*

     bând   -*ə*   *sa*   -*ün*   *hâvz*   -*a*   *âlaf*   *hi*   -*ün*   *dəlân*   *gândəm*   *zârd*

     peak   Ob   head   P   green   Lnk   grass   field   P   inside   wheat   yellow

zârdiš   *bə*   .

zârd   -*iš*   *bə*

yellow   Intsv   was.3S

On the mountain peaks were grassy fields, and inside them the yellowest wheat.

31 *ašim*   *ba*   *huni*   *əštân*   *dada*   *u*   *pia*   *dadaru*   *sârd*   *uv*

     a-   *š*   -*im*   *ba*   *huni*   *əštân*   *dada*   *u*   *pia*   *dada*   =*ru*   *sârd*   *uv*

     Aug   go   Impf.1S   to   pool   self   father   and   grandfather   =for   cold   water

avim   .

a-   *v*   -*im*

Aug   bring   Impf.1S

I used to go to the pool to bring cold water for my father and grandfather.

32 *šângavasa*   *ki*   *ka*   *še*   *vâxt*   *bə*   .

     šângavasa   *ki*   *ka*   *š*   -*e*   *vâxt*   *bə*

     dusk   Rel   house   go   Inf   time   was.3S

At sunset it was time to go to the house.

33 âsbə   bu   žanabümün   , tâ   haši

   âsb   -ə   bu   ža   =na   =b   -ümün   tâ   haši

   horse Ob load hit =Loc   =Aux 1P   until sun

ašü   , ru   daagənimün   .

a-   š   -ü   ru   da-   a-   gəni   -mün

Pvb.Sbj go.down 3S.Sbj road Pvb   Aug   set.off Impf.1P

We would load up the horse, and set off as the sun was setting.

34 ba ka   ki   arasimün   uaganimün   .

   ba ka   ki   a-   ras   -imün   u-   a-   gani   -mün

   to house Comp Aug   reach Impf.1P Pvb Aug   be.tired Impf.1P

When we got home we would be tired.

35 a   rüžün   cəmân yudu   hic

   a   rüž   -ün cəmân yud   =u   hic

   DemD day   P   Poss.1S memory   =Loc nothing

bešinanin   .

be-   š   =ina -n   =in

Fut   go   =Loc Neg   =Cop.3P

No details of those days will ever leave my memory.

36 ğaisia   buğun   âmbüya   duun   cama   ka   nânda   cəma

   ğaisi   -a   buğ   -un âmbu -ya du   -un cama   ka   nânda   cəma

   apricot Lnk garden P   pear   Lnk tree P   Poss.1P house in.front.of Poss.1P

su   hâvza   rângəšün   bəkârda   .

su   hâvz -a   râng =əšün bə-   kârd   -a

yard   green Lnk paint =3P   Pst   did   Ptc

The apricot gardens, the pear trees in front of our house, the way we painted out yard green...

37 udamə   caš damanabə   ba duun   həžu

   udam   -ə   caš da-   ma   =na   =bə   ba du   -un həžu

   human   Ob eye Pvb   came.upon =Loc   =Aux.3S to tree P   always

dia   bəka   .

dia   bə-   ka

looking Sbj   do.3S

A man's eyes would never tire from looking at those trees.

38 *âz*   *caxta*   *külašəku*   *bəvutum*   *užənan*   *kâm*   *me*

    âz   *caxta*   *külaš*   *-ə*   *=ku*   *bə-*   *vut*   *-um*   *užən*   *=an*   *kâm*   *me*

    1S   how.much   Kulash   Ob   =Loc   Sbj   said   1S.Sbj   again   =also   little   1S

vuta   .

vut   *-a*

said   Ptc

However much I say about Kulash, it's still only a tiny part.

39 *əsa*   *ama*   *tuləšanda*   *əštân*   *bəvân*   *kanuanda*   *vəi*   *cuk*

    əsa   *ama*   *tuləš*   *=anda*   *əštân*   *bəv*   *-ân*   *kanu*   *=anda*   *vəi*   *cuk*

    now   1P   Talesh   =Loc   self   brother   P   next.to   =Loc   much   good

davâna   .

davâ   *=na*

pass.by   =Loc

Now we live next to my brothers in Talesh, and life is very good.

40 *tuləš*   *cə*   *hârci*   *tuləše*   *cavüne*   .

    tuləš   *cə*   *hârci*   *tuləš*   *=e*   *cavüin*   *=e*

    Talesh   Poss.3S   whatever   Talesh   =Cop.3S   PossD.3P   =Cop.3S

Whatever is Talesh belongs to the Talesh.

41 *əm*   *rüžüin*   *tuləšanda*   *udamun*   *ki*   *gərd*   *tuləšin*   *əštân*

    əm   *rüž*   *-üin*   *tuləš*   *=anda*   *udam*   *-un*   *ki*   *gərd*   *tuləš*   *=in*   *əštân*

    DemP   day   P   Talesh   =Loc   human   P   Rel   all   Talesh   =Cop.3P   self

hərdânunanda   *fursin*   *gap*   *žana*   .

hərdân   *-un*   *=anda*   *fursi*   *=n*   *gap*   *ža*   *=na*

child   P   =Loc   Farsi   =Cop.3P   speech   hit   =Loc

These days in Talesh, all the people are Talesh, but they speak Farsi to their children.

42 *əštân*   *nana*   *zəvünə*   *yudušun*   *bekârday*   .

    əštân   *nana*   *zəvün*   *-ə*   *yud*   *=ušun*   *be-*   *kârd*   *-a*   *=y*

    self   mother   language   Ob   memory   =3P   Pst   did   Ptc   =Cop.3S

They have forgotten their own mother tongue.

43 ârin   zənna   baštân   ki   əštân zəvünanda   gap

   âr   =in   zən   =na   ba-   štân ki   əštân zəvün   =anda gap

   shame   =Cop.3P   know   =Loc   to   self Rel   self   language   =Loc   speech

bəžanən   .

bə-   žan   -ən

Sbj   hit   Sbj.3P

They are ashamed to speak their own language amongst themselves.

44 a   rüžnaniku   ba tuləš   umam   həžum   əštân

   a   rüž   -n   =an   -i   =ku   ba tuləš   uma   -m həžu   =m   əštân

   DemD   day   P   =also   Ob   =Loc   to   Talesh   came   1S always   =1S   self

zəvünanda   , dada   nanandam   gap   me ža .

zəvün   =anda   dada   nana   =nda   =m   gap   me ža

language   =Loc   father   mother   =Loc   =1S   speech   1S   hit

In those days when we came to Talesh, I always spoke our mother tongue with my father and mother.

45 caxtaman   umr heste   əštân âmbažim   gap   baža   .

   caxtaman   umr hest   =e   əštân âmbaži   =m   gap   ba-   ža

   however.much   life   exist   =Cop.3S   self   Anbarani   =1S   speech   Fut   hit

However long I live, I'll speak my own (language) Anbarani.

46 tâ   cəmân riša   maf   nəbu   .

   tâ   cəmân riša   maf   nə-   b   -u

   until   Poss.1S root   destroyed   Neg   was   3S.Sbj

So long as my root is not torn up.

47 əm   cəmân itka   ğazia   bə   xədu məru   yâzüš

   əm   cəmân itka   ğazia   bə   xədu mə   =ru   yâzü   =š

   DemP   Poss.1S a.little   occurrence   was.3S   God   1S   =for   fate   =3S

žabə   .

ž   -a   =bə

hit   Ptc   =Aux.3S

That was one recollection which God had allotted to me.

48 *šəmarum*   *vute*   .

   šəma   =*ru*   =*m*   *vut*   =*e*

   2P   =for   =1S   said   =Tr

I told it for you.

49 *həžu*   *sâǧ*   *bəbun*   .

   həžu   *sâǧ*   *bə-*   *b*   *-un*

   always   healthy   Imp   be   2P

Always be healthy.

B3. AMP: Pear Story, Anbaran Mahalle

1 *rüžna*   *i rüž bə*   , *vindəme*   *gəlai*   *merd*

   rüž   =*na*   *i rüž bə*   *vind*   =*əm*   =*e*   *gəla*   =*i*   *merd*

   day   =with   a day   was.3S   saw   =1S   =Tr   Cl   =Ind   man

peše   *duunku*   *xəc bəcənə*   .

pe-   *š*   *-e*   *du*   *-un*   =*ku*   *xəc*   *bə-*   *cən*   *-ə*

Pvb   went.up   3S   tree   Ob.P   =Loc   pear   Sbj   pick   3S

One day I saw a man go up some trees to pick pears.

2 *də*   *zambiləš*   *xəc bəcəni*   .

   də   *zambil*   =*əš*   *xəc*   *bə-*   *cəni*

   two   basket   =3S   pear   Pst   picked.Tr

He picked two baskets' worth of pears.

3 *vardəše*   *ba zamin*   .

   vard   =*əš*   =*e*   *ba zamin*

   bring   =3S   =Tr   to ground

He brought them down to the ground.

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4 *seminje* *dafada* *peše* *ba du gəlai* *hərdan*

  seminje *dafa* =*da* *pe-* *š* -*e* *ba du gəla* =*i* *hərdan*

  third   time   =Loc Pvb   went.up 3S to tree Cl   =Ind child

âmaidabe   .

âma -*i* =*da* =*b* -*e*

come Inf =Loc   =Aux 3S

The third time he went up the tree, a child came along.

5 *gəlaišan* *labadar* *nuabe* *ba sa* .

  gəla *i* =*š* =*an* *labadar* *nu* -*a* =*b* -*e* *ba sa*

  Cl   a   =3S   =also hat   put   Ptc =Aux 3S to head

He had a hat on his head too.

6 *uma* *tež* *zambilunkuš* *gəlai* *bədəzdi* *u*

  uma *tež* *zambil* -*un* =*ku* =*š* *gəla* =*i* *bə-* *dəzdi* *u*

  came.3S quickly basket   Ob.P =Loc =3S Cl   =Ind Pst stole and

pegatə *u* *bəbardə* .

pe- *gat* -*ə* *u* *bə-* *bard* -*ə*

Pvb.Sbj get Sbj.3S and Sbj take Sbj.3S

He came quickly and stole one of the baskets to take it and carry it off.

7 *nima* *râsa* *bəše* *pepši* *vu* *bəgəni*

  nim -*a* *râ* =*sa* *bə-* *š* -*e* *pepši* *vu* *bə-* *gəni*

  half Lnk way =top Pst go 3S twisted wind Pst fell.3S

dagardie .

da- *gardi* -*e*

Pvb fell.down 3S

As he went and wobbled along, the wind blew and he fell.

8 *va* *can* *gəla* *hərdan* *uma* *pekešie* *ba haydiš* *gəla ca*

  va *can* *gəla* *hərdan* *uma* *pekeši* =*e* *ba haydi* =*š* *gəla ca*

  and some Cl   child   came.Ptc gather.up =Tr to each   =3S Cl PossD.3S

xəcda *bədu* .

xəc =*da* *bə-* *du*

pear =Loc Pst gave.Tr

Some children came and cleared up; to each one he gave one of his pears.

9 *labadarəš*   *yud*   *baršabe*   ,   *əmsafa* ,   *hərdanen*

   labadar =əš *yud*   *bar-*   *š*   -a   =b   -e   *əmsafa*   *hərdan*   -en

   hat   =3S memory Pvb gone.out Ptc =Aux 3S   then   child   P

dümlada   *labadar* *vinde*   *helešun*   *bədu*   *ca*

dümla   =da *labadar* *vind* =e *hele* =šun *bə-*   *du*   *ca*

after   =Loc hat   saw   =Tr call   =3P Pst   gave.Tr PossD.3S

labadaršun   *bədu*   .

labadar =šun *bə-*   *du*

hat   =3P Pst   gave.Tr

He'd forgotten his hat; later, the children behind him saw the hat, called him and gave his hat back.

10 *ha*   *de*   *xəjə*   *harda*   *hardain*   *uman*   , *du*   *sâib*

   ha   *de*   *xəj*   -ə *hard* -a *hard*   -a   -in *uma*   -n   *du*   *sâib*

   SameD anyhow pear   Ob eat   Ptc eat   Ptc 3P came   3P   tree owner

cə   *duunku*   *viuma*   , *bašmardəše*

cə   *du*   -un   =ku *vi-*   *uma*   *b-*   *ašmard* =əš   =e

Poss.3S tree   Ob.P   =Loc Pvb came.down.3S   Pst   count   =3S   =Tr

vindəše   *də* *gəla* *əmsafa* *heste*   *bape*   *məru*   *se*   *gəla*

vind =əš   =e *də* *gəla* *əmsafa* *hest* -e *bape*   *mə*   =ru *se*   *gəla*

saw   =3S   =Tr two Cl   then   exist 3S should 1S.Ob   =for three Cl

safa   *abi*   .

safa   *a-*   *b*   -i

basket Aug   be   Impf.3S

So they came along eating pears, and the owner of the tree came down from his trees, counted up and saw that there are two baskets: "I should have three baskets!"

11 *əm*   *hərdanenin*   *xəjə*   *harda*   *hardain*   *umen*

   əm   *hərdan* -en =in *xəj* -ə *hard* -a *hard* -a   -in *um*   -en

   DemP child   P   =also pear Ob eat   Ptc eat   Ptc 3P came   3P

daivardin   , *əm*   *merdə*   *de*   *tasavâr*   *nəkarde*   *ki*

daivard -in *əm*   *merd* -ə *de*   *tasavâr*   *nə-*   *kard* =e *ki*

passed.by 3P DemP man   Ob anyhow imagination Neg   do   =Tr Comp

əm	cəmə	jaba	xəcunku			hardedain				yâ	jâ
əm	cəmə	jaba	xəc	-un	=ku	hard	-e	=da	=in	yâ	jâ
DemP	Poss.1S	container	pear	Ob.P	=Loc	eat	Inf	=Loc	=Cop.3P	or	place

vərakušune				cinia		.
vəra	=ku	=šun	=e	cini	-a	
other	=Loc	=3P	=Tr	picked	Ptc	

These children came along too and passed by, eating pears. This man couldn't tell whether those are from the pears in my basket that they're eating, or whether they've picked them somewhere else.

12	hərdanen		daivardin		bəšin			ba		taraf	,	hanuzan	
	hərdan	-en	daivard	-in	bə-	š	-in	b-	a	taraf		hanuz	=an
	child	P	passed.by	3P	Pst	go	3P	to	DemD	direction		still	=also

a		merd	hala	əštan	du	bənda		.
a		merd	hala	əštan	du	bən	=da	
DemD		man	still	self	tree	beneath	=Loc	

The children passed by and went in that direction; still the man stayed under the tree.

13	zambili		kanuku		mândabe				.
	zambil	-i	kanu	=ku	mând	-a	=b	-e	
	basket	Ob	next.to	=Loc	remained	Ptc	=Aux	3S	

He was left next to his baskets.

14	əmğadar	dâstânaš		.
	əmğadar	dâstân	=aš	
	this.much	story	=3S	

This was the story.

B4. VIP: Pear Story, Vizne

1	ila		suka		sasi		umaedabe					,	cama
	i	-la	suk	-a	sas	=i	uma	-e	=da	=b	-e		cama
	a	Cl	cockerel	Lnk	voice	=Ind	came	Inf	=Loc	=Aux	3S		Poss.1P

hayât	be		.
hayât	b	-e	
yard	be	3S	

The sound of a cockerel was coming, it was in our yard.

2 *suka*   *sasbe*   *umaeda*   .

suk	-a	*sas*	=b	-e	*uma*	-e	=da
cockerel	Lnk	voice	=Aux	3S	came	Inf	=Loc

The sound of a cockerel was coming.

3 *bad* *ca*   *tərafʾ*   *ila*   *merdi*   *duku*   *nardebân*

bad	*ca*	*tərafʾ*	*i*	-la	*merd*	=i	*du*	=ku	*nardebân*
later	PossD.3S	direction	a	Cl	man	=Ind	tree	=Loc	ladder

nuabe   , *sərdəš*   *nuabe*   , *xəcbə*

nu	-a	=b	-e	*sərd*	=əš	*nu*	-a	=b	-e	*xəc*	=bə
put	Ptc	=Aux	3S	ladder	=3S	put	Ptc	=Aux	3S	pear	=Aux.3S

cənda   .

cən	=da
pick	=Loc

Then, in that direction, a man had put a ladder against a tree, he'd set up a ladder, and was picking pears.

4 *ca*   *tərafʾ*   *ila*   *merd* *umaedabe*   *i* *gəla*

ca	*tərafʾ*	*i*	-la	*merd*	*uma*	-e	=da	=b	-e	*i*	*gəla*
PossD.3S	direction	a	Cl	man	came	Inf	=Loc	=Aux	3S	a	Cl

bəzina   , *uma*   *ce*   *daivarde*   *še*   *ba*   *tərafʾ*

bəz	-i	=na	*uma*	*ce*	*daivard*	-e	*š*	-e	*b-*	*a*	*tərafʾ*
goat	Ob	=with	came.3S	Poss.3S	passed.by	3S	went	3S	to	DemD	direction

.

From that direction a man was coming with a goat. He came and passed him by - he went that way.

5 *də* *si*   *jabəš*   *xəc* *nuabe*   .

də	*si*	*jab*	=əš	*xəc*	*nu*	-a	=b	-e
two	three	container	=3S	pear	put	Ptc	=Aux	3S

He had put down two or three containers of pears.

6 *aznu ugârde*   *uma*   , *i jabaš*   *ca*

   aznu u- gârd -e uma   *i jaba =š ca*

   again Pvb returned 3S came.3S a container =3S PossD.3S

xəcəku   *pegate*   .

xəc -ə =ku pe- gat =e

pear Ob =Loc Pvb picked.up =Tr

Again he returned, came down, and picked up one of his boxes of pears.

7 *i jabaš*   *ca*   *xəcəku*   *pegate*   , *bad*

   i jaba =š ca xəc -ə =ku pe- gat =e bad

   a container =3S PossD.3S pear Ob =Loc Pvb picked.up =Tr later

ca   *təraf*   *i gəla zua umaedabe*   , *caminazun* , *kəla*

ca   *təraf*   *i gəla zua uma -e =da =b -e caminazun kəla*

PossD.3S direction a Cl boy came Inf =Loc =Aux 3S I.don't.know girl

umaedabe   *ğašangə*   *kəla* , *cə*   *ducarxa*

uma -e =da =b -e ğašang -ə kəla cə ducarxa

came Inf =Loc =Aux 3S beautiful Lnk hat PossD.3S bicycle

savârina   .

savâr -i =na

mounted Ob =with

He picked up one box of his pears, then from that direction a boy was coming - I don't know - a girl was coming, a beautiful girl, mounted on her bicycle.

8 *carxina*   *umaedabe*   .

   carx -i =na uma -e =da =b -e

   bicycle Ob =with came Inf =Loc =Aux 3S

She was coming on a bicycle.

9 *ca*   *tərafiku*   *umaedabe*   .

   ca   *təraf -i =ku uma -e =da =b -e*

   PossD.3S direction Ob =Loc came Inf =Loc =Aux 3S

She was coming on a bicycle from that direction.

10 *zua dia kârde*   *bai*   , *ca*   *carx dagârdi*   .

   zua dia kârd =e bai ca carx da- gârdi

   boy looking did =Tr 3S.IOD PossD.3S bicycle Pvb fell.3S

The boy took a look at her, and his bicycle fell over.

11 carx   dagârdi   , bad se   gəla ca   tərafiku   zua
    carx   da- gârdi   bad se   gəla ca   təraf   -i =ku zua
    bicycle Pvb fell.3S   later three Cl PossD.3S direction Ob =Loc boy

umaedabe   , uma   baišun   kâmak kârde
uma -e =da =b   -e   uma   bai   =šun kâmak kârd =e
came Inf =Loc =Aux 3S   came.Ptc 3S.IOD =3P help did   =Tr

ayu .
ayu
there

The bicycle fell over, then three friends were coming from that direction. When they came,
they helped him there.

12 avəšun   cayu   rust   ukârde   ašândušune
    av =əšun ca   =yu   rust   u-   kârd =e   ašând =ušun =e
    3S =3P   PossD.3S =Loc upright Pvb caused =Tr clean =3P   =Tr

.

.for him and cleaned it (the bicycle)They righted it

13 ənsafã ugârde   ki   a   zua ke   rust uba
    ənsafã u- gârd -e   ki   a   zua ke   rust u-   b   -a
    then   Pvb returned 3S   Comp DemD boy Comp upright Pvb became Ptc

ba pešt   ca   xəcəku   se   gəla pegate   ba se
ba pešt   ca   xəc -ə =ku se   gəla pe- gat   =e   ba se
to behind PossD.3S pear Ob =Loc three Cl Pvb picked.up =Tr to three

gəla zuânəš   du   hâr kasəš   ila   .
gəla zu -ân =əš du   hâr kas =əš i -la
Cl   boy Ob.P =3S gave.Tr each person =3S a Cl

Then he turned back when that boy who had got up took three of his pears and gave them to
the three boys: one each.

14 se   nafar bin   se   gəlaš   bavun xəc du   .
   se   nafar b -in se   gəla =š   bavun xəc du
   three person be 3P three Cl   =3S 3P.IOD pear gave.Tr

They were three people, he gave them three pears.

15

bad	*a*	*merdan*		*ayu*	*xəj*	*bə*		*cənda*		*diaš*
bad	*a*	*merd*	*=an*	*ayu*	*xəj*	*b*	*-ə*	*cən*	*=da*	*dia*	*=š*
later	DemD	man	=also	there	pear	Aux	3S pick	=Loc	looking	=3S

kârde		*vindəše*			*ki*	*cəmən*	*sabadunku*			*se*
kârd	*=e*	*vind*	*=əš*	*=e*	*ki*	*cəmən*	*sabad*	*-un*	*=ku*	*se*
did	=Tr	saw	=3S	=Tr	Comp	Poss.1S	basket	Ob.P	=Loc	three

gəlae		.
gəla	*=e*	
Cl	=Cop.3S	

Next, that man there was picking pears. He looked and saw that "Three of my baskets are there."

16

ašmârdəše			*vindəše*			*ki*	*ila*		*ni*	.
ašmârd	*=əš*	*=e*	*vind*	*=əš*	*=e*	*ki*	*i*	*-la*	*ni*	
count	=3S	=Tr	saw	=3S	=Tr	Comp	a	Cl	Neg	

He counted, and saw that one is not there.

17

cəmə	*i*	*gəlašun*		*bârda*		,	*mânda*		*də*	*gəla*	*ayu*	.
cəmə	*i*	*gəla*	*=šun*	*bârd*	*-a*		*mând*	*-a*	*də*	*gəla*	*ayu*	
Poss.1S	a	Cl	=3P	carry	Ptc		remained	Ptc	two	Cl	there	

They have taken one of mine, and two of them are left there.

18

hərdanun		*umanan*				*cayu*		*daiviârdin*		.
hərdan	*-un*	*uma*	*-n*	*=an*	*ca*		*=yu*	*daiviârd*	*-in*	
child	Ob.P	came	3P	=also	PossD.3S		=Loc	passed.by	3P	

The children came, too, and passed by him.

19

de	*hani*		*juratəš*	*nəkârde*			*vâtəše*			*ki*
de	*ha*	*=ni*	*jurat*	*=əš*	*nə-*	*kârd*	*=e*	*vât*	*=əš*	*=e*	*ki*
anyhow	SameD	=also	dare	=3S	Neg	did	=Tr	say	=3S	=Tr	Comp

šəma	*cəmən*	*xəcəku*		*pegata*		.
šəma	*cəmən*	*xəc*	*-ə*	*=ku*	*pe-*	*gat*	*-a*
2P	Poss.1S	pear	Ob	=Loc	Pvb	picked.up	Ptc

".You have taken some of my pears"was not able to say that ,So this same guy did not dare

20 *daiviârdin*   *šin*   *, yani*   *nəzunuše*   *bai*   *vute*

    daiviârd   -in   *š*   -in   *yani*   *nə-*   *zun*   =*uš*   =*e*   *bai*   *vut*   -e

    passed.by   3P   went   3P   meaning   Neg   be.able   =3S   =Tr   3S.IOD   say   Inf

.

They passed by and went, so he couldn't say anything to them.

B5. JOP: Pear Story, Jokandan

1 *bâğbâni*   *ayəda pešabe*   *do*   *, sərdəš*

   bâğbân   =*i*   *ayəda pe-*   *š*   -a   =*b*   -e   *do*   *sərd*   =*əš*

   gardener   =Ind   there   Pvb   went.up   Ptc   =Aux   3S   tree   ladder   =3S

nuabe   .

nu   -a   =*b*   -e

put   Ptc   =Aux   3S

A gardener there had gone up a tree; he'd set up a ladder.

2 *vedraš*   *bəno*   *bənda*   .

   vedra   =*š*   *bə-*   *no*   *bən*   =*da*

   basket   =3S   Pst   put.Tr   beneath   =Loc

He put a basket underneath.

3 *aval sukə*   *bəhande*   *, bad*   *a*   *bâğbân*   *bəše*

   aval suk   -ə   *bə-*   *hand*   =*e*   *bad*   *a*   *bâğbân*   *bə-*   *š*   -e

   first   cockerel   Ob   Pst   sing   =Tr   later   DemD   gardener   Pst   go   3S

peše   *ba doi*   *miva* , *doi*   *kə* *xəcəš*   *hes* *be*   .

pe-   *š*   -e   *ba* *do*   -i   *miva*   *do*   -i   *kə* *xəc*   =*əš*   *hes*   *b*   -e

Pvb   went.up   3S   to   tree   Ob   fruit   tree   Rch   Rel   pear   =3S   exist   was   3S

First a cock crowed, then that gardener went up a fruit tree, a tree which had pears.

4 *sərdəš*   *bəno*   *peše*   *ayâ*   .

   sərd   =*əš*   *bə-*   *no*   *pe-*   *š*   -e   *ayâ*

   ladder   =3S   Pst   put.Tr   Pvb   went.up   3S   there

He put down the ladder and went up there.

5 *həye gəla vedraš   bənda   bəno   , bəciše*

həye	gəla	vedra	=š	bən	=da	bə-	no	bə-	ci	=š	=e
3	Cl	basket	=3S	beneath	=Loc	Pst	put.Tr	Pst	picked	=3S	=Tr

əštan domanada   buwardəše   .

əštan	domana	=da	bu-	ward	=əš	=e
self	apron	=Loc	Pst	bring	=3S	=Tr

He put three baskets down there, then picked them into his apron and brought them down.

6 *vikardəše   ba ila   vedrada   peše   hani*

vi-	kard	=əš	=e	ba	i	-la	vedra	=da	pe-	š	-e	hani
Pvb	poured	=3S	=Tr	to	a	Cl	basket	=Loc	Pvb	went.up	3S	again

bəcənə   əštan domanada   .

bə-	cən	-ə	əštan	domana	=da
Sbj	pick	3S	self	apron	=Loc

He poured them into one basket, went up again, and picked into his apron.

7 *hani buwa   vika   ila   vedrada   .*

hani	bu-	wa	vi-	ka	i	-la	vedra	=da
again	Sbj	bring.3S	Pvb.Sbj	pour.3S	a	Cl	basket	=Loc

Again to bring and pour into a basket.

8 *bad də gəla vedraš   ciabe   , peše   hani*

bad	də	gəla	vedra	=š	ci	-a	=b	-e	pe-	š	-e	hani
later	two	Cl	basket	=3S	pick	Ptc	=Aux	3S	Pvb	went.up	3S	again

ilani   bəcənə   vika   .

i	-la	=ni	bə-	cən	-ə	vi-	ka
a	Cl	=also	Sbj	pick	3S	Pvb.Sbj	pour.3S

Then, having plucked two baskets' worth, he went up again to pick and pour another.

9 ila   zuai   a   vana   carxəna   oma   ,

  i   -la zua =i   a   va   =na   carx   -ə   =na oma

  a   Cl boy =Ind DemD direction =with bicycle Ob =with came.3S

docarxana   , lola   kəluiši   nuabe   əštan

docarxa =na   lol -a   kəlu =iši   nu -a   =b   -e   əštan

bicycle =with   big Lnk hat   =3s.Ind put Ptc =Aux 3S self

sasa   , carxana   oma   .

sa   =sa   carxa   =na   oma

head =top   bicycle =with came.3S

A boy came from that direction on a bicycle, a big hat on his head. He came on a bicycle.

10 bindəše   kə mašğule   ba doda   xəc cie   .

  bind =əš   =e kə mašğul =e   ba do =da   xəc ci   -e

  see   =3S =Tr Rel busy   =Cop.3S to tree =Loc pear pick Inf

He saw that the gardener was busy in the tree picking pears.

11 ayəda ənsafar ika dayašti   bindəše   cimi   sa   ağale   .

  ayəda ənsafar ika dayašti   bind =əš   =e cimi   sa   ağal =e

  there again a.bit looked.3S saw   =3S   =Tr PossP.3S head busy   =Cop.3S

Again he looked there for a bit, saw he was busy.

12 carxəš   bəno   viuma   .

  carx   =əš bə- no   vi-   uma

  bicycle =3S Pst put.Tr Pvb came.down.3S

He lowered his bicycle and dismounted.

13 a   vedra xəcina   ila   zi be   caundaš

  a   vedra xəc -i   =na   i -la zi b   -e   caun   =da   =š

  DemD basket pear Ob =with a Cl full be 3S PossD.3P =Loc =3S

ila   pegate   .

i   -la pe- gat   =e

a   Cl Pvb picked.up =Tr

One of those baskets was full of pears; he picked one of them up.

14 *bənoše*   *əštan vedrasa*   .

   bə-   *no*   *=š*   *=e*   *əštan*   *vedra*   *=sa*

   Pst   put   =3S   =Tr   self   basket   =on.top

He put it in his own basket.

15 *ašə*   *bəbardəše*   .

   a-   *š*   *-ə*   *bə-*   *bard*   *=əš*   *=e*

   Pvb   went.down   Ob   Pst   bring   =3S   =Tr

He headed off, and took it.

16 *bad*   *a*   *vana*   *imi*   *šedabe*

   bad   *a*   *va*   *=na*   *imi*   *š*   *-e*   *=da*   *=b*   *-e*

   later   DemD   direction   =with   someone   go   Inf   =Loc   =Aux   3S

ducarxana   .

ducarxa   *=na*

bicycle   =with

Then, from the other direction, someone was going along on a bicycle.

17 *ila*   *kela*   *a*   *vana*   *ducarxana*   *aui*   *kâ*

   i   *-la*   *kela*   *a*   *va*   *=na*   *ducarxa*   *=na*   *a-*   *u*   *-i*   *kâ*

   a   Cl   girl   DemD   direction   =with   bicycle   =with   Aug   come   Impf.3S   Prog

,   *əm*   *fikriš*   *bəmande*   ,   *cimi*   *kəlu*   *viginie*   .

   əm   *fikr*   *=iš*   *bə-*   *mand*   *=e*   *cimi*   *kəlu*   *vi-*   *gini*   *-e*

   DemP   thought   =3S   Pst   stay   =Tr   PossP.3S   hat   Pvb   fell   3S

A girl was coming from that direction on a bicycle. He got distracted, and his hat fell off.

18 *əmani*   *docarxana*   *bəgənie*   *ayəda* ,   *a*   *xəc*

   əm   *=ani*   *docarxa*   *=na*   *bə-*   *gəni*   *-e*   *ayəda*   *a*   *xəc*

   DemP   =also   bicycle   =with   Pst   fell   3S   there   DemD   pear

vibe   *zamin*   .

vi-   *b*   *-e*   *zamin*

Pvb   spilt   3S   ground

He also fell off his bicycle there. Those pears fell on the ground.

19 həye gəla hərdanunda   a   vana   zua xailağ
   həye gəla hərdan -un =da a va =na zua xailağ
   3 Cl child Ob.P =Loc DemD direction =with boy creature

auin   kâ , əm binde kə əmyəda bəgənie ,
a- u -in kâ əm bind =e kə əmyəda bə- gəni -e
Aug come Impf.3P Prog DemP saw =Tr Comp here Pst fell 3S

ae   umain bimišun   komak bəkarde   a   xəcəšun
a -e uma -in bimi =šun komak bə- kard =e a xəc =əšun
DemD P came 3P 3S.IOP =3P help Pst do =Tr DemD pear =3P

vikarde   cimi vedrada , bad əmi   əštan docarxa
vi- kard =e cimi vedra =da bad əm -i əštan docarxa
Pvb poured =Tr PossP.3S basket =Loc later DemP Ob self bicycle

râst bəkarde .
râst bə- kard =e
upright Pst do =Tr

Three children over there were coming and saw the poor boy who had fallen here. They came and helped him, poured those pears into his basket, and then he picked up his bicycle.

20 ašun   bəno ba sa , əmun   harakat bəkarde
   a =šun bə- no ba sa əm -un harakat bə- kard =e
   DemD =3P Pst put.Tr to head DemP Ob.P movement Pst did =Tr

bəšin   əm vasa , ani   ducarxana
bə- š -in əm va =sa a =ni ducarxa =na
Pst went 3P DemP direction =top DemD =also bicycle =with

bəše   a vasa .
bə- š -e a va =sa
Pst went 3S DemD direction =top

They set it upright, set off and went in this direction; he went with his bicycle in that direction.

21 əme   bəšin râsa vandin kə ca kəlâ
   əm -e bə- š -in râ =sa vand -in kə ca kəlâ
   DemP 3P Pst went 3P way =top noticed 3P Comp PossD.3S hat

viginia .
vi- gini -a
Pvb fell Ptc

They went and noticed on that way that his hat had fallen down.

22 *a   kəlâšun   pegate   , sasəšun   bəkarde*
   a   kəlâ =šun pe-   gat   =e   sas   =əšun bə- kard   =e
   DemD   hat   =3P   Pvb   picked.up =Tr   voice =3P   Pst did   =Tr

kə   əštə   kəlu viginia   , bəšin   darasin   kəlâšun
kə   əštə   kəlu vi-   gini -a   bə- š   -in da-   ras   -in kəlâ =šun
Comp   Poss.2S hat Pvb   fell Ptc   Pst go   3P   Pvb   arrived 3P   hat   =3P

bədo   .
bə- do
Pst   gave

They picked it up and called out "Your hat has fallen down!" They went and arrived and gave him the hat.

23 *bad a   a   pegate   həye gəla xəc ba a*
   bad a   a   pe-   gat   =e   həye gəla xəc ba a
   later 3S 3S Pvb   picked.up =Tr 3   Cl   pear to 3S

bədoše   .
bə- do   =š   =e
Pst   gave =3S   =Tr

Then he took it and gave all three a pear.

24 *be estelâ   bamun komak bəkarde   kəluəm   aun*
   be estelâ   bamun komak bə- kard   =e   kəlu   =əm a   -un
   as.they.say 1S.IO help   Pst did   =Tr hat   =1S 3   Ob.P

buwarde   .
bu-   ward   =e
Pst   bring   =Tr

"After all, they helped me, and brought me back my hat."

25 *əm   hərdanun   de   nuzunie   kə   əm   xəcəš*
   əm   hərdan -un de   nu- zuni -e   kə   əm   xəc   =əš
   DemP   child   Ob.P anyhow Neg   know 3S   Comp DemP pear =3S

əmi   dəzdiabe   yâ əštanəše   .
əm   -i dəzdi -a   =b   -e   yâ əštan =əš   =e
DemP   Ob stole   Ptc   =Aux 3S   or self   =3S   =Cop.3S

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These children, of course, didn't know whether these pears were stolen or belonged to him.

26 *hərdane*   *bəšin*   *əm*   *vasa*   .

hərdan	*-e*	*bə-*	*š*	*-in*	*əm*	*va*	*=sa*
child	3P	Pst	went	3P	DemP	direction	=top

The children go in this direction.

27 *əm*   *merd viuma*   , *bəvinde*   *kə*   *cimi*

əm	*merd*	*vi-*	*uma*	*bə-*	*vind*	*=e*	*kə*	*cimi*
DemP	man	Pvb	came.down.3S	Pst	saw	=Tr	Comp	PossP.3S

vedrânda   *ila* *xəc vika*   , *bindəše*   *cimi*

vedr	*-ân*	*=da*	*i*	*-la*	*xəc*	*vi-*	*ka*	*bind*	*=əš*	*=e*	*cimi*
basket	Ob.P	=Loc	a	Cl	pear	Pvb.Sbj	pour.3S	saw	=3S	=Tr	PossP.3S

vedra *də* *gəla* , *bape* *həye gəla abi*   .

vedra	*də*	*gəla*	*bape*	*həye*	*gəla*	*a-*	*b*	*-i*
basket	two	Cl	should	3	Cl	Aug	be	Impf.3S

This man came down, and saw that of his baskets, as he went to pour pears into one of them, he saw that there were two baskets where there should have been three.

28 *əm*   *vedra ila*   *cici* *âbe*   *?*

əm	*vedra*	*i*	*-la*	*cici*	*â-*	*b*	*-e*
DemP	basket	a	Cl	what?	Pvb	became	3S

What happened to the one basket?

29 *oma*   *vi*   *yâda*   *fikriš*   *šabe*

oma	*vi*	*yâ*	*=da*	*fikr*	*=iš*	*š*	*-a*	*=b*	*-e*
came.3S	down	here	=Loc	thought	=3S	go	Ptc	=Aux	3S

bindəše   *kə*   *a*   *vana*   *həye gəla hərdan omada*   ,

bind	*=əš*	*=e*	*kə*	*a*	*va*	*=na*	*həye*	*gəla*	*hərdan*	*oma*	*=da*
saw	=3S	=Tr	Comp	DemD	direction	=with	3	Cl	child	come	=Loc

xəc *harda*   *hardain*   .

xəc	*hard*	*-a*	*hard*	*-a*	*=in*
pear	eat	Ptc	eat	Ptc	=Cop.3P

His thoughts at this point went like this. He saw that from over there three children were coming, eating pears.

30 əm   girəš   bəkarde   kə   əm   vedra , xob ,

   əm   gir   =əš bə- kard =e kə   əm   vedra xob

   DemP confused =3S Pst did   =Tr Comp DemP basket   well!

yâdan   ša   , cimi   dasta vedra ni   .

yâ   =da   =n   š   -a   cimi   dasta vedra ni

here   =Loc =also go   Ptc   PossP.3S Cl   basket Neg

He got confused: well, this basket went from here, his group of baskets is no more.

31 əme   həye gəla xəcin   hardeda   .

   əm   -e həye gəla xəc   =in   hard -e   =da

   DemP   3P   3   Cl   pear =3P   eat   Inf   =Loc

Those three are eating pears.

32 əm   bimunəš   bəšə   vâte   kə   əm   xəce   šəma

   əm   bimun   =əš bə- š   -ə vât -e kə   əm   xəc   -e šəma

   DemP 3P.IOP =3S Sbj   go   3S say Inf Comp DemP pear   P   2P

kaidane   vuwarda   ?

kai   =da   =n   =e vuward -a

where?   =Loc =2P   =Tr brought Ptc

He didn't dare say: "Where have you brought those pears from?"

33 əštan yâda   be   əme   a   vanan

   əštan yâ   =da b   -e əm   -e a   va   =na   =n

   self   here =Loc was 3S DemP 3P DemD direction =with   =3P

umada   xəc harda   hardain   .

uma   =da xəc hard -a hard -a   =in

came   =Loc pear eat   Ptc eat   Ptc   =3P

He himself was here, they were coming from over there, and eating pears as they reached the tree.

34 bəlaxəra əmi   dimukəš   negate   bimun vâjə   kə

   bəlaxəra əm   -i dimuk =əš ne- gat =e bimun vâj -ə   kə

   finally DemP   Ob shame =3S Neg   got =Tr 3P.IOP say Sbj.3S Comp

šəma əm   xəc kaidane   vuwardan   de   ayəda .

šəma əm   xəc kai   =da   =n   =e vuward =an de   ayəda

2P   DemP pear where?   =Loc =2P   =Tr bring   =2P anyhow there

In the end, he couldn't bring himself to ask them, "Where have you brought the pears from, was it over there?"

35 ǝngǝ   fikr   ǝm   jur   šabe   , aeni
   ǝngǝ   fikr   ǝm   jur   š   -a   =b   -e   a   -e   =ni
   like.this thought   DemP manner go   Ptc   =Aux 3S   DemD   P   =also

davardin   bǝšin   .
da-   vard   -in   bǝ-   š   -in
Pvb   passed.by 3P   Pst   went   3P

His thoughts went like this, and they passed by and went off.

B6. ASP: Pear Story, Asalem

1 dâstâni   ki   ama   deištimun   ǝm   rǝvâyat   ba   ki   ila
  dâstân -i   ki   ama   deišt   -imun   ǝm   rǝvâyat   b   -a   ki   i   -la
  story   Rch   Comp   1P   looked   1P   DemP narrative be   Pst.3S Rel   a   Cl

merdi   bumay   peraš   xǝja   dârikâ
merd   =i   b-   uma   =y   per-   a-   š   xǝj   -a   dâr   -i   =kâ
man   =Ind Prs come   =3S   Pvb   Aug   go.up pear Lnk   tree Ob   =Loc

kâra   xǝj   cie   .
kâr   =a   xǝj   ci   -e
Prog   =3S   pear pluck Inf

The story we saw was in this way: a man comes and goes up a pear tree, and is plucking pears.

2 xǝjun   baci   gǝla gǝla daraka   ǝštan dumanakâ   .
  xǝj   -un   ba-   ci   gla gla dar-   a-   ka   ǝštan dumana   =kâ
  pear   Ob.P Prs   pluck Cl   Cl   Pvb   Aug   pour   self apron   =Loc

He plucks pears and throws them one by one into his apron.

3 ila   pârcašani   ǝštan gardanikâ   dabasta   .
  i   -la pârca   =š   =ani   ǝštan gardan   -i   =kâ da-   bast   -a
  a   Cl cloth   =3S   =also   self neck   Ob   =Loc Pvb   tied   Ptc

He has tied a cloth round his neck too.

4 əm   xəjun   kâra   cie   varde   dakarde   ila

əm   xəj   -un   kâr   =a   ci   -e   vard   -e   da-   kard   -e   i   -la

DemP   pear   Ob.P   Prog   =3S   pluck   Inf   bring   Inf   Pvb   pour   Inf   a   Cl

sabadəš   nua   zaminikâ   kâra   dakarde   .

sabad   =əš   nu   -a   zamin   -i   =kâ   kâr   =a   da-   kard   -e

basket   =3S   put   Ptc   ground   Ob   =Loc   Prog   =3S   Pvb   pour   Inf

He is plucking these pears, bringing them down and throwing them into a basket he has put on the ground.

5 dar   həm   heyni   ke   kâba   varde   dakaru

dar   həm   heyn   -i   ke   kâ   =b   -a   vard   -e   da-   kar   -u

in   same   situation   Rch   Rel   Prog   =Aux   3S   bring   Inf   Pvb.Sbj   pour   Sbj.3S

zambilikâ   ila   əm   xəjunkâ   viragənəst   hatâ

zambil   -i   =kâ   i   -la   əm   xəj   -un   =kâ   vir-   a-   gənəst   hatâ

basket   Ob   =Loc   a   Cl   DemP   pear   Ob.P   =Loc   Pvb   Aug   fall   like.this

rəna   delakâ   .

rəna   dela   =kâ

straw   in   =Loc

While he is bringing them down and throwing them into the basket, one of these pears falls down like this into the straw.

6 bumay   tai   âkarderâ   əštan   dasmâli

b-   uma   =y   tai   â-   kard   -e   =râ   əštan   dasmâl   -i

Prs   come   =3S   empty   Pvb   make   Inf   =for   self   kerchief   Ob

gardanikâ   âraka   .

gardan   -i   =kâ   âr-   a-   ka

neck   Ob   =Loc   Pvb   Aug   open

He comes, empties out his load and loosens the kerchief around his neck.

7 a   xəji   ki   vigənəstaba   zamin   ai   tamiz

a   xəj   -i   ki   vi-   gənəst   -a   =b   -a   zamin   a   -i   tamiz

DemD   pear   Rch   Rel   Pvb   fell   Ptc   =Aux   3S   ground   3S   Ob   clean

âraka   gərdi   daraka   zambili   delakâ   .

âr-   a-   ka   gərd   -i   dar-   a-   ka   zambil   -i   dela   =kâ

Pvb   Aug   make   all   Ob   Pvb   Aug   pour   basket   Ob   in   =Loc

He cleans that pear which had fallen to the ground, and empties the whole lot into the basket.

8 *hani peraš dârikâ* .

  hani per- a- š dâr -i =kâ

  thus Pvb Aug go.up tree Ob =Loc

So he goes up into the tree.

9 *əm heynikâ ila merdani ila bəzi*

  əm heyn -i =kâ i -la merd =ani i -la bəz -i

  DemP situation Ob =Loc a Cl man =also a Cl goat Ob

sarikâ guna bəz ba lâfəndəš dakarda

sar -i =kâ gun -a bəz b -a lâfənd =əš da- kard -a

head Ob =Loc pregnant Lnk goat be Pst.3S rope =3S Pvb thrown Ptc

kâba ai darâkunəste âma daivarda .

kâ =b -a a -i darâkunəst -e âma daivard -a

Prog =Aux 3S 3S Ob lead Inf came.3S pass.by Pst.3S

Into this situation a man comes along, leading a pregnant goat, a rope thrown around its head.

10 *a varikâni ila javâna zuai*

  a var -i =kâ =ni i -la javân -a zua =i

  DemD direction Ob =Loc =also a Cl young Lnk boy =Ind

danəšta ba ila ducarxa kəlâš penuaba

da- nəšt -a ba i -la dücarxa kəlâ =š pe- nu -a =b -a

Pvb sat.astride Ptc to a Cl bicycle hat =3S Pvb put Ptc =Aux 3S

sarikâ âma dâri bənina daivaru .

sar -i =kâ âma dâr -i bəni =na daivar -u

head Ob =Loc came.3S tree Ob under =with pass.by Sbj.3S

From the same direction a young boy mounted on a bicycle, a hat on his head, comes and passes under tree.

11 *əm xəjunkâš vinda , tamaš manda*

  əm xəj -un =kâ =š vind =a tama =š mand -a

  DemP pear Ob.P =Loc =3S saw =Tr envy =3S remained Pst.3S

virma , ilaš bumunkâ pegata ki

vir- ma i -la =š bumun =kâ pe- gat =a ki

Pvb came.down.3S one Cl =3S 3P.IOP =Loc Pvb picked.up =Tr Comp

baštanna			baru			vindəša			ki	rafeǧi		ke
ba-	štan	=na	b-	ar	-u	vind	=əš	=a	ki	rafeǧ	-i	ke
to	self	=with	Sbj	eat	3S	saw	=3S	=Tr	Comp	friend	Rch	Rel

dârikâ			pere	motavaje	nia		.
dâr	-i	=kâ	pere	motavaje	ni	=a	
tree	Ob	=Loc	is.up	understanding	Neg	=Cop.3S	

When he sees the pears, he covets them. He dismounts, picks one of them up to eat, then sees that the man up the tree has not noticed him.

12
sabadəš		hata	râst	âkarda			nuša		
sabad	=əš	hata	râst	â-	kard	=a	nu	=š	=a
basket	=3S	like.this	upright	Pvb	made	=Tr	put	=3S	=Tr

ducarxana		.
dücarxa	=na	
bicycle	=in.front	

So he picks up the whole basket and puts it on the front of the bicycle.

13
râ	dagənəsta			kâba			še		,	vindəša			ila	
râ	da-	gənəst	-a	kâ	=b	-a	š	-e		vind	=əš	=a	i	-la
way	Pvb	set.out	3S	Prog	=Aux	3S	go	Inf		saw	=3S	=Tr	a	Cl

kəla	xanəmi			danəšta			ducarxa	,	rubarukâ			kâra	
kəla	xanəm	=i	da-	nəšt	-a		dücarxa		rubaru	=kâ		kâr	=a
girl	lady	=Ind	Pvb	sat.astride	Ptc		bicycle		face.to.face	=Loc		Prog	=3S

âme		.
âm	-e	
come	Inf	

He set out, and on his way saw a girl on a bicycle, coming towards him.

14
motavajeye			kəla	xanəm	ki	ba			,	âgardəsta			a
motavaje		-ye	kəla	xanəm	ki	b	-a			â-	gardəst	-a	a
understanding		Ez	girl	lady	Comp	be	Pst.3S			Pvb	turned	Ptc	DemD

tarâ	vâ	gənəsta		kəlâ	ca	sarikâ				vigənəsta			.
tarâ	vâ	gənəst	-a	kəlâ	ca	sar	-i	=kâ		vi-	gənəst	-a	
direction	wind	fell	Pst.3S	hat	PossD.3S	head	Ob	=Loc		Pvb	fell	3S	

All his attention fixed on the girl, he turns; the wind blows, and the hat falls off his head.

15 *motavajeye*   *kəla xanum ba*   *ducarxa daba*   *sə*

   motavaje   *-ye kəla xanəm b   -a   dücarxa da- b   -a sə*

   understanding   Ez girl lady be Pst.3S bicycle Pvb collided   3S stone

gənəsta   *sabad gərd viba*   .

gənəst   -a sabad gərd vi- b   -a

fell   3S basket all Pvb   spilt 3S

He was still looking at the girl. The bicycle struck a stone, fell over, and the whole basket
spilt.

16 *sava   gərd xâli âba*   .

   sava   gərd xâli â-   b   -a

   basket all   empty Pvb   became 3S

The whole basket emptied.

17 *dumlakâ*   *də se   nafar ca*   *rafiğe   a*

   dumla   =kâ də se   nafar ca   rafiğ   -e a

   after   =Loc two three person PossD.3S friend   P DemD

varikâ   *kâbin*   *âme*   *ae*   *âmin*

var   -i   =kâ kâ   =b   -in âm   -e a   -e âm   -in

direction   Ob   =Loc Prog =Aux 3P come   Inf 3 P came   3P

savašun   *bana*   *jam*   *âkarda*

sava   =šun ba   =na jam   â-   kard   =a

basket   =3P IOD.3S   =with gathering Pvb   made   =Tr

dakardušuna   *ha   sava delakâ*   *gulâbie*

da-   kard   =ušun =a ha   sava dela =kâ gulâbi -e

Pvb   poured   =3P   =Tr sameD basket in   =Loc pear   P

nâšuna   *carâ*   *ducarxa sarikâ*   .

nâ   =šun =a ca   =râ dücarxa sar   -i   =kâ

put   =3P   =Tr PossD.3S   =for bicycle head   Ob   =Loc

After that, two or three of his friends were coming along from the other direction. They came,
helped him collect up the basket, and threw all the pears into the basket and put them on the
bicycle for him.

18 *ca*   *pâni*   *zarba vindaba*   .

   ca   *pâ   =ni zarba vind -a   =b   -a*

   PossD.3S leg   =also wound saw   Ptc =Aux 3S

His leg had been hurt too.

19 *lanğân langân kâba ducarxana še ke*

   lanğân langân kâ =b -a dücarxa =na š -e ke

   limping limping Prog =Aux 3S bicycle =with go Inf Comp

pištikâ ca rafeğe motavajeye ca kəlâ

pišt -i =kâ ca rafeğ -e motavaje -ye ca kəlâ

behind Ob =Loc PossD.3S friend P understanding Ez PossD.3S hat

bin .

b -in

be Pst.3P

He went limping along with the bicycle when, behind him, his friends noticed his hat.

20 *cairâšun fuza ža , manda ,*

   cai =râ =šun fuza ž =a mand -a

   PossD.3S =for =3P whistle hit =Tr remained 3S

bardəšuna kəlâšun âdua bai .

bard =əšun =a kəlâ =šun â- du =a bai

carried =3P =Tr hat =3P Pvb handed.over =Tr IOD.3S

They whistled for him, and he stopped. They carried the hat over and gave it to him.

21 *ai dar ezâye camun bai pâdâš dua*

   a -i dar ezâye camun bai pâdâš du =a

   3S Ob in.exchange PossD.3P IOD.3S reward gave =Tr

xəjikâš .

xəj -i =kâ =š

pear Ob =Loc =3S

In exchange he gave them some of those pears as a reward.

22 *can gəlai dua bamun .*

   can gəla =i du =a bamun

   some Cl =Ind gave =Tr 3P.IOD

He gave them a few.

23 a   rafeğe   a   səngani   ke   ua

   a   rafeğ   -e   a   səng   =ani   ke   ua

   DemD   friend   P   DemD   stone   =also   Comp   there

vigənəstaba   ašun   pegata   fərəšun

vi-   gənəst   -a   =b   -a   a   =šun   pe-   gat   =a   fər   =əšun

Pvb   fell   Ptc   =Aux   3S   3S   =3P   Pvb   picked.up   =Tr   throw   =3P

âdua   jada   ğərağ   ke   diarirâ   itəfâğ

â-   du   =a   jada   ğərağ   ke   diar   =i   =râ   itəfâğ

Pvb   gave   =Tr   track   alongside   Comp   another   =Ind   =for   occurrence

danəgənu   .

da-   nə-   gən   -u

Pvb   Neg.Sbj   happen   Sbj.3S

Those friends picked up that stone which had fallen there, and threw it alongside the track so that a similar incident wouldn't occur.

24 kâbin   ha   xəji   harde   harde   âme   dâri

   kâ   =b   -in   ha   xəj   -i   hard   -e   hard   -e   âm   -e   dâr   -i

   Prog   =Aux   3P   sameD   pear   Ob   eat   Inf   eat   Inf   come   Inf   tree   Ob

bəni   daivarun   ki   a   xəja   cin   dârikâ

bəni   daivar   -un   ki   a   xəj   -a   cin   dâr   -i   =kâ

under   Sbj.pass.by   Sbj.3P   Comp   DemD   pear   Lnk   picker   tree   Ob   =Loc

virma   vindəša   sabade   ila   kamin   .

vir-   ma   vind   =əš   =a   sabad   -e   i   -la   kam   =in

Pvb   came.down.3S   saw   =3S   =Tr   basket   P   a   Cl   few   =Cop.3P

They were eating those pears, and came to pass underneath the tree when the pear picker came down and saw that one of his baskets is missing.

25 ašmardəša   vindəša   ila   kama   .

   ašmard   =əš   =a   vind   =əš   =a   i   -la   kam   =a

   counted   =3S   =Tr   saw   =3S   =Tr   a   Cl   few   =Cop.3S

He counted, and saw that one is missing.

26 *deišta*   *vindəša*   *də*   *se*   *gəla*   *xərdan*   *kân*   *əm*

   deišt   -a   *vind*   =əš   =a   *də*   *se*   *gla*   *xərdan*   *kâ*   =n   *əm*

   looked   3S   saw   =3S   =Tr   two   three   Cl   child   Prog   =3P   DemP

xəjunkâ   *harde*   *kân*   *âme*   *daivarun*   .

xəj   -un   =kâ   *hard*   -e   *kâ*   =n   *âm*   -e   *daivar*   -un

pear   Ob.P   =Loc   eat   Inf   Prog   =3P   come   Inf   pass.by   Sbj.3P

He looked and saw that two or three children are coming along, eating pears and passing by.

27 *fəkrəš*   *âkarda*   *vindəša*   *hala*   *ime*   *hala*

   fəkr   =əš   *â-*   *kard*   =a   *vind*   =əš   =a   *hala*   *im*   -e   *hala*

   thought   =3S   Pvb   made   =Tr   saw   =3S   =Tr   now   DemP   P   yet

xəja   *dâri*   *darastanin*   *bamun*   *bâju*

xəj   -a   *dâr*   -i   *da-*   *rast*   -a   -ni   =n   *bamun*   *b-*   *âj*   -u

pear   Lnk   tree   Ob   Pvb   reached   Ptc   Neg   =Cop.3P   3P.IOD   Sbj   say   3S

xəjəmuna   *pegata*   *yâ*   *ne*   .

xəj   =əmun   =a   *pe-*   *gat*   =a   *yâ*   *ne*

pear   =1P   =Tr   Pvb   picked.up   =Tr   or   no

He thought to himself, and saw that they have not yet arrived at the pear tree. Should he ask them whether they have taken his pears or not?

28 *de*   *ae*   *âmin*   *daivardin*   *šin*   *əm*   *merdani*

   de   *a*   -e   *âm*   -in   *daivard*   -in   *š*   -in   *əm*   *merd*   =ani

   so, in.fact   3   P   come   Pst.3P   pass.by   Pst.3P   went   Pst.3P   DemP   man   =also

manda   *u*   *sabadani*   *cai*   *nakâ*   *ba*   .

mand   -a   *u*   *sabad*   =ani   *cai*   *na*   =kâ   *b*   -a

remained   3S   and   basket   =also   PossD.3S   in.front   =Loc   be   Pst.3S

So they come and pass by, and this man is left standing there with his baskets in front of him.

B7. ASB: Baldy Story, Asalem

1 *pisi*   *nağli*   *šəmarâ*   *bavâtim*   .

   pis   -i   *nağl*   =i   *šəma*   =râ   *ba-*   *vât*   =im

   baldy   Ob   tale   =Ind   2P   =for   Fut   say   =1S

I'll you the story of a bald man.

2 *ğadim* *zamân* *ila* *pisi* *hes* *ba* *ki* *əštan* *amu*

  ğadim *zamân* *i* *-la* *pis* *=i* *hest* *b* *-a* *ki* *əštan* *amu*

  ancient time a Cl baldy =Ind exist be Pst.3S Comp self uncle

kəlarâ *dagənəstaba* .

kəla *=râ* *da-* *gənəst* *-a* *=b* *-a*

girl =for Pvb fell Ptc =Aux 3S

In the old days there was a baldy who had fallen for his own uncle's daughter.

3 *apišba* *ki* *əštan* *amu* *kəla* *bəbaru* *vali*

  a- *pi* *=š* *=b* *-a* *ki* *əštan* *amu* *kəla* *bə-* *bar* *-u* *vali*

  Aug want =3S =Aux 3S Comp self uncle girl Sbj carry 3S but

cimi *amu* *napiba* *əštan* *kəla* *bədaru* *bai* .

cimi *amu* *n-* *a-* *pi* *=b* *-a* *əštan* *kəla* *bə-* *dar* *-u* *bai*

PossP.3S uncle Neg Aug want =Aux 3S self girl Sbj give 3S IOD.3S

He wanted to carry her off, but his uncle didn't want to give his daughter to him.

4 *əm* *zua* *har* *jəgâ* *ki* *aši* *a* *əštan* *amu*

  əm *zua* *har* *jəgâ* *ki* *a-* *š* *-i* *a* *əštan* *amu*

  DemP boy every place Rel Aug go Impf.3S DemD self uncle

varikâ *daivarderâ* .

var *-i* *=kâ* *daivard* *-e* *=râ*

direction Ob =Loc pass.by Inf =for

Wherever this boy was going became an excuse to pass by that uncle of his.

5 *avâji* *amu* *kəlarâ* *mixâyəm* *u* *fəlân* .

  a- *vâj* *-i* *amu* *kəla* *=râ* *mixâyəm* *u* *fəlân*

  Aug say Impf.3S uncle girl =OM I.want and so on

He would say: "Uncle, I want your daughter!" and so on.

6 *badeš* *vali* *cimi* *amu* *moxâlef* *ba* *ki* *əštan* *kəla* *bədaru*

  bad *vali* *cimi* *amu* *moxâlef* *b* *-a* *ki* *əštan* *kəla* *bə-* *dar* *-u*

  later but PossP.3S uncle against be Pst.3S Comp self girl Sbj give 3S

bai .

bai

IOD.3S

Later... but his uncle was opposed to giving his daughter to him.

7 *napišba*   *əštan kəla bədaru*   *bai*   .

   n-   a-   pi   =š   =b   -a   əštan   kəla   bə-   dar   -u   bai

   Neg   Aug   want   =3S   =Aux   3S   self   girl   Sbj   give   3S   IOD.3S

He didn't want to give his daughter to him.

8 *əm*   *pisi*   *har*   *juri*   *naxša kašta*   *ki*   *bəšu*   *əštan*

   əm   pis   -i   har   jur   -i   naxša   kašt   =a   ki   bə-   š   -u   əštan

   DemP   baldy   Ob   every   type   Rch   plan   draw   =Tr   Comp   Sbj   go   3S   self

amu   *kəla*   *bəbaru*   *nəšâstəša*   .

amu   kəla   bə-   bar   -u   nə-   šâst   =əš   =a

uncle   girl   Sbj   carry   3S   Neg   can   =3S   =Tr

This baldy, however he schemed to go and take his uncle's daughter, he wasn't able to.

9 *âxər*   *i*   *ruzi*   *əm*   *pisi*   *gata*   *amu*   *cimi*   *ka*   *ârâ*

   âxər   i   ruz   =i   əm   pis   -i   gat   -a   amu   cimi   ka   ârâ

   extremity   a   day   =Ind   DemP   baldy   Ob   get   Ptc   uncle   PossP.3S   house   kindle

ža   .

ž   =a

hit   =Tr

Finally one day, having got hold of this baldy, the uncle set fire to his house.

10 *amu*   *əm*   *pisi*   *ka*   *ârâ*   *ža*   .

   amu   əm   pis   -i   ka   ârâ   ž   =a

   uncle   DemP   baldy   Ob   house   kindle   hit   =Tr

The uncle set fire to the baldy's house.

11 *pisi*   *barda*   *əštan*   *ka*   *gili*   *fərdaru*   *i*

   pis   -i   bard   =a   əštan   ka   gili   -i   fərdar   -u   i

   baldy   Ob   carried   =Tr   self   house   clay   Ob   Sbj.throw   3S   a

jəgâikâ   .

jəgâ   -i   =kâ

place   Ob   =Loc

The baldy took off the rubble of his house to throw away.

12 *dakardašba*   *kisa delakâ* ,

   da- kard -a =š =b -a kisa dela =kâ

   Pvb   poured   Ptc =3S =Aux 3S bag in   =Loc

žašba   *asbi*   *pištikâ*   *bârəš*

ža =š =b -a asb -i pišt -i =kâ bâr =əš

hit =3S =Aux 3S horse Ob behind Ob =Loc load =3S

âbastaba   .

â- bast -a =b -a

Pvb   tied   Ptc =Aux 3S

He had thrown it into a bag, put it on the back of a horse and made the load secure.

13 *asbi*   *kâra*   *abare*   *jəgâikâ*   *əštan gilimun*

   asb -i kâr =a abar -e jəgâ -i =kâ əštan gili -mun

   horse Ob Prog =3S carry.away Inf place Ob =Loc self clay Ob.P

fərdaru   .

fərdar -u

Sbj.throw   Sbj.3S

He was taking it away by horse to some place where he could throw away his rubble.

14 *ša*   *vindəša*   *ki can gəla dəzdi*   *bârəšun*   *žaya*

   š -a vind =əš =a ki can gla dəzd -i bâr =əšun ža -ya

   go Pst.3S saw =3S =Tr Rel some Cl thief Ob load =3P hit Ptc

kârin   *ome*   .

kâr =in âm -e

Prog   =3P come Inf

He went, and saw that some thieves are coming, all loaded up.

15 *əm*   *dəzde*   *âgardəstin*   *vâtəšuna*   *âğâ*   *əm*

   əm dəzd -e â- gardəst -in vât =əšun =a âğâ əm

   DemP thief P Pvb   turned   Pst.3P say =3P   =Tr mister DemP

cicia   ?

cici =a

what?   =Cop.3S

These thieves turned back and said: "Mister, what's this?"

16 *vâtəša*   *teleəma*   *žaya*   *iâ* .

   vât =*əš* =*a* *tele* =*əm* =*a* *ža* -*ya* *iâ*

   say =3S =Tr gold =1S =Tr hit Ptc here

He said: "It's gold I've bound up here."

17 *telem*   *dakardaya*   *əm*   *kisamun*   *delakâ*   .

   tele =*m* *dakard* -*a* =*ya* *əm* *kisa* -*mun* *dela* =*kâ*

   gold =1S throw Ptc =Tr DemP bag Ob.P in =Loc

I've thrown the gold into these bags.

18 *asbim*   *ža*   *jəgâikâm*   *dəzdia*   .

   asb -*i* =*m* *ž* =*a* *jəgâ* -*i* =*kâ* =*m* *dəzdi* =*a*

   horse Ob =1S hit =Tr place Ob =Loc =1S steal =Tr

I put it on the horse - I stole it from somewhere.

19 *kâra* *babardim*   .

   kâra *ba-* *bard* =*im*

   Prog Prs carried =1S

I'm transporting it.

20 *vâtəšuna*   *valla*   *amani*   *dəzdimun*   .

   vât =*əšun* =*a* *valla* *ama* =*ni* *dəzd* =*imun*

   say =3P =Tr by.God! 1P =also thief =Cop.1P

They said: "By God, we're thieves too!"

21 *amani*   *hânta* *əm*   *bârei*   *ki* *žamuna*

   ama =*ni* *hânta* *əm* *bâr* -*e* -*i* *ki* *ža* =*mun* =*a*

   1P =also like.this DemP load P Rch Rel hit =1P =Tr

əmeni   *telen*   .

əm   -*e* =*ni* *tele* =*n*

DemP P =also gold =Cop.3P

The baggage we've loaded up is gold too.

22 *isya be âgənam yandə šavirâ iâ*

   isya be âgən -am yandə šav -i =râ iâ

   now come! get.together Sbj.1P each.other night Ob =for here

bumunam .

bu- mun -am

Imper stay 1P

Now come, let's spend the night here together.

23 *saxsari ba har hâl əm var a var šimun*

   saxsari ba har hâl əm var a var š -imun

   tomorrow in.any.case DemP direction DemD direction go 1P

jəgâikâ amani batəkâ mərâğebat bakardimun .

jəgâ -i =kâ ama =ni batə =kâ mərâğebat ba- kard =imun

place Ob =Loc 1P =also 2S.IO =Loc guidance Fut do =1P

Tomorrow, in any case, we'll go somewhere or other and give you advice.

24 *təni bamana hamrâ bəb .*

   tə =ni bama =na hamrâ bə- b

   2S =also 1P.IO =with companion Imper be

You also join up with us!

25 *dumlakâ əm telemun yandəna baxš*

   dumla =kâ əm tele -mun yandə =na baxš

   after =Loc DemP gold Ob.P each.other =with distribution

âmunakard .

â- mun- a- kard

Pvb 1P Aug make

Afterwards we'll share this gold with each other.

26 *əme iâ mandin a šavirâ ba har hâl gərdi*

   əm -e iâ mand -in a šav -i =râ ba har hâl gərd -i

   DemP P here remained Pst.3P DemD night Ob =for in.any.case all Ob

xətin dara ğərağikâ rəbâri ğərağikâ .

xət -in dara ğərağ -i =kâ rəbâr -i ğərağ -i =kâ

slept Pst.3P river alongside Ob =Loc river Ob alongside Ob =Loc

So they all stayed there together that night and slept next to the river.

27 *gəla gəla əme   damandin   negahbâni due   ki   dəzde*

   gla gla əm -e damand =in negahbâni du -e ki dəzd -e

   Cl   Cl   DemP P Prog =3P guarding gave Inf Comp thief P

nân   cumun   kisamun   nəbarun   .

n-   â   -n   cumun   kisa -mun nə-   bar -un

Neg.Sbj come Sbj.3P PossP.3P bag Ob.P Neg.Sbj carry Sbj.3P

One by one they were keeping guard, so no thief would come and take away their sacks.

28 *əmlamun   ki   negahbâni dua   .*

   əm   -la -mun ki   negahbâni du   =a

   DemP Cl Ob.P Comp guarding gave =Tr

These stood guard one by one.

29 *gərd gəla gəla pisani   xət ba   , əmeni   xət*

   gərd gla gla pis =ani xət b -a   əm   -e =ni xət

   all Cl   Cl   baldy =also sleep be Pst.3S DemP P =also sleep

bin   .

b   -in

be   Pst.3P

One by one the baldy slept; and they slept.

30 *âxarin nafari   ki   negahbâni basi badare   əm pis   ba*

   âxarin nafar -i ki   negahbâni basi ba- dar -e əm pis b -a

   last   person Rch Rel   guarding must Sbj give 3S DemP baldy be Pst.3S

.

The last one who had to keep watch was this baldy.

31 *əm   pisi   əštan kise   iâ nân   camun   kiseyeš*

   əm   pis -i əštan kis -e iâ nâ =n camun   kis -e =yeš

   DemP baldy Ob self bag P here put =Tr.P PossD.3P bag P =3S

žin   əštan asbi   râ dagnəsta   oma   əštan mala .

ž =in əštan asb -i râ da- gənəst -a oma   əštan mala

hit =Tr.P self horse Ob way Pvb set.out Ptc came.3S self place

This baldy put his own bags here, put their bags on his horse, set off and came to his own place.

32 aeni   ki   nazunin   cimi   ka

   a -e   =ni   ki   n-   a-   zun   -in   cimi   ka

   3   P   =also Rel   Neg   Aug   know   Impf.3P PossP.3S house

kayâra   .

kayâr   =a

where?   =Cop.3S

Of course, they didn't know where his house was.

33 oma   malakâ   bale vâtəša   ki   amu   mən   əštan ka

   oma   mala   =kâ   bale vât =əš   =a   ki   amu   mən   əštan ka

   came.3S place   =Loc yes   say   =3S   =Tr Comp uncle Ob.1S self   house

gilim   barda   šarikâm   xərata   .

gili   =m   bard   =a   šar   -i   =kâ   =m   xərat   =a

clay   =1S   carried   =Tr   town   Ob   =Loc   =1S   sell   =Tr

He came back to the village, yes, and said: "Uncle, I took the rubble of my house and sold it in town!"

34 telem   vigata   .

   tele   =m   vi-   gat   =a

   gold   =1S   Pvb   took   =Tr

"I got gold."

35 ua   i   nafar   hesta   kâra   ka   gili   barde   avaz

   ua   i   nafar   hest   =a   kâr   =a   ka   gili   bard   -e   avaz

   there a   person exist   =Cop.3S   Prog   =3S   house clay   carried   Inf   change

karde   telena   .

kard   -e   tele   =na

do   Inf gold   =with

There's someone there who is taking rubble and exchanging it for gold.

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36 *amuni*   *əštan ka*   *ârâ*   *ža*   *dakardəša*

   amu   =*ni*   *əštan ka*   *ârâ*   *ž*   =*a*   da-   *kard*   =*əš*   =*a*

   uncle   =also   self   house   kindle   hit   =Tr   Pvb   poured   =3S   =Tr

kisakâ   .

kisa   =*kâ*

bag   =Loc

The uncle also burnt down his house, and threw the remains in a bag.

37 *bardəša*   *šahr ki*   *ba hisob*   *bəšu*   *ua*   *tele*

   bard   =*əš*   =*a*   *šahr ki*   *ba hisob*   *bə-*   *š*   -*u*   *ua*   *tele*

   carried   =3S   =Tr   city   Comp   to   proportion   Sbj   go   3S   there   gold

vigeru   .

vi-   *ger*   -*u*

Pvb   take   3S

He took it to town in order to go and get gold there in proportion.

38 *cimi*   *amuni*   *xayli ba hisob*   *tamaš*   *hes ba*   *ki*

   cimi   *amu*   =*ni*   *xaili ba hisob*   *tama*   =*š*   *hest*   *b*   -*a*   *ki*

   PossP.3S   uncle   =also   very   to   proportion   envy   =3S   exist   be   Pst.3S   Comp

puldâr âbu   .

puldâr â-   *b*   -*u*

rich   Pvb   become   3S

His uncle was pretty greedy about becoming rich.

39 *bale əm*   *ša*   *šahr* .

   bale əm   *š*   -*a*   *šahr*

   yes   DemP   go   Pst.3S   city

Yes, he went to town.

40 *amu əštan ka ârâ ža   u   ca   xâkəš   dakarda*

   amu əštan ka ârâ ž =a u   ca   xâk =əš da- kard =a

   uncle self house kindle hit =Tr and PossD.3S ash =3S Pvb poured =Tr

əštan kisakâ   bəbaru   šahr bardəša   har

əštan kisa =kâ bə- bar -u šahr bard =əš =a har

self bag =Loc Sbj carry 3S city carried =3S =Tr every

dukundâriši   vâta   mardum damanda   bana xuruste   .

dukundâr =iši vât =a mardum damand =a bana xurust -e

shopkeeper =Ind.3S say =Tr folk   Prog   =3S 3S.IO laugh Inf

The uncle set fire to his house and threw the ash into a bag to carry to town. He took it there, but whichever shopkeeper he spoke to, people were laughing at him.

41 *âğâ   magam gili baxrin   iâ   ?*

   âğâ   magam gili ba- xr =in iâ

   mister really? clay Prs buy =3P here

"Mister, as if they'd buy rubble here!"

42 *magam əm cizi   baxrin   iâ   ?*

   magam əm ciz -i ba- xr =in iâ

   really? DemP thing Ob Prs buy =3P here

"As if people would buy this stuff here!"

43 *bale amu oma   pisirâ   asabâni ba   u   fəlân ki tə*

   bale amu oma pis -i =râ asabâni b -a u fəlân ki tə

   yes uncle came.3S baldy Ob =for angry be Pst.3S and so on Comp 2S

cəmən ka ârâ ža   .

cəmən ka ârâ ž =a

Poss.1S house kindle hit =Tr

Yes, the uncle came back angry with the baldy, saying: "You were the one who burnt my house!"

44 *əm ce kâri   ba   tə karda   u fəlân .*

   əm ce kâr =i b -a tə kard =a u fəlân

   DemP what? work =Ind be Pst.3S 2S do =Tr and so on

"What on earth were you doing!" and so on.

45 bale pisəš gata darafandəša ila kisa delakâ .

   bale pis =əš gat =a darafand =əš =a i -la kisa dela =kâ

   yes baldy =3S took =Tr threw.in =3S =Tr a Cl bag in =Loc

Yes, he got the baldy, and threw him into a sack.

46 kisa sarəš davasta .

   kisa sar =əš da- vast =a

   bag head =3S Pvb tied =Tr

He tied up the top of the sack.

47 kisa sarəš davasta ki bəbaru əmi

   kisa sar =əš da- vast =a ki bə- bar -u əm -i

   bag head =3S Pvb tied =Tr Comp Sbj carry 3S DemP Ob

višakâ varâdaru tâ pis ua anəštai bimeru

viša =kâ varâ- dar -u tâ pis ua anəštai bi- mer -u

forest =Loc Pvb throw.away 3S until baldy there from.hunger Sbj die 3S

.

He tied up the top of the sack, to take it to the woods and threw it away there so the baldy would die of hunger.

48 pisəš barda ila viša delakâ kisa sarəšani

   pis =əš bard =a i -la viša dela =kâ kisa sar =əš =ani

   baldy =3S carried =Tr a Cl forest in =Loc bag head =3S =also

dabastaba nâša viša delakâ .

da- bast -a =b -a nâ =š =a viša dela =kâ

Pvb tied Ptc =Aux 3S put =3S =Tr forest in =Loc

He took the baldy into a forest, the top of the sack tied up, and left him in the forest.

49 i cana vaxti gəzašta ila šuna əštan

   i can -a vaxt =i gəzašt -a i -la šuna əštan

   a some Lnk time =Ind pass Ptc a Cl shepherd self

pasunna kâba ome .

pas -un =na kâ =b -a âm -e

sheep Ob.P =with Prog =Aux 3S come Inf

Some time passed, and a shepherd was coming along with his sheep.

50 əštan pasun   kâba   ua   cârnəste   .

   əštan pas   -un   kâ =b   -a   ua   cârnəst -e

   self   sheep Ob.P Prog =Aux 3S   there pasture   Inf

He was grazing his sheep there.

51 bad oma   vindəša   ki i nafari   kisa delakâ

   bad oma   vind =əš =a ki i nafar   =i   kisa dela =kâ

   later came.3S saw   =3S =Tr Rel a person   =Ind bag   in   =Loc

kâra   takân   takân   harde   .

kâr   =a   takân   takân   hard   -e

Prog   =3S   shaking shaking eat   Inf

Then he came and saw that someone is in a sack, shaking about.

52 kisa kâra   takân   takân   harde   .

   kisa kâr   =a   takân   takân   hard   -e

   bag   Prog =3S   shaking shaking eat   Inf

The sack is shaking about!

53 ša   ənta   kisaš   ža   âğâ   tə kišun   ?

   š   -a   ənta   kisa =š ž   =a âğâ   tə ki   =šun

   go   Pst.3S like.this bag   =3S hit =Tr mister 2S who?   =Cop.2P

He went and struck the sack, saying: "Mister, who are you?"

54 tə iâ ciš   bakard   ?

   tə iâ ci   =š   ba-   kard

   2S here pluck   =Cop.2S Prs   do

"What are you doing here?"

55 əm   cicia   iâ   ?

   əm   cici   =a   iâ

   DemP what?   =Cop.3S here

"What is this here?"

390

56 vâtəša   valla   pâdəšâ kəlašun   bapisti   bədarun

   vât   =əš   =a   valla   pâdəšâ kəla =šun ba-   pisti bə-   dar   -un

   say   =3S   =Tr by.God! king   girl =3P   Prs want   Sbj give   3P

bamana   .

bama   =na

1P.IO   =with

He said, "By God, they want to give the king's daughter to me."

57 vali mən   niapist   .

   vali mən   ni-   a-   pist

   but   Ob.1S Neg   Aug   want

"But I didn't want to."

58 harâ   darafandašuna   mən   əm   kisa delakâ   ki

   ha   =râ darafand -a   =šun   =a   mən   əm   kisa dela =kâ ki

   sameD =for throw.in Ptc   =3P   =Tr Ob.1S DemP bag   in   =Loc Rel

elâ   tə basi bâi   əm   šâ   kəla bəbari   .

elâ   tə basi b-   â   -i   əm   šâ   kəla bə-   bar   -i

if.not 2S must Sbj   come   2S   DemP king girl   Sbj   carry   2S

"For that reason they threw me into this sack, saying that by any means, you must come and marry the king's daughter."

59 az kâm   vâte   ki   âğâ   nəmabard   , ae

   az kâ   =m vât -e   ki   âğâ   nə-   m-   a-   bard   a   -e

   1S Prog   =1S say Inf Rel mister Neg   1S   Aug   carried 3   P

kân   vâte   basi bəbari   .

kâ   =n vât -e   basi bə-   bar   -i

Prog   =3P say Inf must Sbj   carry   2S

"I keep saying that mister, I won't, they keep saying that you must."

60 əm   šuna   âgardəsta   vâtəša   ki   isa ki   tə kâra

   əm   šuna   â-   gardəst -a   vât =əš   =a ki   isa ki   tə kâra

   DemP shepherd Pvb   turned   3S say =3S   =Tr Rel now Rel 2S Prog

nišabard   tə be   kisakâ   .

n-   iš-   a-   bard tə be   kisa =kâ

Neg 2Sg Aug   carried 2S come! bag   =Loc

This shepherd turned and said: "Now that you won't take her, come out of the sack."

61 *az sari   âmakard   .*

   az   sar   -i   â-   m-   a-   kard

   1S   head   Ob   Pvb   1S   Aug   open

"I'll undo its top."

62 *tə mən darafan cai   delakâ   , mən bəbarun   az šâ kəla*

   tə   mən darafan cai   dela =kâ   mən bə-   bar   -un az šâ kəla

   2S   Ob.1S throw.in PossD.3S in   =Loc   Ob.1S Sbj   carry 3P   1S   king girl

bəbarum   .

bə-   bar   -um

Sbj   carry   Sbj.1S

"You put me in the sack, so they'll take me and I can marry the king's daughter."

63 *vâtəša   xob iškâliši   nia   .*

   vât   =əš   =a   xob iškâl   =iši   ni   =a

   say   =3S   =Tr   good problem =Ind.3S Neg   =Cop.3S

He said, "Fine, no problem."

64 *be   hata   bəkaram   .*

   be   hata   bə-   kar   -am

   come! like.this Sbj   do.II   Sbj.1P

"Come on, let's do it like that."

65 *əm   šuna   kisa sar âkarda   dumlakâ   əm   šuna*

   əm   šuna   kisa sar â-   kard   =a   dumla =kâ   əm   šuna

   DemP shepherd bag head Pvb   opened =Tr   after =Loc DemP shepherd

oma   daša   əm   kisa dela .

oma   da-   š   -a   əm   kisa dela

came.3S Pvb   went.in Pst.3S DemP bag   in

This shepherd opened the top of the sack, then the shepherd went into the sack.

66 *pisi   ca   sar dabasta   .*

   pis   -i   ca   sar da-   bast   =a

   baldy Ob   PossD.3S head Pvb   tied   =Tr

The baldy tied up its top.

67 *paseš*   *pegatin*   *oma*   *mala* .

   pas   *-e*   *=š*   *pegat*   *=in*   *oma*   *mala*

   sheep   P   =3S   pick.up   =Tr.P   came.3S   place

He took the sheep and came to his village.

68 *cimi*   *amu*   *vinda*   *vâtəša*   *ke*   *pis*   *əm*   *cize*

   cimi   *amu*   *vind*   *=a*   *vât*   *=əš*   *=a*   *ke*   *pis*   *əm*   *ciz*   *-e*

   PossP.3S   uncle   saw   =Tr   say   =3S   =Tr   Comp   baldy   DemP   thing   P

cicin   *?*

cici   *=n*

what?   =Cop.3P

His uncle saw him and said: "baldy, what are these things?"

69 *pase*   *cicin*   *?*

   pas   *-e*   *cici*   *=n*

   sheep   P   what?   =Cop.3P

"What are these sheep?"

70 *mən*   *tə*   *darafandaba*   *kisakâ*   *varge*   *tə*

   mən   *tə*   *darafand*   *-a*   *=b*   *-a*   *kisa*   *=kâ*   *varg*   *-e*   *tə*

   Ob.1S   2S   throw.in   Ptc   =Aux   3S   bag   =Loc   wolf   P   2S

barun   *višakâ*   *bala* .

b-   *ar*   *-un*   *viša*   *=kâ*   *bala*

Sbj   eat   Sbj.3P   forest   =Loc   child

"I'd thrown you into a sack so the wolves would eat you in the forest, child."

71 *vâtəša*   *valla*   *râsti*   *bapistia*   *viša*   *delakâ*   *har*

   vât   *=əš*   *=a*   *valla*   *râsti*   *ba-*   *pisti*   *=a*   *viša*   *dela*   *=kâ*   *har*

   say   =3S   =Tr   by.God!   truth   Sbj   want   =3S   forest   in   =Loc   every

kasi   *ki*   *kisa*   *delakâ*   *darafanun*   *ai*   *,*   *kân*   *bai*   *i*

kas   *-i*   *ki*   *kisa*   *dela*   *=kâ*   *darafan*   *-un*   *a*   *-i*   *kâ*   *=n*   *bai*   *i*

person   Rch   Rel   bag   in   =Loc   throw.in   3P   3S   Ob   Prog   =3P   IOD.3S   a

rama   *pas*   *due*   *.*

rama   *pas*   *du*   *-e*

flock   sheep   gave   Inf

He said: "By God, if you want the truth, in the forest, whoever they throw into a sack, they give him a flock of sheep."

72 *âǧâ*   *əməš*   *ki* *ənta*   *karda*   .

   âǧâ   *əm*   =*əš* *ki* *ənta*   *kard*   =*a*

   mister DemP   =3S Rel like.this do   =Tr

"Mister, this is what someone did."

73 *amu* *dobâra* *vâta*   *ki* *xob* *isya* *tə* *ata*   *maka*   .

   amu *dobâra* *vât* =*a* *ki* *xob* *isya* *tə* *ata*   *ma-* *ka*

   uncle again   say   =Tr Rel good now   2S   like.that Phb   do

The uncle spoke again: "Well, now that's what you will do."

74 *tə* *be*   *mən* *darafan* *kisa* *delakâ*   , *mən* *bəbar*   *višakâ*

   tə *be*   *mən* *darafan* *kisa* *dela* =*kâ*   *mən* *bə-*   *bar* *viša* =*kâ*

   2S   come! Ob.1S throw.in   bag   in   =Loc   Ob.1S Imper   carry forest =Loc

barz   .

b-   *arz*

Imper   permit

"You come, throw me in the sack, take me to the forest and leave me."

75 *dumlakâ*   *bamənani*   *ila*   *rama* *bədarun*   .

   dumla =*kâ* *bamən* =*ani* *i*   -*la* *rama* *bə-*   *dar*   -*un*

   after   =Loc 1S.IO   =also a   Cl   flock   Sbj   give   3P

"Then they'll give me a flock too."

76 *vâtəša*   *bale* .

   vât =*əš* =*a* *bale*

   say   =3S =Tr yes

He said "Ok."

77 əmi   darafanda   əm   kisa delakâ   bardəša

   əm   -i   darafand   =a   əm   kisa dela   =kâ   bard   =əš   =a

   DemP   Ob   throw.in   =Tr   DemP   bag   in   =Loc   carried   =3S   =Tr

bejâyeinke   višakâ   vardaru   , bardəša

bejâyeinke   viša   =kâ   vardar   -u   bard   =əš   =a

instead.of.that   forest   =Loc   Sbj.take   Sbj.3S   carried   =3S   =Tr

darafandəša   daryâ delakâ   .

darafand   =əš   =a   daryâ   dela   =kâ

throw.in   =3S   =Tr   sea   in   =Loc

He threw him in a sack and took him off; instead of leaving him in the forest, he took him and threw him in the sea.

78 amuni   ki   kisakâ   dast u   pâ dabendistaba   ,

   amu   =ni   ki   kisa   =kâ   dast u   pâ dabendist   -a   =b   -a

   uncle   =also   Comp   bag   =Loc   hand   and   leg   tied.up   Ptc   =Aux   3S

amu   ša   daryâ bənikâ   marda   .

amu   š   -a   daryâ   bəni   =kâ   mard   -a

uncle   go   Pst.3S   sea   under   =Loc   died   3S

Since the uncle was tied hand and foot in the sack, he went down to the bottom of the sea and died.

79 pis   âgardəsta   amu kəlaš   barda   u   ham pase

   pis   â-   gardəst   -a   amu   kəla   =š   bard   =a   u   ham   pas   -e

   baldy   Pvb   returned   3S   uncle   girl   =3S   carried   =Tr   and   both   sheep   P

carâ   mandin   ham a   teleye   carâ

ca   =râ   mand   -in   ham a   tele   -ye   ca   =râ

PossD.3S   =for   stay   Pst.3P   both   DemD   gold   P   PossD.3S   =for

mandin   hamani   ke   amu kəlaš   barda   u   amu servat

mand   -in   ham   =ani   ke   amu   kəla   =š   bard   =a   u   amu   servat

stay   Pst.3P   both   =also   Comp   uncle   girl   =3S   carried   =Tr   and   uncle   wealth

bai   darasta   .

bai   da-   rast   -a

IOD.3S   Pvb   reached   3S

The baldy returned and married his uncle's daughter. The sheep were left for him, the gold was left for him, and moreover he got the uncle's daughter and the uncle's riches.

B8. MPS: Pear Story, Masal

1 *ruzi*   *bu*   *ruzegâri*   *nebu*   , *ğair*   *az*   *xudâ hic kas*

  ruz =i   b   -u   *ruzegâr* =i   ne-   b   -u   *ğair*   *az*   *xudâ hic kas*

  day = Ind   be   3S   era   = Ind   Neg   be   3S   without   from   God   no   person

nia   .

ni   =a

Neg   = Cop.3S

Once upon a time (lit: there is a day, there is not an era, there is none but God),

2 *ama kərâ râdəre*   *šimun*   , *vindəmuna*   *kə*   *i*

  ama kərâ râ   =dəre   š   -imun   *vind*   =əmun   =a   *kə*   *i*

  1P   Prog   way   = Srce   go   Impf.1P   saw   = 1P   = Tr   Comp   a

sukəla   *vacai*   *xunda*   .

sukəla   *vaca*   =i   *xund*   -a

cockerel.chick   youth   = Ind   sang   3S

we were going on our way, and noticed that a young cockerel crowed.

3 *šimna*   *albata*   *vindəmuna*   *merdaka*   *kərâ golâbi cinə*

  š   -imna *albata*   *vind*   =əmun   =a   *merdak*   -a   *kərâ golâbi cin*   -ə

  went   1P   of.course   saw   = 1P   = Tr   man   Disc   Prog   pear   pluck   3S

.

Of course we went on, and saw a man picking pears.

4 *bad golâbi cindəša*   *u*   , *ila*   *dasmâlam*

  bad golâbi cind   =əš   =a   *u*   *i*   -la   *dasmâl*   =am

  later   pear   plucked   = 3S   = Tr   and   a   Cl   handkerchief   = also

dâriste   *golâbiun*   *kə*   *zamin*   *balaken*   *avun*   *pâk*

dâr   -iste   *golâbi*   -un   *kə*   *zamin*   *balak*   -en   *av*   -un   *pâk*

have   Impf.3S   pear   Ob.P   Rel   ground   fell   3P   3S   Ob.P   clean

âkariste   .

â-   *kar*   -iste

Pvb   make   Impf.3S

Once he had picked the pears, he used a handkerchief he had to clean the pears that had fallen on the ground.

5 *bad   golâbi   əštan   dumlaku   dakari   ,   vuari   a*

  bad   golâbi   əštan   dumla   =ku   da-   kar   -i   vuar   -i   a

  later   pear   self   apron   =Loc   Pvb   pour   Impf.3S   bring   Impf.3S   DemD

zambiliku   danakariste   .

zambil   -i   =ku   dana-   kar   -iste

basket   Ob   =Loc   Pvb   pour   Impf.3S

Then he was pouring the pears into his apron, taking them to the basket and emptying them in.

6 *ham   jâ   kə   zambiliku   dakariste   ,   bəza   tuška*

  ham   jâ   kə   zambil   -i   =ku   da-   kar   -iste   bəz   -a   tuška

  same   place   Rel   basket   Ob   =Loc   Pvb   pour   Impf.3S   goat   Lnk   2year.male

a   vata   mandâ   ,   bəza   tuška   uma   ce

a   vata   mand   =â   bəz   -a   tuška   uma   ce

DemD   direction   present   =Cop.Pst.3S   goat   Lnk   2year.male   came.3S   PossD.3S

golâbi   barə   .

golâbi   b-   ar   -ə

pear   Sbj   eat   3S

Just there where he was pouring into the basket a young goat came along from that direction, and wanted to eat his pears.

7 *əmi   əštan   bəza   tuška   geta   u   ce   yağa*

  əm   -i   əštan   bəz   -a   tuška   get   =a   u   ce   yağa

  DemP   Ob   self   goat   Lnk   2year.male   get   =Tr   and   PossD.3S   animal.neck

getəša   ce   vəši   getəša   bardəša   a

get   =əš   =a   ce   vəš   -i   get   =əš   =a   bard   =əš   =a   a

get   =3S   =Tr   PossD.3S   neck   Ob   get   =3S   =Tr   carry   =3S   =Tr   DemD

vata   ,   kə   ce   golâbi   marə   .

vata   kə   ce   golâbi   m-   ar   -ə

direction   Comp   PossD.3S   pear   Phb   eat   3S

The man got hold of his goat, grabbed its neck and dragged it in the other direction, so it would not eat the pears.

8 *badan   hani   uma   golâbi   cindəša   .*

  badan   hani   uma   golâbi   cind   =əš   =a

  later   again   came.3S   pear   plucked   =3S   =Tr

Later he came back and plucked more pears.

9 *harci*   *kə*   *das ârasâ*   *cindəša*   ,

  harci   *kə*   *das âras*   = *â*   *cind*   = *š*   = *a*

  whatever Comp within.reach   = Cop.Pst.3S plucked   = 3S   = Tr

vindəša   *de*   *das âras*   *nešâ*   *cinden*

vind   = *əš*   = *a*   *de*   *das âras*   *ne-*   *šâ*   *cind*   -*en*

saw   = 3S   = Tr   in.any.case within.reach Neg   could.3S   plucked   Inf

dâriku   *peša*   .

dâr   -*i*   = *ku*   *pe-*   *š*   -*a*

tree   Ob   = Loc Pvb went.up   3S

He picked as far as his hand could reach, then saw that he couldn't reach any further, and went up to pick the rest of the tree.

10 *əm*   *kə*   *dâr* *peša*   *se* *câr* *gəla* *zambilam*

  əm   *kə*   *dâr* *pe-* *š*   -*a* *se* *câr* *gəla* *zambil* = *am*

  DemP Comp tree Pvb   went.up   3S 3 4 Cl   basket   = also

cindašâ   *u* *ate* *nuašâ*

cind   -*a*   = *š*   = *â*   *u* *ate* *nu*   -*a*   = *š*   = *â*

plucked Ptc   = 3S   = Cop.Pst.3S and there put   Ptc   = 3S   = Cop.Pst.3S

harjur   .

harjur

any.which.way

Before going up the tree, he'd picked three or four basketfuls and left them there anyhow.

11 *əm*   *kə*   *dâriku*   *peša*   *i* *xərdana*   *a*

  əm   *kə*   *dâr*   -*i*   = *ku* *pe-* *š*   -*a* *i* *xərdan* -*a*   *a*

  DemP Comp tree   Ob   = Loc Pvb   went.up   3S a child   Disc DemD

sardəre   *kə*   *uma*   *carx* *danəštâ*   .

sar   = *dəre* *kə*   *uma*   *carx* *da-* *nəšt*   = *â*

direction   = Srce Comp came.3S bicycle Pvb   sat   = Cop.Pst.3S

As he went up the tree, a boy came along on a bicycle.

12 əm   xərdana   uma   u   əm   merdaka   nevindəša

    əm   xərdan   -a   uma   u   əm   merdak   -a   ne-   vind   =əš   =a

    DemP   child   Disc came.3S and DemP man   Disc Neg   saw   =3S   =Tr

kərâ golâbi ciniste   .

kərâ golâbi cin   -iste

Prog pear   pluck   Impf.3S

This boy arrived, and the man didn't see, since he was picking pears.

13 bad   uma   u   dâri   takiku   , carxiku

    bad   uma   u   dâr -i   tak   -i   =ku   carx   -i   =ku

    later came.3S and tree Ob beside Ob   =Loc   bicycle Ob   =Loc

virma   .

vir-   ma

Pvb   came.down.3S

He came alongside the tree, and got off his bicycle.

14 badan carxəšna   âkarda   lâkəndəša   .

    badan carx   =əš   =na   â-   kard   =a   lâkənd   =əš   =a

    later bicycle =3S   =with Pvb let.go =Tr   dropped =3S   =Tr

Then he let go of the bicycle and dropped it.

15 bad   ša   u   ša   golâbi bədəzdə   .

    bad   š   -a   u   š   -a   golâbi bə-   dəzd -ə

    later went 3S   and went   3S   pear   Sbj   steal 3S

Then he went to steal a pear.

16 avaləš   ila   golâbi pigeta   .

    aval =əš i   -la golâbi pi-   get   =a

    first =3S a   Cl   pear   Pvb   picked.up   =Tr

At first he picked up one pear.

17 vindəša   ne hickas manda   nia   .

    vind =əš   =a   ne hickas mand -a   ni   =a

    saw   =3S   =Tr   no no.one stay   Ptc Neg   =Cop.3S

He saw that no, there's no one around.

18 *merdaka*   *cun*   *neviniste*   , *merdakani*   *ai*

    merdak   *-a*   *cun*   *ne-*   *vin*   *-iste*   *merdak*   *=ani*   *a*   *-i*

    man   Disc   because   Neg   see   Impf.3S   man   =also   3S   Ob

neviniste   , *əm*   *golâbia*   *bâǧa*   *sâheb* , *golâbia*   *cin*

ne-   *vin*   *-iste*   *əm*   *golâbi*   *-a*   *bâǧ*   *-a*   *sâheb*   *golâbi*   *-a*   *cin*

Neg   see   Impf.3S   DemP   pear   Lnk   garden   Lnk   owner   pear   Lnk   pluck

.

Since he couldn't see the man, the man couldn't see him, the owner of the pear orchard, the pear-picker.

19 *əm*   *uma*   *də martəba*   *əm*   *golâbia*   *zambili*   *hamatia*

    əm   *uma*   *də martəba*   *əm*   *golâbi*   *-a*   *zambil*   *-i*   *hamatia*

    DemP   came.3S   2   occasion   DemP   pear   Lnk   basket   Ob   just.there

pigetəša   .

pi-   *get*   *=əš*   *=a*

Pvb   picked.up   =3S   =Tr

This one came for the second time and picked up the basket of pears just there.

20 *vuardəša*   *u*   *carxi*   *râst*   *âkardəša*   ,

    vuard   *=əš*   *=a*   *u*   *carx*   *-i*   *râst*   *â-*   *kard*   *=əš*   *=a*

    brought   =3S   =Tr   and   bicycle   Ob   upright   Pvb   made   =3S   =Tr

carxi   *pišiku*   *ila*   *ajura*   *bârband* *dâriste*   ,

carx   *-i*   *piš*   *-i*   *=ku*   *i*   *-la*   *ajura*   *bârband* *dâr*   *-iste*

bicycle   Ob   in.front   Ob   =Loc   a   Cl   like.that   strap   have   Impf.3S

pigetəša   *ce*   *sari*   *penuša*   ,

pi-   *get*   *=əš*   *=a*   *ce*   *sar*   *-i*   *pe-*   *nu*   *š*   *=a*

Pvb   picked.up   =3S   =Tr   PossD.3S   head   Ob   Pvb   put.on   go   =Tr

carxi   *danəšta*   *râ*   *dalaka*   *ša*   .

carx   *-i*   *da-*   *nəšt*   *-a*   *râ*   *da-*   *lak*   *-a*   *š*   *-a*

bicycle   Ob   Pvb   sat   3S   way   Pvb   set.off   3S   went   3S

He brought it, set the bicycle upright - he had a strap on the front of it - put the basket in front, got on the bicycle and set off.

21
ša		i	laki		ša		u	badan	beynə		râ
š	-a	i	lak	=i	š	-a	u	badan	beyn	=ə	râ
went	3S	a	short.distance	=Ind	went	3S	and	later	midst	=Ez	way

de		vindəša			kə	i	kilateni			carxina
de		vind	=əš	=a	kə	i	kila	-te	=ni	carx	-i	=na
in.any.case		saw	=3S	=Tr	Comp	a	girl	Dim	=also	bicycle	Ob	=with

kərâ	âiste		.
kərâ	â	-iste	
Prog	come	Impf.3S	

He set off, went a little way, then saw in the middle of the way that a young girl was coming on a bicycle.

22
əm	kilate		uma	u	əm	xərdani		havâs	part
əm	kila	-te	uma	u	əm	xərdan	-i	havâs	part
DemP	girl	Dim	came.3S	and	DemP	child	Ob	concentration	thrown

ba		,	əm	golâbia		dəzd	.
b	-a		əm	golâbi	-a	dəzd	
be	Pst.3S		DemP	pear	Lnk	thief	

The little girl came up and this boy's concentration was thrown, the pear thief.

23
əm	ša			,	xolâsa	əm	xərdaniku			əštan	cizəš
əm	š	-a		xolâsa	əm	xərdan	-i	=ku	əštan	ciz	=əš
DemP	went	3S		in.short	DemP	child	Ob	=Loc	self	thing	=3S

karda		u	šina		yeku			rad	âbun		,	əm
kard	=a	u	š	-ina	ye	=ku		rad	â-	b	-un	əm
did	=Tr	and	go	Pst.3P	each.other	=Loc		pass	Pvb	became	3P	DemP

kinate		kəlâ	pigetəša			.
kina	-te	kəlâ	pi-	get	=əš	=a
girl	Dim	hat	Pvb	picked.up	=3S	=Tr

He went on. In short, the girl threw the boy's concentration, and as they passed each other, the girl took his hat.

24 *kinate*   *kəlâ pigetəša*   , *cimi*   *havâs*   *part*

    kina -*te kəlâ pi-* *get* =*əš* =*a cimi havâs part*

    girl Dim hat Pvb picked.up =3S =Tr PossP.3S concentration thrown

âba   *u əm balaka zamin u cimi golâbia zambil*

â- b   -*a u əm balak -a zamin u cimi golâbi -a zambil*

Pvb became 3S and DemP fell 3S ground and PossP.3S pear Lnk basket

hamate   *viba*   .

hamate   *vi- b -a*

everything Pvb spilt 3S

The girl took the hat, the boy's concentration was thrown, he fell to the ground, and all his pears spilled out of the basket.

25 *hənta*   *hate*   *vimanda*   *u de*   *əštan gurave sar bə sar*

    hənta   *hate*   *vi- mand -a u de*   *əštan gurave sar bə sar*

    like.this just.there Pvb remained 3S and in.any.case self sock head to head

jir   *kardəša*   *u fəlân* .

jir   *kard* =*əš* =*a u fəlân*

down did =3S =Tr and so.on

So he remained just there, pulled down the top of his sock, and sat there.

26 *badan də se nafar a*   *sardəre*   *ke ce*   *ham*

    badan də se nafar a   *sar* =*dəre ke ce*   *ham*

    later 2 3 person DemD direction =Srce Comp PossD.3S same

saramâlə   *xərdanen*   *umina*   .

saramâl =*ə xərdan* -*en um* -*ina*

age   =Ez child P came 3P

After a while two or three folk, children of his age, came along from that direction.

27 *ce   ham saramâlə   xərdanen   umina   u   əmina*

   ce   *ham* *saramâl* =ə *xərdan* -en *um* -ina *u* *əm* -i =na

   PossD.3S same age   =Ez child   P   came 3P and DemP Ob =with

šun   kəmak kardəšuna   golâbišun   zaminiku   hamate

šu -n *kəmak* *kard* =əšun =a *golâbi* =šun *zamin* -i =ku *hamate*

go 3P help did =3P =Tr pear =3P ground Ob =Loc everything

pecinda   .

pe- *cind* =a

Pvb gathered.up =Tr

These children his age came along, went and helped him, and gathered up all the pears from the ground.

28 *dakardəšuna*   *aznu* *zambili* *dilaku*   .

   da- *kard* =əšun =a *aznu* *zambil* -i *dila* =ku

   Pvb poured =3P =Tr afresh basket Ob inside =Loc

They poured them back into the basket.

29 *bad de   əmunna   xudahafiziš   karda   u* , *əm*

   bad de *əm* -un =na *xudahafizi* =š *kard* =a *u* *əm*

   later in.any.case DemP Ob.P =with goodbye =3S did =Tr and DemP

xərdanen šina   ənta   râ , *əm xərdanani   carxi*

xərdan -en *š* -ina *ənta* *râ* *əm* *xərdan* =ani *carx* -i

child P went 3P like.this way DemP child =also bicycle Ob

danəšta   ša   əštan masiriku   .

da- *nəšt* -a *š* -a *əštan* *masir* -i =ku

Pvb sat 3S went 3S self route Ob =Loc

Anyway, then he said goodbye to them and the children went on their way, while the other boy got onto his bicycle and left.

30 *əštan karâ   xâi   bəšiste*   .

   əštan *ka* =râ *xâ* -i *bə-* *š* -iste

   self house =for want Impf.3S Sbj go Impf.3S

He wanted to go to his house.

31 *mavâ*   *əštan kəlâ virəš*   *âša*   , *kəlâ kə*

    ma-   *vâ*   *əštan kəlâ vir*   *=əš*   *â-*   *š*   *-a*   *kəlâ kə*

    Phb   say.3S   self   hat   memory   =3S   Pvb   went   3S   hat   Comp

virəš   *âša*   *ša*   , *i laki*   *a*   *vata*

vir   *=əš*   *â-*   *š*   *-a*   *š*   *-a*   *i lak*   *=i*   *a*   *vata*

memory   =3S   Pvb   went   3S   went   3S   a short.distance   =Ind   DemD   direction

ša   *u*   *ce*   *əm*   *rafiğun*   *airâ*   *fuiza*   *karda*

š   *-a*   *u*   *ce*   *əm*   *rafiğ*   *-un*   *a*   *-i*   *=râ*   *fuiza*   *kard*   *=a*

went   3S   and   PossD.3S   DemP   friend   Ob.P   3S   Ob   =for   whistle   did   =Tr

kə   *aišun*   *âgârdənda*   .

kə   *a*   *-i*   *=šun*   *â-*   *gârdənd*   *=a*

Comp   3S   Ob   =3P   Pvb   make.return   =Tr

However, his hat slipped his mind. When the hat slipped his mind, he went a little way in one direction, then his friends whistled for him to come back.

32 *vâtəšuna*   *kə*   *əštə kəlâ vir*   *âša*   .

    vât   *=əšun*   *=a*   *kə*   *əštə kəlâ vir*   *â-*   *š*   *-a*

    said   =3P   =Tr   Comp   your   hat   memory   Pvb   went   3S

They said: "Your hat slipped your mind!"

33 *əmi*   *əštan kəlâ pigeta*   .

    əm   *-i*   *əštan kəlâ pi-*   *get*   *=a*

    DemP   Ob   self   hat   Pvb   picked.up   =Tr

He picked up his hat.

34 *do martəba râ dalaka*   *ša*   .

    do martəba râ da-   *lak*   *-a*   *š*   *-a*

    2   occasion   way   Pvb   set.off   3S   went   3S

For the second time he headed off.

35 *ğabl az inkə*   *əm*   *râ*   *dalakə*   , *də se gəla har*   *i*   *i*   *gəla*

    ğabl az inkə   *əm*   *râ*   *da-*   *lak*   *-ə*   *də se gəla har*   *i*   *i*   *gəla*

    before   Comp   DemP   way   Pvb.Sbj   set.off   3S   2   3   Cl   every   a   a   Cl

golâbi âduša   .

golâbi â-   *du*   *=š*   *=a*

pear   Pvb   gave   =3S   =Tr

Before setting off, he gave one pear to each of the two or three of them.

36 *əm*　*xərdanen*　*a*　*golâbia*　*cini*　*tarafina*　*kərâ*

　　əm　*xərdan*　*-en*　*a*　*golâbi*　*-a*　*cin*　*-i*　*taraf*　*-i*　*=na*　*kərâ*

　　DemP　child　P　DemD　pear　Lnk　pluck　Ob　side　Ob　=with　Prog

šistine　　　　.

š　　*-istine*

go　Impf.3P

Those childen were going in the direction of the pear picker.

37 *ha*　*merdaka*　*ate*　*ku*　*ce*　*golâbi*　*əm*　*zua*

　　ha　*merdak*　*-a*　*ate*　*ku*　*ce*　*golâbi*　*əm*　*zua*

　　SameD　man　Disc　there　Comp　PossD.3S　pear　DemP　boy

dəzdiâ　　　　.

dəzdi　*=â*

steal　=Cop.Pst.3S

The same man over there whose pears this boy had stolen.

38 *de*　　*a*　*xərdan*　*ša*　　　.

　　de　　*a*　*xərdan*　*š*　　*-a*

　　in.any.case　DemD　child　went　3S

In any case, that boy went.

39 *əmenni*　　　　*šina*　　　.

　　əm　　*-en*　*=ni*　*š*　　*-ina*

　　DemP　P　=also　went　3P

They also went.

40 *əm*　*merdaka*　　,　*dâriku*　　　*virma*　　　　*vâtəša*

　　əm　*merdak*　*-a*　*dâr*　*-i*　*=ku*　*vir-*　*ma*　　　*vât*　*=əš*　*=a*

　　DemP　man　Disc　tree　Ob　=Loc　Pvb　came.down.3S　said　=3S　=Tr

au　,　*cəmən*　*golâbi*　*zambil*　*nua*　　*nia*　　　　　.

au　　*cəmən*　*golâbi*　*zambil*　*nu*　*-a*　*ni*　　*=a*

eh!　Poss.1S　pear　basket　put　Ptc　Neg　=Cop.3S

This man comes down from the tree and says "Oh no!" His pears, which he'd put in the basket, are not there.

41 *hənta* *yâku* *fikr* *karə* *golâbia* *zambil* *cə* *ba* ?

    hənta *yâ* =*ku* *fikr* *kar* -*ə* *golâbi* -*a* *zambil* *cə* *b* -*a*

    like.this here =Loc thought do 3S pear Lnk basket what? be Pst.3S

So he's there thinking, what happened to the basket of pears?

42 *vâtəša* *au* , *câr* *pin* *nafar* *xərdan* *kərâ* *a* *sardəre*

    vât =*əš* =*a* *au* *câr* *pin* *nafar* *xərdan* *kərâ* *a* *sar* =*dəre*

    said =3S =Tr eh! 4 5 person child Prog DemD direction =Srce

ke *ân* *har* *i* *ila* *golâbi* *kərâ* *harə* .

ke *â* -*n* *har* *i* *i* -*la* *golâbi* *kərâ* *har* -*ə*

Comp come 3P every a a Cl pear Prog eat 3S

"Oh dear," he said. Then four or five children come from that direction, each one eating a pear.

43 *badan* *əmini* *xəjâlat* *geta* *avun* *dafarsə* .

    badan *əm* -*i* =*ni* *xəjâlat* *get* =*a* *av* -*un* *da-* *fars* -*ə*

    later DemP Ob =also shame get =Tr 3S Ob.P Pvb.Sbj ask 3S

But then he is embarassed to question them.

44 *xob* *hani* *golâbia* *bâǧ* *nuâ* *əm* *vata* *a* *vata*

    xob *hani* *golâbi* -*a* *bâǧ* *nu* =*â* *əm* *vata* *a* *vata*

    well again pear Lnk garden put =Cop.Pst.3S DemP direction DemD direction

.

Well, after all there were pear orchards in both directions.

45 *xob* *aven* *kərâ* *a* *sardəre* *âistine* , *vâsa* *agar* *hani*

    xob *av* -*en* *kərâ* *a* *sar* =*dəre* *â* -*istine* *vâsa* *agar* *hani*

    well 3S P Prog DemD direction =Srce come Impf.3P whereas if again

aku *bumunistine* *vâi* *âǧâ* *šəma* *cəmən* *golâbi*

a =*ku* *bu-* *mun* -*istine* *vâ* -*i* *âǧâ* *šəma* *cəmən* *golâbi*

DemD =Loc Sbj stay Impf.3P say.3S Impf.3S mister 2P Poss.1S pear

dəzdiaruna .

dəzdi -*a* =*run* =*a*

steal Ptc =2P =Tr

Moreover, they were coming from that direction, whereas if they had been in the other direction, he would have said, "Hey, you stole my pears!"

46 *aven*   *kərâ*   *a*   *sardəre*   *ke*   *âistine*   *vâtəša*

    av   *-en*   *kərâ*   *a*   *sar*   =*dəre*   *ke*   *â*   *-istine*   *vât*   =*š*   =*a*

    3S   P   Prog   DemD   direction   =Srce   Comp   come   Impf.3P   said   =3S   =Tr

xob   *âmen*   *de*   *cə*   *dafarsəm*   *?*

xob   *âm*   *-en*   *de*   *cə*   *da-*   *fars*   *-əm*

well   come   P   in.any.case   what?   Pvb.Sbj   ask   1S

But since they were coming from over there, he said (to himself): "Well, they're coming; what can I ask?"

47 *əmun*   *momkena*   *kase*   *digarəš*   *golâbi*

    əm   *-un*   *momken*   =*a*   *kas*   =*e*   *digar*   =*əš*   *golâbi*

    DemP   Ob.P   possible   =Cop.3S   person   =Ez   other   =3S   pear

vigeta   *bubu*   *yâ*   *xəriašun*   *bubu*   *yâ*   *əštan*

vi-   *get*   *-a*   *bu-*   *b*   *-ə*   *yâ*   *xəri*   *-a*   =*šun*   *bu-*   *b*   *-ə*   *yâ*   *əštan*

Pvb   took   Ptc   Sbj   be   3S   or   bought   Ptc   =3P   Sbj   be   3S   or   self

bâǧiku   *cindašun*   *bubu*   .

bâǧ   *-i*   =*ku*   *cind*   *-a*   =*šun*   *bu-*   *b*   *-ə*

garden   Ob   =Loc   plucked   Ptc   =3P   Sbj   be   3S

"It's possible they took someone else's pears, or bought them, or picked them from their own orchard."

48 *de*   *xolâsa*   *hicci*   *,*   *merdaka*   *manda*   *matal*   *, u*   *əm*

    de   *xolâsa*   *hicci*   *merdak*   *-a*   *mand*   *-a*   *matal*   *u*   *əm*

    in.any.case   in.short   nothing   man   Disc   remained   3S   confused   and   DemP

xərdanen   *əm*   *golâbi*   *de*   *hariste*   *cimi*   *piši*   *rad*

xərdan   *-en*   *əm*   *golâbi*   *de*   *har*   *-iste*   *cimi*   *piš*   *-i*   *rad*

child   P   DemP   pear   in.any.case   eat   Impf.3S   PossP.3S   in.front   Ob   pass

âbina   *u*   *šina*   *əštan*   *karâ*   *be estelâh*   .

â-   *b*   *-ina*   *u*   *š*   *-ina*   *əštan*   *ka*   =*râ*   *be estelâh*

Pvb   became   3P   and   went   3P   self   house   =for   as.they.say

Anyway, in the end nothing happened. The guy stayed there confused, and the children went past him eating these pears, and went on home, as they say.

B9. MSS: Seven Sisters, Masal

1 *ruzi*   *bu*   , *ruzei*   *nebu*   , *ǧeir* *az* *xudâ hikas*

  ruz = *i* *b* -*u* *ruz* -*e* = *i* *ne-* *b* -*u* *ǧeir* *az* *xudâ hikas*

  day = Ind be 3S day P = Ind Neg be 3S without from God no.one

nebu   .

ne- *b* -*u*

Neg be 3S

Once upon a time (lit: there is a day, there are no days, there is none but God)

2 *i* *merdakiâ*   , *haft gəla kina dâri*   .

  i *merdak* = *i* = *â*   *haft gəla kina dâr* -*i*

  a man = Ind = Cop.Pst.3S 7 Cl girl have Impf.3S

there was a man who had seven daughters.

3 *əštan ruka*   *kinana*   *xaili xəšinâ*   .

  əštan ruk -*a* *kina* = *na* *xaili xəšin* = *â*

  self little Lnk girl = with very pleased = Cop.Pst.3S

He really loved the smallest girl.

4 *a*   *kinen*   *vân*   *ama cəbkaram*   , *vištatar*

  a   *kin* -*en* *vâ*   -*n* *ama* *cə-* *b-* *kar* -*am* *vištatar*

  DemD girl P say.3S 3P 1P what? Sbj do 1P more

aina   *a*   *ruka*   *kinana*   *xəšina*   , *ama*

a -*i* = *na* *a*   *ruk* -*a* *kina* = *na* *xəšin* = *a*   *ama*

3S Ob = with DemD little Lnk girl = with pleased = Cop.3S 1P

ceǧadar   *xəšnina*   .

ceǧadar   *xəšin* -*n-* = *a*

how.much? pleased Neg = Cop.3S

Those (other) girls said: "What shall we do? He loves that little girl more, how much does he love us?"

5 *valla*   .

  valla

  by.God

By God.

6 *vâ*   *i* *ruzi*   *bəndina*   *a*   *šaš kina bəndina*

  vâ   *i* *ruz* *=i*   *bəndi*   *=na* *a*   *šaš kina bəndi*   *=na*

  say.3S a day =Ind each.other =with DemD 6   girl each.other =with

poxtusâze   *karan*   , *vâ*   *ama bəšam*   *jangal târa cini*   ,

poxtusâze   *kar* *-an* *vâ*   *ama bə-*   *š*   *-am jangal târa cin*   *-i*

cunning.plan do   3P   say.3S 1P   Sbj   go   1P forest herb pluck   Nom

əmini   *əštana*   *bəbaram*   .

əm   *-i*   *=ni* *əšta*   *=na* *bə-* *bar*   *-am*

DemP   Ob   =also self   =with Sbj   carry 1P

Now, one day those six girls make a plan together: "Let's go to the forest herb-picking, and take her with us."

7 *âku*   *avi*   *âkaram*   .

  â   *=ku* *avi*   *â-*   *kar*   *-am*

  there   =Loc out.of.sight Pvb   lose   1P

There we'll lose her.

8 *de*   *râi*   *nedâram*   .

  de   *râ*   *=i*   *ne-*   *dâr*   *-am*

  in.any.case way   =Ind Neg   have   1P

We have no other option.

9 *həmen*   *i* *ruzi*   *šun*   *jangal târa cini*   , *əm*   *kina*

  həm   *-en i ruz* *=i* *š*   *-un jangal târa cin*   *-i*   *əm*   *kina*

  sameP P a day =Ind go   3P forest herb pluck Nom   DemP girl

jišu   , *aina*   *vân*   *tə jišən*

ji- *š*   *-ə*   *a* *-i*   *=na* *vâ*   *-n tə ji-*   *š*   *-ən*

Pvb go.down 3S 3S Ob   =with say.3S 3P 2S Pvb.Imp go.down Imp.2S

barakua kuniku   *târa daria*   , *bəcin*   .

barakua kun   *-i*   *=ku* *târa dari*   *=a*   *bə-*   *cin*

glade   bottom Ob   =Loc herb exist   =Cop.3S Imp   pluck

One day these same go to the forest to pick herbs. This girl goes down too, and they say to her: "You go down to the bottom of the glade, there are herbs there. Pick them."

10
əm	kinali	dašu		a	bəri	bəniku
əm	kina -li	da- š	-ə a	bər	-i	bəni =ku
DemP	girl Dim	Pvb go.through	3S DemD	thornbush	Ob	beneath =Loc

ce	mua	pica	â	saxt âbu	.
ce	mu -a	pic -a	â	saxt â- b	-u
PossD.3S	hair	Lnk twisted	Ptc	there firm Pvb become	3S

So the little girl goes in under a thornbush, and her hair gets twisted and held tight.

11
əštan	xâ	daxânu	,	vâ	be	mərâ	âka	,
əštan	xâ	da- xân -u		vâ	be	mə =râ	â- ka	
self	sister	Pvb summon 3S		say.3S	come!	1S.Ob =for	Pvb loose!	

cəmən	mua	pica	.
cəmən	mu -a	pic =a	
Poss.1S	hair	Lnk twisted =Cop.3S	

She calls her sisters, and says "Come and set me free, my hair is tangled."

12
az	yâ	saxt	âbaima	.
az	yâ	saxt	â- b -a =ima	
1S	here	firm	Pvb became Ptc =Cop.1S	

"I've got stuck here."

13
a	bi	bəšu	âkarə	,	nââkarə	.
a	bi	bə- š -ə â-	kar -ə	nâ- â-	kar -ə	
DemD	must	Sbj go 3S Pvb.Sbj	loose 3S	Neg Pvb	loose 3S	

She (the first sister to come) should go and free her, but she does not.

14
əmi		də	se	angəl	žanə	.
əm	-i	də	se	angəl	žan -ə	
DemP	Ob	2	3	knot	strike 3S	

She puts in two or three knots.

15 *âğâ* , *əm* *šiš* *xâ* *gəla gəla gəla daxânu* , *əmen* *šun*
    âğâ *əm* *šiš* *xâ* *gəla gəla gəla da-* *xân* *-u* *əm* *-en* *šu* *-n*
    mister DemP 6 sister Cl Cl Cl Pvb summon 3S DemP P go P

har *i* *də* *angəl* *žanən* *də* *angəl* *se* *angəl* *ce* *mu* *yâku*
har *i* *də* *angəl* *žan* *-ən* *də* *angəl* *se* *angəl* *ce* *mu* *yâ* *=ku*
every a 2 knot strike 3P 2 knot 3 knot PossD.3S hair here =Loc

žanən , *dalakə* *mağreb* .
žan *-ən* *da-* *lak* *-ə* *mağreb*
strike 3P Pvb fall 3S dusk

Mister, she calls the six sisters one by one. They come and each one puts in two knots, two or three knots in her hair. Dusk falls.

16 *mağreb* *de* *dalakə* .
    mağreb *de* *da-* *lak* *-ə*
    dusk in.any.case Pvb fall 3S

So, dusk falls.

17 *badaz* *əm* *vinə* *kə* *râna* *i* *ci* *a* *sar* *kərâ* *â* .
    badaz *əm* *vin* *-ə* *kə* *râ* *=na* *i* *ci* *a* *sar* *kərâ* *â*
    later DemP see 3S Comp way =with a thing DemD head Prog come.3S

Later she sees that something is is on the path; something is coming from over there.

18 *vinə* *i* *xuia* .
    vin *-ə* *i* *xu* *=i* *=a*
    see 3S a boar =Ind =Cop.3S

She sees it is a boar.

19 *badaz* *vâ* *xua* *xâlu* *jân* *me* *maxâr* *me* *bərâ* *jânâ*
    badaz *vâ* *xu* *-a* *xâlu* *jân* *me* *ma-* *xâr* *me* *bərâ* *jân* *-â*
    later say.3S boar Lnk uncle dear 1S.Ob Phb eat 1S.Ob brother dear Voc

šəkârbunâ *gula* *bəze* .
šəkârbun *-â* *gula* *bə-* *ze*
hunter Voc promise Imp hit

Then she says: "Dear uncle boar, don't eat me dear brother hunter, promise!"

20 *vâ   kə   mə   matars   , dumla bətars   .*

   vâ   kə   mə   ma-   tars   dumla bə-   tars

   say.3S Comp 1S.Ob Phb   fear   after Imp   fear

He says: "Don't fear me, fear the next one!"

21 *vinə   i xərsi   yâ   âma   .*

   vin -ə i xərs   =i   yâ   âma

   see   3S a bear   =Ind here came.Ptc

She sees a bear has come.

22 *vâ   xərsa   xâlu jân , mə   maxâr   , me   bərâ   jânâ   ,*

   vâ   xərs -a xâlu jân   mə   ma-   xâr me   bərâ   jân -â

   say.3S bear   Lnk uncle dear 1S.Ob Phb   eat   1S.Ob brother dear   Voc

šəkârbunâ   gula   bəze   .

šəkârbun -â   gula   bə-   ze

hunter   Voc promise Imp   hit

She says: "Dear uncle bear, don't eat me, my dear brother. O hunter, promise!"

23 *vâ   mə   matars   , dumla bətars   .*

   vâ   mə   ma-   tars   dumla bə-   tars

   say.3S 1S.Ob Phb   fear   after Imp   fear

He says: "Don't fear me, fear the next one!"

24 *vinə   i palangi   yâ   barâ   .*

   vin -ə i palang   =i   yâ   barâ

   see   3S a wild.cat   =Ind here come.along.3S

She sees a leopard is coming along.

25 hâlâ vinə   barâ   u bəlaxəra â   palanginani

   hâlâ vin -ə barâ   u bəlaxəra â   palang   -i   =na   =ni

   now   see 3S come.along.3S and finally   come.3S wild.cat Ob   =with =also

   hənta   vâ   , vâ   kə   palanga   xâlu jân , me   maxâr   , me

   hənta   vâ   vâ   kə   palang -a   xâlu jân   me   ma- xâr   me

   like.this say.3S   say.3S Comp wild.cat Lnk uncle dear   1S.Ob Phb eat   1S.Ob

   bərâ   jânâ   šəkârvunâ   gula   bəze   .

   bərâ   jân -â   šəkârvun -â   gula   bə- ze

   brother dear Voc hunter   Voc promise Imp   hit

Now she sees he is coming and in the end she talks to the leopard like this, saying "Dear uncle leopard, don't eat me! Dear brother hunter, promise!"

26 palang   vâ   mən   matars   , dumla bətars   .

   palang   vâ   mən   ma- tars   dumla bə- tars

   wild.cat say.3S 1S.Ob Phb   fear   after Imp   fear

The leopard says "Don't fear me, fear the next one!"

27 badan i ǧuli   yâ   barâ   .

   badan i ǧul   =i   yâ   barâ

   later   a ghoul   =Ind here come.along.3S

Next a ghoul comes along there.

28 yaka   ǧuli   .

   yak   -a ǧul   =i

   enormous   Lnk ghoul   =Ind

An enormous ghoul.

29 ǧulina   vâ   ǧula   xâlu jân , me   maxâr   , me

   ǧul -i =na   vâ   ǧul -a   xâlu jân   me   ma- xâr   me

   ghoul Ob =with say.3S ghoul Lnk uncle dear 1S.Ob Phb   eat   1S.Ob

   bərâ   jânâ   šəkârbunâ   gula   bəze   yâ .

   bərâ   jân -â   šəkârbun -â   gula   bə- ze yâ

   brother dear Voc hunter   Voc promise Imp   hit here

She says to the ghoul: "Dear uncle ghoul, don't eat me, my dear brother, O hunter, promise right here!"

30 *ğul*   *vâ*   *mən*   *matars*   *dumla bətars*   .

    ğul   *vâ*   *mən*   *ma-*   *tars*   *dumla*   *bə-*   *tars*

    ghoul   say.3S   1S.Ob   Phb   fear   after   Imp   fear

The ghoul says, "Don't fear me; fear the next one!"

31 *hata*   *vinə*   *yaka*   *balâ*   *ajâyeb ğarâyebi divi*   *yâ*

    hata   *vin*   *-ə*   *yak*   *-a*   *balâ*   *ajâyeb ğarâyebi div*   *=i*   *yâ*

    like.that   see   3S   enormous   Lnk   gigantic   amazing   monster   =Ind   here

barâ   , *xədâ manəmâ*   .

barâ   *xədâ*   *ma-*   *nəmâ*

come.along.3S   god   Phb   do

So she sees a great big enormous terrifying monster is coming along! God forbid!

32 *cimi*   *nârarâ*   *âdami*   *zala*   *šu*   .

    cimi   *nâra*   *=râ*   *âdam*   *-i*   *zala*   *šu*

    PossP.3S   roar   =for   human   Ob   heart   go.3S

At his roar a man's heart would sink.

33 *kinali*   *divina*   *vâ*   *diva*   *xâlu jân* , *me*

    kina   *-li*   *div*   *-i*   *=na*   *vâ*   *div*   *-a*   *xâlu jân*   *me*

    girl   Dim   monster   Ob   =with   say.3S   monster   Lnk   uncle dear   1S.Ob

maxâr   , *me*   *bərâ*   *jânâ*   *šəkârbunâ*   *gula*   *bəze*   .

ma-   *xâr*   *me*   *bərâ*   *jân*   *-â*   *šəkârbun*   *-â*   *gula*   *bə-*   *ze*

Phb   eat   1S.Ob   brother   dear   Voc   hunter   Voc   promise   Sbj   hit

The girl says to the monster: "Dear uncle monster, don't eat me! Dear brother hunter, promise!"

34 *div*   *âgardə*   *vinə*   *vâ*   *hehe* , *mard az tərâ*

    div   *â-*   *gard*   *-ə*   *vin*   *-ə*   *vâ*   *hehe*   *mard az tə*   *=râ*

    monster   Pvb   turn.back   3S   see   3S   say.3S   laugh   man   1S   2S   =for

âstəmuni   *gardim*   .

âstəmun   *-i*   *gard*   *-im*

sky   Ob   go   Impf.1S

The monster turns, sees her and says: "Ah, heh heh! Human, I've been searching the heavens for you."

35
harci	əm	mənat	karə		,	vâ	mən	mar		mə	bəban
harci	əm	mənat	kar	-ə		vâ	mən	m-	ar	mə	bə-	ban
whatever	DemP	struggle	do	3S		say.3S	1S.Ob	Phb	eat	1S.Ob	Imp	tie

bəbar		əštən	ka	tərâ		kâr	karəm	fəlân	,	vâ		ne	.
bə-	bar	əštən	ka	tə	=râ	kâr	kar	-əm	fəlân	vâ		ne
Imp	carry	your	house	2S	=for	work	do	1S	so.on	say.3S		no

No matter how much she struggles, and says: "Don't eat me, tie me up and take me to your house, I'll work for you" and so on, he says no.

36
vâ	həsa	kərâ	mən	hari		,	hənta	mən	bar		kə	i	cekate	
vâ	həsa	kərâ	mən	har	-i		hənta	mən	b-	ar	kə	i	ceka	-te
say.3S	now	Prog	1S.Ob	eat	2S		like.this	1S.Ob	Imp	ate	Comp	a	drop	Dim

xun	mabalakə			.
xun	ma-	balak	-ə	
blood	Phb	fell	Sbj.3S	

She says: "Now that you're eating me, eat me in such a way that not a drop of blood falls."

37
vâ		xaili	xob	.
vâ		xaili	xob	
say.3S	very	well		

He says, "Very well."

38
div	əmi		harə		,	u	nevinə			i	ceka	xun	hatia	pas
div	əm	-i	har	-ə		u	ne-	vin	-u	i	ceka	xun	hatia	pas
monster	DemP	Ob	eat	3S		and	Neg	see	3S	a	drop	blood	just.there	back

munu		.
mun	-u	
stay	3S	

The monster eats her, and doesn't see that one drop of blood is left just there.

39
de		əmi		hamatia	harə		.
de		əm	-i	hamatia	har	-ə	
in.any.case	DemP	Ob	just.there	eat	3S		

So he eats her just there.

40 əm   i ceka xun bu   ila   ğašanga   dâr .

    əm   i ceka xun b   -u i   -la ğašang -a   dâr

    DemP a drop blood be   3S a   Cl nice   Lnk tree

This one drop of blood becomes a beautiful tree.

41 dârni   cənta dâri   bu   ?

    dâr   =ni   cənta dâr   =i   b   -u

    tree   =also how? tree   =Ind be   3S

And what a tree this tree is!

42 lata   dâr bu   .

    lat   -a   dâr b   -u

    timber   Lnk tree be   3S

It was a plane tree.

43 i merdak i ruzi   jiršu   â   .

    i merdak i ruz =i   jir-   š   -u â

    a man   a day =Ind Pvb go   3S come.3S

One day a man sets out and comes along

44 latirâ   bəšu   .

    lat   -i   =râ bə-   š   -ə

    timber   Ob =for Sbj go   3S

to go for timber.

45 â   əm   dâri   bəni   , əm   dâri   ğašanga   lati

    â   əm   dâr -i bəni   əm   dâr -i ğašang -a   lat   =i

    come.3S DemP tree Ob beneath DemP tree Ob nice   Lnk timber =Ind

daria   .

dari   =a

exist   =Cop.3S

He comes beneath this tree, and sees it is a beautiful piece of timber.

46 cimi   bəniku   nəšu   ke   mundi âkaru   .

    cimi   bəni   =ku nəš -ə ke   mundi â-   kar   -ə

    PossP.3S beneath =Loc sit 3S Comp fatigue Pvb.Sbj loose 3S

He sits beneath it to relieve his fatigue.

47 *də tabar əm   dâri   žanə   .*

   də tabar əm   dâr -i žan   -ə

   2 axe DemP tree Ob strike 3S

He strikes the tree twice with an axe.

48 *vâ   , a   ca   xâlu jân cerâ mən davəri   ?*

   vâ   a   c   =a   xâlu jân cerâ mən davər   -i

   say.3S   DemD what? =Cop.3S uncle dear why 1S.Ob chop.down   2S

It says, "What's this, dear uncle? Why are you chopping me down?"

49 *mə   madavər   .*

   mə   ma-   davər

   1S.Ob Phb chop.down

"Don't chop me down!"

50 *dâr vâ   lua   karə   , cə   vâ   ?*

   dâr vâ   lua   kar -ə   cə   vâ

   tree say.3S speaking do   3S   what? say.3S

A tree speaking?! What is it saying?

51 *belâxəra əm   dâri   žanə   , əm   dâri   câkənə   .*

   belâxəra əm   dâr -i žan -ə   əm   dâr -i câkən -ə

   finally   DemP tree Ob strike 3S DemP tree Ob break 3S

In the end he strikes the tree and severs it.

52 *əm   dâri   davərə   , guš nââkarə   .*

   əm   dâr -i davər   -u   guš nâ- â-   kar -ə

   DemP tree Ob chop.down 3S   ear Neg Pvb open 3S

He chops the tree down, and does not listen.

53 dâri   davərə   , vâ   əsa kə mə davəri   , i
   dâr -i davər   -u vâ   əsa kə mə davər   -i i
   tree Ob chop.down 3S say.3S now Comp 1S.Ob chop.down 2S a

juri   tə cəmən izəmi   bəbar   kə ənta xâka
jur   =i tə cəmən izəm -i bə- bar kə ənta xâk -a
manner =Ind 2S Poss.1S firewood Ob Imp carry Comp like.this dust Lnk

tei   yâ pas marz   .
te   =i yâ pas m-   arz
bit   =Ind here back Phb   allow

He chops the tree down. It says: "Now that you are chopping me down, take away my wood in such a way that not a tiny speck of dust is left here."

54 vâ   xaili xob .
   vâ   xaili xob
   say.3S very well

He says, "Very well."

55 əm   merdak əm   dâri   davərə   .
   əm   merdak əm   dâr -i davər   -ə
   DemP man   DemP tree Ob chop.down 3S

This man chops the tree down.

56 ğašang əmi   lat   âkarə   , cimi   lati   barə   .
   ğašang əm   -i lat   â-   kar -ə cimi   lat   -i bar   -ə
   nice   DemP Ob timber Pvb make 3S PossP.3S timber Ob carry 3S

He cuts it nicely into boards, and carries the timber away.

57 cimi   izəmi   barə   , ce   xâli   barə   , badaz
   cimi   izəm   -i bar -ə ce   xâl   -i bar -ə badaz
   PossP.3S firewood Ob carry 3S PossD.3S branch Ob carry 3S later

cimi   rangəši   , cimi   talâši   , hama   darâfu   ,
cimi   rangəš -i cimi   talâš   -i hama   darâf -ə
PossP.3S sawdust Ob PossP.3S woodchip Ob everything sweep 3S

barə   .
bar   -ə
carry 3S

He carries off the timber, the branches, and then sweeps up all the sawdust and woodchips and takes them.

58 *pira*   *nanai*   *dâriste*   .

   pir -*a*   *nana* -*i*   *dâr* -*iste*

   old   Lnk   mother   relative   have   Impf.3S

He had a grandmother.

59 *pira*   *nana* *vâ*   *əm*   *izəmi*   *tərâ*   *busən*   .

   pir -*a*   *nana* *vâ* *əm* *izəm* -*i* *tə* =*râ* *bu*- *sən*

   old   Lnk   mother say.3S DemP firewood Ob 2S =for Imp burn

He tells his grandmother: "Burn this firewood for yourself."

60 *ani*   *kə*   *cəmən* *lata*   .

   a   =*ni* *kə*   *cəmən* *lat*   =*a*

   DemD =also Comp Poss.1S timber =Cop.3S

"And this is my timber."

61 *əm*   *pira*   *nanani*   *malaku*   *gardə*   , *ruz* *ši*

   əm *pir* -*a* *nana* =*ni* *mala* =*ku* *gard* -*ə* *ruz* *š* -*i*

   DemP old Lnk mother =also place =Loc go 3S day go Impf.3S

mala .

mala

place

This grandmother wanders around the place. One day she was going to the village.

62 *əm* *i* *dafa* *âtaš* *pena*   , *əm*   *talâši*   *pekarə*   ,

   əm *i* *dafa* *âtaš* *pe*- *na*   *əm* *talâš* -*i* *pe*- *kar* -*u*

   DemP a time fire Pvb set.up.3S DemP woodchip Ob Pvb heap.up 3S

əm   *talâš*   *əzgari*   *nekarə*   , *ila*   *əzgari*   *vazə*

əm   *talâš*   *əzgar* =*i* *ne*- *kar* -*u* *i* -*la* *əzgar* =*i* *vaz* -*u*

DemP woodchip spark =Ind Neg do 3S a Cl spark =Ind jump 3S

dalakə   *cimi*   *raxtəxâbi*   *pešti*   .

da- *lak* -*ə* *cimi*   *raxtəxâb* -*i* *pešti*

Pvb fall 3S PossP.3S bedclothes Ob behind

One time she wants to get a fire going and heaps up the woodchips. The chips won't spark, but then one spark falls behind her bed.

63 *vâ*   *kə*   *əm*   *cəmə*   *raxtəxâb*   *sista*   *,* *əm*   *šu*
    vâ   *kə*   *əm*   *cəmə*   *raxtəxâb*   *sist*   *-a*   *əm*   *šu*
    say.3S   Comp   DemP   Poss.1S bedclothes   burn   Pst.3S   DemP   go.3S

raxtəxâbi   *harci*   *pecinə*   *,* *harci*   *taǧalâ*   *karə*   *,*
raxtəxâb *-i* *harci*   *pe-*   *cin*   *-ə*   *harci*   *taǧalâ*   *kar* *-ə*
bedclothes Ob   whatever   Pvb.Sbj   gather.up 3S   whatever exertion   do   3S

vinə   *de*   *əzgara*   *gəla* *mâǧub*   *ba*   *,* *damarda*   *.*
vin *-ə* *de*   *əzgar* *-a*   *gəla* *mâǧub*   *b*   *-a*   *damard*   *-a*
see   3S   in.any.case   spark   Lnk   Cl   concealed be   Pst.3S   extinguished   Pst.3S

She says: "This has burned my bedclothes!" And she goes off but no matter how much she searches in the bed, whatever she tries, she realizes that the spark has got hidden and gone out.

64 *əm*   *əzgara*   *gəla* *âbu*   *eyne* *ha*   *kina* *.*
    əm   *əzgar* *-a*   *gəla* *â-*   *b*   *-u* *eyne* *ha*   *kina*
    DemP   spark   Lnk   Cl   Pvb   become   3S   as.if   SameD   girl

This one spark became the same girl again.

65 *əzgara*   *gəla* *âbu*   *ha*   *kina* *yâ*   *.*
    əzgar *-a*   *gəla* *â-*   *b*   *-u* *ha*   *kina* *yâ*
    spark   Lnk   Cl   Pvb   become   3S   SameD   girl   here

The spark became that same girl, right there.

66 *belaxəra* *,* *əm*   *pira*   *ženak* *kə*   *šu*   *,* *əm*   *barâ*   *,* *kina*
    belaxəra   *əm*   *pir*   *-a*   *ženak* *kə*   *šu*   *əm*   *barâ*   *kina*
    finally   DemP   old   Lnk   woman   Comp   go.3S   DemP   come.along.3S   girl

barâ   *,* *cimi*   *ka*   *darufu*   *,* *ce*   *gâ*   *airâ*
barâ   *cimi*   *ka*   *daruf* *-ə*   *ce*   *gâ*   *a*   *-i*   *=râ*
come.along.3S   PossP.3S   house   sweep   3S   PossD.3S cow   3S   Ob   =for

dušu   *,* *airâ*   *pəlâ*   *pena*   *.*
duš   *-ə* *a*   *-i*   *=râ*   *pəlâ*   *pe-*   *na*
milk   3S   3S   Ob   =for   pilau   Pvb   set.up.3S

Finally, when this old lady goes out, she comes out - the girl comes out - sweeps her house, milks her cows, and prepares the rice for her.

67 *airâ*   *câi dam karə*   ,   *ğadim âftâbayâ*   ,

   a   *-i*   =*râ*   *câi dam kar*   *-ə*   *ğadim âftâba*   *-yâ*

   3S   Ob   =for   tea   brew   do   3S   ancient   washing.pot   Cop.Pst.3S

âftâba   *âb*   *dakarə*   ,   *kitirini*   *âftâba*   *ate*   *pena*

âftâba   *âb*   *da-*   *kar*   *-u*   *kitiri*   =*ni*   *âftâba*   *ate*   *pe-*   *na*

washing.pot   water   Pvb   pour   3S   kettle   =also   washing.pot   there   Pvb   set.up.3S

.

She brews tea for her. In the old days there was a washing pot. She pours water in the washing pot, and puts it out with the kettle.

68 *câi ğuri atia pena*   ,   *ka*   *darufu*   ,   *šu*   *hani atia*

   câi ğuri atia pe-   *na*   *ka*   *daruf*   *-ə*   *šu*   *hani atia*

   tea   teapot   there   Pvb   set.up.3S   house   sweep   3S   go.3S   again   there

daxəsə   .

da-   *xəs*   *-ə*

Pvb   sleep   3S

She sets out the teapot, sweeps the house, and goes back into hiding there.

69 *vinə*   *pira*   *ženak kərâ â*   .

   vin   *-ə*   *pir*   *-a*   *ženak kərâ â*

   see   3S   old   Lnk   woman   Prog   come.3S

She sees the old woman is coming.

70 *pira*   *ženak âma*   ,   *vinu*   *awu cimi*   *ka*   *darufia*   .

   pir   *-a*   *ženak âm*   *-a*   *vin*   *-ə*   *au*   *cimi*   *ka*   *darufi*   =*a*

   old   Lnk   woman   come   Ptc   see   3S   eh!   PossP.3S   house   swept   =Cop.3S

The old woman comes, and sees wow! Her house is swept!

71 *pəlâ*   *peista*   .

   pəlâ   *pe*   *-ist*   *-a*

   pilau   cook   Pass   Ptc

The rice is cooked!

72 *âwu*   ,   *câi dam neista*   .

   âwu   *câi dam ne*   *-ist*   *-a*

   wow!   tea   brew   put   Pass   Ptc

Wow, the tea is brewed!

73 *hama*   *kâri*   *murataba*   *, hickas manda*   *nia*

   hama   *kâr*   =*i*   *muratab*   =*a*   *hickas mand*   -*a*   *ni*   =*a*

   everything deed   =Ind   orderly   =Cop.3S   no.one present   Ptc   Neg   =Cop.3S

.

Everything is in order, and there's no one there.

74 *vâ*   *au* , *əm*   *kia*   *bərâ*   , *cənjura kia*   ?

   vâ   *au*   *əm*   *ki*   =*a*   *bərâ*   *cənjura ki*   =*a*

   say.3S   eh!   DemP who?   =Cop.3S   brother   how?   who?   =Cop.3S

She says: "Wow, who is this? Brother, how did this happen? Who is it?"

75 *harci*   *daxunu*   , *bərâ*   , *mašadi* , *nana*   , *bâji*   ,

   harci   *da-*   *xun*   -*ə*   *bərâ*   *mašadi*   *nana*   *bâji*

   whatever Pvb   summon   3S   brother   Mashadi   mother   woman

kira   ?

ki   =*ira*

who?   =Cop.2S

No matter how much she calls: "Brother! Mashadi! Mother! Woman! Who are you?"

76 *tə*   *be*   *məna*   *pəlâ bar*   !

   tə   *be*   *mə*   =*na*   *pəlâ b-*   *ar*

   2S   be   1S.Ob   =with   pilau Imp   ate

"Come and eat rice with me!"

77 *vinə*   *sasi*   *nia*   .

   vin   -*ə*   *sas*   =*i*   *ni*   =*a*

   see   3S   voice   =Ind   Neg   =Cop.3S

She sees that there is no answer.

78 *əm*   *pəlâ harə*   .

   əm   *pəlâ har*   -*ə*

   DemP   pilau eat   3S

She eats this rice.

79 *pəlâ harə* , *hâni nəhâr harə əštarâ šu* .

    pəlâ har -ə hâni nəhâr har -ə əšta =râ šu

    pilau eat 3S again lunch eat 3S self =for go.3S

She eats the rice, has it for lunch again, and goes her way.

80 *šu* , *jamani mala mağrebi â vinə au hani hənta* .

    šu jama =ni mala mağreb -i â vin -ə au hani hənta

    go.3S Friday =also place dusk Ob come.3S see 3S eh! again like.this

She heads off, and on Friday she comes to the village at dusk and sees that eh! It's the same again!

81 *pəlâ peista* , *gâ davendista* , *šət dušista* , *câi*

    pəlâ pe -ist -a gâ davend -ist -a šət duš -ist -a câi

    pilau cook Pass Ptc cow tie.up Pass Ptc milk milk Pass Ptc tea

dam neista , *hama âmâdaya* .

dam ne -ist -a hama âmâda =ya

brew put Pass Ptc everything ready =Cop.3S

The rice cooked, cow tied up, milk milked, tea brewed, everything ready.

82 *mərsen šuriaina* , *âdam manda nia* .

    mərs -en šuria =ina âdam mand -a ni =a

    crockery P washed =Cop.3P human present Ptc Neg =Cop.3S

The crockery is washed, and there's no one there.

83 *əm pira nana pəlâ məlâ harə yu pira ženak hiâ*

    əm pir -a nana pəlâ məlâ har -ə yu pir -a ženak hiâ

    DemP old Lnk mother rice eat 3S and old Lnk woman just.here

de əštarâ xâb âšu .

de əšta =râ xâb â- š -ə

in.any.case self =for sleep Pvb go 3S

The old lady eats all the rice and then goes off to sleep just there.

84 xâb   âšu   əm   šavirâ   hani izə   mərs pərsân

   xâb   â-   š   -ə əm   šav   -i   =râ hani iz   -ə mərs pərs -ân

   sleep Pvb go 3S DemP night Ob   =for again get.up 3S crockery P

šuru   ka   daruf âruf karə   u   ,   səbi   a   sardəre

šur   -ə ka   daruf âruf kar   -ə u   səb   -i   a   sar   =dəre

wash   3S house sweeping do   3S and   morning Ob DemD direction =Srce

izu   gâ mâun   dušu   ,   šəti   tâvənə   hatia   .

iz   -ə gâ mâ -un duš -ə   šət   -i   tâvən -u hatia

get.up 3S cow   Ob.P milk 3S   milk Ob boil   3S just.there

She goes off to sleep that night, gets up again, washes the dishes, and in the
morning sets off and milks the cows and boils the milk just there.

85 hama   hatia   âmâda na   câi dam karə   u   hatia   na

   hama   hatia   âmâda na   câi dam kar   -ə u   hatia   na

   everything just.there ready put.3S tea brew do   3S and just.there put.3S

əštarâ   šu   daxəsə   .

əšta   =râ šu   da-   xəs -ə

self   =for go.3S Pvb   hide   3S

She puts everything ready just there, brews the tea, then goes off and hides.

86 kila gəla izə   vinə   au , hani ce   mâlen   var

   kila gəla iz   -ə vin -ə au   hani ce   mâl   -en var

   girl Cl   get.up 3S see   3S eh!   again PossD.3S cattle P   direction

âduista   ,   gâ u   šət dušista   ,   hama

â-   du   -ist -a   gâ u   šət duš   -ist   -a   hama

Pvb let.out Pass Ptc   cow and milk milk   Pass   Ptc   everything

kâri   âguzârista   .

kâr   =i   â-   guzâr   -ist   -a

work   =Ind Pvb accomplish Pass   Ptc

The girl gets up and sees that eh! The cattle have been let out, the cows milked... Everything
has been done!

87 pira   žalenak sabi   cә kará   zunu   , šu

pir	-a	ženak	sab	-i	cә	kar	-ә	zun	-u	šu
old	Lnk	woman	morning	Ob	what?	do	Sbj.3S	know	3S	go.3S

atiaku   daxәsә   .

atia	=ku	da-	xәs	-ә
there	=Loc	Pvb	hide	3S

In the morning the old woman knows what to do. She goes and hides there.

88 balangâ   var   šu   daxәsә   .

balangâ	var	šu	da-	xәs	-ә
windowsill	direction	go.3S	Pvb	hide	3S

She goes and hides near the windowsill.

89 vinә   bale ila   kina , ğašanga   javâna   kina bâlәši

vin	-ә	bale	i	-la	kina	ğašang	-a	javân	-a	kina	bâlәš	-i
see	3S	yes	a	Cl	girl	nice	Lnk	young	Lnk	girl	pillow	Ob

peštiku   barâma   .

pešti	=ku	barâm	-a
behind	=Loc	came.along	Ptc

She sees that yes, a girl - a beautiful young girl - has come out from behind the pillow.

90 damunu   ka   darufte   mәrsi   šuste   .

da-	mun	-ә	ka	daruft	-e	mәrs	-i	šust	-e
Pvb	stay	3S	house	swept	Ptc	crockery	Ob	wash	Ptc

She stays there, the house is swept, the dishes washed.

91 pәlâ pešuste   , pira   ženak vipәr   kará   әmi   gerә

pәlâ	pešust	-e	pir	-a	ženak	vipәr	kar	-ә	әm	-i	ger	-ә
pilau	cooked	Ptc	old	Lnk	woman	sneakily	do	3S	DemP	Ob	get.Pres	3S

.

She cooks the rice, then the old woman sneaks up and grabs her.

92 *vâ*   *a*   *ca*   , *nana* *jân* , *əštən jânirâ*   *ğaš*

    vâ   *a*   *c*   = *a*   *nana* *jân* *əštən jân* -*i* = *râ* *ğaš*

    say.3S DemD what? = Cop.3S mother dear your life Ob = for swoon

bəkarəm   , *əštən jâni*   *ğârbun* .

bə-   *kar* -*əm*   *əštən jân* -*i*   *ğârbun*

Sbj   do   1S   your life   Ob sacrifice

She says: "What's this? Dear mother, may I faint for you, may I die for you!"

93 *tə* *kârirâ*   *mərâ*   *bəvâi*   *bi*   .

    tə *kâr* -*i* = *râ* *mə*   = *râ* *bə*- *vâ*   -*i* *bi*

    2S deed Ob = for 1S.Ob = for Sbj say.3S 2S must

"You must tell me why you are doing this for me!"

94 *vâ*   *valla* *az* *a*   *gəla gəla vâm*   .

    vâ   *valla* *az* *a*   *gəla gəla vâ*   -*m*

    say.3S by.God 1S DemD Cl   Cl   say.3S   1P

She replies: "By God, I'll tell you everything one by one."

95 *vâtəša*   *cənta əzgar* ?

    vât   = *əš*   = *a* *cənta əzgar*

    said   = 3S   = Tr how? spark

She said: "How did the spark fit in?"

96 *cə*   *əzgari*   ?

    cə   *əzgar* = *i*

    what? spark   = Ind

"What spark?"

97 *vâ*   *əštə bâləši*   *pešti* *dalaka*   , *tə* *gardira*   ,

    vâ   *əštə bâləš* -*i* *pešti* *da*- *lak* -*a*   *tə* *gard* -*ira*

    say.3S your pillow Ob behind Pvb fell Pst.3S 2S go Pst.2S

nešâtəra   *peydâ karde*   .

ne-   *šât* -*əra* *peydâ* *kard* -*e*

Neg   can Pst.2S find   did   Inf

She says: "It fell behind your pillow, and you went after it but couldn't find it."

98 *az   ha   əzgara   gəla bum   .*

   az   ha   əzgar -a   gəla b   -um

   1S   SameD   spark   Lnk Cl   be   1S

"I am that very spark."

99 *badaz , əm   pira   ženak vâ   kə   cənta xâ   .*

   badaz   əm   pir -a   ženak vâ   kə   cənta xâ

   later   DemP   old   Lnk woman say.3S Comp   how? sister

Then, this old lady says: "How can that be, sister?"

100 *badaz cənjura , ki   ba   ?*

    badaz cənjura   ki   b   -a

    later   how?   Comp   be   Pst.3S

"Then how did it happen, who was it?"

101 *əm   de   munu   airâ   əm   sobati   karde*

    əm   de   mun -u   a   -i   =râ   əm   sobat   -i kard -e

    DemP   in.any.case   stay   3S   3S   Ob   =for   DemP   conversation   Ob did   Inf

.

Then they stayed and talked together for ever so long.

102 *vâ   ama haft xâimunâ   bəlaxəra avun   mə   barda*

    vâ   ama haft xâ   =imunâ   bəlaxəra av   -un   mə   bard   =a

    say.3S   1P   7   want   =Cop.Pst.1P   finally   3S   Ob.P   1S.Ob carry   =Tr

jangaliku   saxt âkarda   , âxər   əmen   šun   .

jangal   -i   =ku   saxt â-   kard   =a   âxər   əm   -en šu -n

forest   Ob   =Loc   firm Pvb   made   =Tr   finally DemP   P   go   P

She says: "We were seven sisters, and in the end they took me to the forest and got me stuck there, then ran away."

103 *i divi*   *uma*   *mən*   *hardaša*   *, i cəka*

     i div   =*i*   *uma*   *mən*   *hard*   -*a*   =*š*   =*a*   *i cəka*

     a monster   =Ind   came.3S   1S.Ob   ate   Ptc   =3S   =Tr   a drop

xunəš   *pasašta*   *, xuna*   *cəka ha*   *dâr ba*   *, əm*

xun   =*əš*   *pasašt*   =*a*   *xun*   -*a*   *cəka ha*   *dâr b*   -*a*   *əm*

blood   =3S   left.behind   =Tr   blood   Lnk   drop   SameD   tree   be   Pst.3S   DemP

bâbâ   *uma*   *mən*   *davərdaša*   .

bâbâ   *uma*   *mən*   *davərd*   -*a*   =*š*   =*a*

fellow   came.3S   1S.Ob   chopped.down   Ptc   =3S   =Tr

A monster came and ate me, and left one drop of blood. The drop of blood became a tree, then this fellow came along and chopped me down.

104 *mə*   *aina*   *vâta*   *mən*   *madavər*   .

     mə   *a*   -*i*   =*na*   *vât*   =*a*   *mən*   *ma-*   *davər*

     1S.Ob   3S   Ob   =with   said   =Tr   1S.Ob   Phb   chop.down

I said to him: "Don't chop me down."

105 *hâlâ kə*   *mən*   *davəri*   *hənta*   *bəbar*   *ke*   *əm*

     hâlâ kə   *mən*   *davər*   -*i*   *hənta*   *bə-*   *bar*   *ke*   *əm*

     now   Comp   1S.Ob   chop.down   2S   like.this   Imp   carry   Comp   DemP

talâši   *hama*   *bardaša*   *, bad*   *əm*   *əzgara*   *gəla*

talâš   -*i*   *hama*   *bard*   -*a*   =*š*   =*a*   *bad*   *əm*   *əzgar*   -*a*   *gəla*

woodchip   Ob   everything   carry   Ptc   =3S   =Tr   later   DemP   spark   Lnk   Cl

əsa   *baima*   *, hani*   *ha*   *kina* .

əsa   *b*   -*a*   -*ima*   *hani*   *ha*   *kina*

now   become   Ptc   Pst.1S   again   SameD   girl

"Now that you are chopping me down, take everything away. He did take all the woodchips away, then that one spark turned into me, this girl you see."

106 *belaxəra əm*   *pira*   *ženak*   *əštan*   *zua*   *da*   *, zua*   *dâriste*   .

     belaxəra əm   *pir*   -*a*   *ženak*   *əštan*   *zua*   *da*   *zua*   *dâr*   -*iste*

     finally   DemP   old   Lnk   woman   self   boy   give.3S   boy   have   Impf.3S

In the end this old lady gives her son, she had a son.

107 *nava*   *dâriste*   *,*   *əmi*   *da*   *,*   *əmirâ*   *arusi*

      nava   *dâr*   *-iste*   *əm*   *-i*   *da*   *əm*   *-i*   =*râ*   *arusi*

      grandchild   have   Impf.3S   DemP   Ob   give.3S   DemP   Ob   = for   wedding

karə   *əm*   *yâku*   *munu*   *.*

kar   *-ə*   *əm*   *yâ*   =*ku*   *mun*   *-u*

do   3S   DemP   here   = Loc   stay   3S

She had a grandson, and she gives him, and they have a wedding and she stays there.

108 *səngə*   *siâ*   *cavun*   *sar*   *,*   *ramatə*   *xudâ cama*   *sar*   *.*

     səng   =*ə*   *siâ*   *cavun*   *sar*   *ramat*   =*ə*   *xudâ cama*   *sar*

     stone   = Ez   black   PossD.3P   head   mercy   = Ez   God   Poss.1P   head

The black stone on their head, the mercy of God on our head.

B10.   KOP: Pear Story, Kolur

1 *mərdakai*   *dârə*   *sarəku*

  mərdak   *-a*   =*i*   *dâr*   *-ə*   *sar*   *-ə*   =*ku*

  man   Disc   = Ind   tree   Ob   head   Ob   = Loc

pišiabe   *.*

pi-   *ši*   *-a*   =*b*   *-e*

Pvb   went.up   Ptc   = Aux   3S

A man had gone up a tree.

2 *əštarâ*   *mašğulə*   *latanz cian*   *be*   *.*

  əšta   =*râ*   *mašğul*   *-ə*   *latanz ci*   *-an*   *b*   *-e*

  self   = for   busy   Ob   pear   pick   Inf   was   3S

He was busy picking pears.

3 *əštarâ*   *latanz kərâ cinise*   *.*

  əšta   =*râ*   *latanz kərâ cin*   *-ise*

  self   = for   pear   Prog   pick   Impf.3S

He was busy picking pears.

4 *gəla gəla cini*   *ğašang* , *išíse*   *vâri*   *sə*

  gəla gəla cin -i   *ğašang i- ši -se vâr -i sə*

  Cl   Cl   pick Impf.3S beautiful Pvb went.down Impf.3S carry Impf.3S 3

gəla sabad pigatabe   , *dârə*   *bənaku*

gəla sabad pi- gat -a =b -e dâr -ə bəna =ku

Cl   basket Pvb picked.up Ptc =Aux 3S tree Ob under =Loc

nâbe   , *kə*   *cəbkari*   ?

nâ =b -e kə cəbkari

put =Aux 3S Comp to.do.what?

One by one he was nicely picking them, going down and carrying them - he had picked up three baskets - and putting them under the tree. To do what?

5 *latanzun*   *bəcini*   *dakari*   *hâlâ bəbari*

  latanz -un bə- cin -i da- kar -i hâlâ bə- bar -i

  pear   P   Sbj   pick Impf.3S Pvb pour Impf.3S now Sbj carry Impf.3S

bəxruši   *yâ hâlâ cə*   *xâi*   *barise*

bə- xruš -i yâ hâlâ cə xâ -i b- ar -ise

Sbj   sell   Impf.3S or now what? want Impf.3S Sbj eat Impf.3S

nəzânəm   .

nə- zân -əm

Neg   know 1S

He would pick the pears and pour them out, then he would carry them off to sell them, or perhaps he was wanting to eat them. I don't know.

6 *bad bazi gəla latanzâni*   *kə bargəninde*   , *albata*

  bad bazi gəla latanz -ân -i kə bargən -inde albata

  later some Cl pear   P   Rch Rel fall.down 3P   of.course

dârəku   *kə*   *cinise*   , *sərdinəšin*

dâr -ə =ku kə cin -ise sərdin =əš =in

tree Ob =Loc Comp pick Impf.3S ladder =3S =also

pinâbe				*a*		*, sərdinəš*	*pinâbe*			
pi-	nâ	=b	-e	a		sərdin =əš	pi-	nâ	=b	-e
Pvb	set.up	=Aux	3S	of.course		ladder =3S	Pvb	set.up	=Aux	3S

pišise			*dârə*		*sarəku*			*.*
pi-	ši	-se	dâr	-ə	sar	-ə	=ku	
Pvb	went.up	Impf.3S	tree	Ob	head	Ob	=Loc	

Then, when some of the pears fell, of course he had put a ladder up the tree where he was picking, and having put the ladder there he would go up the tree.

7 *latanzə* | | *gəla gəla cinise* | | | *, latanzun* | | *danise* | | | *əštan* |

	latanz	-ə	gəla	gəla	cin	-ise	latanz	-un	da-	n	-ise	əštan
	pear	Ob	Cl	Cl	pick	Impf.3S	pear	P	Pvb	put.in	Impf.3S	self

kəštəku | | | *, pigiri* | | | *vâri* | | | *, sərdinəku* | | |

kəšt	-ə	=ku	pi-	gir	-i	vâr	-i	sərdin	-ə	=ku	
apron	Ob	=Loc	Pvb	pick.up	Impf.3S	carry	Impf.3S	ladder	Ob	=Loc	

âise | | *jir* | *danise* | | | *sabadânku* | | |

â	-ise	jir	da-	n	-ise	sabad	-ân	=ku
come	Impf.3S	down	Pvb	put.in	Impf.3S	basket	P	=Loc

dakari | | | *.* |

da-	kar	-i
Pvb	pour	Impf.3S

One by one he was picking pears, putting them in his apron, picking them up and carrying them, coming down the ladder, putting them in the basket and pouring them out.

8 *bazi* *gəla* *latanzân* | *ca* | *dasəku* | | | *bargənind* | | *, majbur* |

bazi	gəla	latanz	-ân	ca	das	-ə	=ku	bargən	-ind	majbur
some	Cl	pear	P	PossD.3S	hand	Ob	=Loc	fell.down	3P	obliged

bise | | *cə* | *karise* | | *?* |

b	-ise	cə	kar	-ise	
be	Impf.3S	what?	do	Impf.3S	

Some of the pears fell from his hand, and what did he have to do?

9

a	dasmâli		ca	gardanəku			dabe			,
a	dasmâl	-i	ca	gardan	-ə	=ku	da-	b	-e	
DemD	handkerchief	Rch	PossD.3S	neck	Ob	=Loc	Pvb	was.around	3S	

avənan			pigirise			latanzân	ğašangənan		
a	-və	=nan	pi-	gir	-ise	latanz	-ân	ğašang	-ə	=nan
DemD	Ob	=with	Pvb	pick.up	Impf.3S	pear	P	beautiful	Ob	=with

pâk	âkari			,	dobâra	danise			sabadəku			.
pâk	â-	kar	-i		dobâra	da-	n	-ise	sabad	-ə	=ku	
clean	Pvb	make	Impf.3S		again	Pvb	put.in	Impf.3S	basket	Ob	=Loc	

He had a handkerchief tied around his neck, and with this he would take the pears and clean them nicely, then put them back in the basket.

10

fekr	karəm	xâise			bəbari			bəxruši			.
fekr	kar	-əm	xâ	-ise	bə-	bar	-i	bə-	xruš	-i	
thought	do	1S	want	Impf.3S	Sbj	carry	Impf.3S	Sbj	sell	Impf.3S	

I think he wanted to take them and sell them.

11

cun	pâk	âkari			hatman	xâise		
cun	pâk	â-	kar	-i	hatman	xâ	-ise	
because	clean	Pvb	make	Impf.3S	definitely	want	Impf.3S	

bəbari			bəxruši			.
bə-	bar	-i	bə-	xruš	-i	
Sbj	carry	Impf.3S	Sbj	sell	Impf.3S	

Since he was cleaning them, certainly he wanted to take them and sell them.

12

hənjur	ila	sabadəš		pur	âkardabe				.
hənjur	i	-la	sabad	=əš	pur	â-	kard	-a	=b	-e
in.same.way	a	Cl	basket	=3S	full	Pvb	made	Ptc	=Aux	3S

In this way he had filled up one basket.

13

sabadə	dəvəmi		kə	kərâ	pur	âkari			,	ila	
sabad	-ə	dəvəm	-i	kə	kərâ	pur	â-	kar	-i	i	-la
basket	Ob	second	Rch	Rel	Prog	full	Pvb	make	Impf.3S	a	Cl

pəsara		dəcarxanan			kərâ	yavâšənan			a	varə		rad
pəsar	-a	dəcarxa	=nan	kərâ	yavâš	-ə	=nan	a	var	-ə	rad	
boy	Disc	bicycle	=with	Prog	slow	Ob	=with	DemD	direction	Ob	pass	

âbi			bəši		, kə	əštan karâ		yâ hâlâ
â-	b	-i	bə-	ši	kə	əštan ka	=râ	yâ hâlâ
Pvb	become	Impf.3S	Sbj	go.3S	Comp	self house	=for	or now

kârâ	bəšise	.
kâ	=râ bə- š	-ise
where?	=for Sbj go	Impf.3S

As he was filling the second basket, a boy with a bicycle slowly came along from that direction and was going to pass by and go, whether to his house or somewhere else.

14	i dafa bâme		bəše			kə	vasvasa	bəbe			kə
	i dafa b-	âm	-e bə-	š	-e	kə	vasvasa	bə-	b	-e	kə
	a time Pst	came	3S Pst	go	3S	Comp	temptation	Pst	be	3S	Comp

ila	əmun	pigirə	.
i -la əm	-un pi-	gir	-ə
a Cl DemP	P Pvb.Sbj	pick.up	3S

Suddenly he came, about to go, then was tempted to take one of them.

15	latanzân	ila	pigirə			barə	.
	latanz -ân	i -la pi-	gir	-ə b-	ar	-ə
	pear P	a Cl Pvb.Sbj	pick.up	3S Sbj	eat	3S

To take one of the pears and carry it off.

16	aval fekrəš		bəka	kə	ila	pigirə			, badan
	aval fekr	=əš bə-	ka kə	i	-la pi-	gir	-ə	badan
	first thought	=3S Pst	did Comp	a	Cl Pvb.Sbj	pick.up	3S	then

bâtəše			na ,	agar az	ila	pigirəm			əmkân	dârə	
bât	=əš	=e na	agar az	i -la pi-	gir	-əm	əmkân	dâr	-ə
said	=3S	=Tr no	if 1S	a Cl Pvb.Sbj	pick.up	1S	possibility	have	3S

motavajə bəbu		, havâsəš		bəbu	.
motavajə bə-	bu	havâs	=əš bə-	bu
aware Sbj	be.3S	attention	=3S Sbj	be.3S

First he thought to take one, then he said "No, if I take one, it's possible he'll realize, that he'll notice."

17 *betare*   *kə*   *yavâšənan*   .

   betar   =*e*   *kə*   *yavâš*   -*ə*   =*nan*

   better   =Cop.3S   Comp   slow   Ob   =with

"Better that I do it slowly."

18 *bəvənda*   .

   bə-   *vənd*   -*a*

   Pst   stood   3S

He stood up.

19 *itka diašt*   , *bindəše*   *kə*   *taraf*   *aslan*   *havâsəš*

   itka diašt   *bind*   =*əš*   =*e*   *kə*   *taraf*   *aslan*   *havâs*   =*əš*

   a.bit looked.3S   saw   =3S   =Tr   Comp   direction   absolutely   attention   =3S

ni   , *yani*   *motavajə* *ni*   , *latanzəš*   *bâ*   *sabad*   *pigat*   .

ni   *yani*   *motavajə* *ni*   *latanz*   =*əš*   *bâ*   *sabad*   *pi-*   *gat*

Neg   meaning   aware   Neg   pear   =3S   with   basket   Pvb   picked.up

He looked a little, saw that in that direction the guy was paying no attention - he didn't notice at all. He took a whole basket of pears.

20 *latanzəš*   *bâ*   *sabad*   *pigat*   , *pigatəš*   *tâ*   *bâ*

   latanz   =*əš*   *bâ*   *sabad*   *pi-*   *gat*   *pi-*   *gat*   =*əš*   *tâ*   *bâ*

   pear   =3S   with   basket   Pvb   picked.up   Pvb   picked.up   =3S   so.that   with

ducarxa bâdâ   , *bədunə*   *inkə*   *a*   *kafâda*   *motavajə*

ducarxa bâ-   *dâ*   *bədun*   -*ə*   *inkə*   *a*   *kafâ*   =*da*   *motavajə*

bicycle   Sbj   run.3S   without   Ob   Compl   DemD   up   =Loc   aware

bəbu   .

bə-   *b*   -*u*

Sbj   be   3S

He took a whole basket of pears and laid them so he could get away with his bicycle without the man up there realizing.

21 bədunə   inkə   a   motavajə bəbu   , əmə   sabad

   bədun -ə   inkə   a   motavajə bə-   b   -u   əm   -ə   sabad

   without Ob Compl DemD aware   Sbj   be   3S   DemP Ob basket

pigat   , bâ   latanzəš   pigat   , əštan dəcarxa

pi-   gat   bâ   latanz =əš pi-   gat   əštan dəcarxa

Pvb picked.up   with pear   =3S Pvb   picked.up   self bicycle

sarəkuš   bənâ   , de   bəzan   râkâ   de

sar   -ə   =ku   =š bə- nâ   de   bə- zan   râ   =kâ de

head Ob   =Loc   =3S Pst put   indeed Pst hit.3S way   =Loc indeed

bəvri   .

bə-   vri

Sbj   run.3S

Without that one noticing, he took a basket, took it full of pears, put it on top of his bicycle, hit the pedals and ran.

22 bəvərite   bə tarafə   kərâ əmənan   kə   ši   ,

   bə-   vərit -e bə taraf   -ə kərâ əmənan   kə   š   -i

   Pst   ran   3S to direction Ob Prog thingummy Comp go   Impf.3S

rânan   kərâ ši   , i dafa bindəš   ila   killa kətei   kərâ

râ   =nan kərâ š   -i   i dafa bind   =əš i   -la killa kəte   =i   kərâ

way   =with Prog go   Impf.3S   a time saw   =3S a   Cl girl little   =Ind Prog

a   varda   â   .

a   var   =da â

DemD direction   =Loc come.3S

He ran off in the direction he was heading. Suddenly he saw a young girl was coming from the opposite direction.

23 ğašang   mašange   , xube   .

   ğašang   mašang   =e   xub   =e

   beautiful beautiful   =Cop.3S   good   =Cop.3S

A very pretty one!

24 itka avə   diašt   , cašməš   pigənəs   a

   itka a   -və diašt   cašm =əš pi-   gənəs   a

   a.bit DemD   Ob looked.3S   eye   =3S Pvb   fell.upon DemD

killəku   .

kill   -ə   =ku

girl   Ob   =Loc

He looked for a moment - his eyes fell on that girl.

25 həm   heynda   killein   kə   bə surat cəmə

   həm   heyn   =da kille =in   kə   bə surat cəmə

   sameP   moment   =Loc girl   =also Comp to speed PossP.3S

varənan   rad âbe   , cəmə   kəlâ bargənəs   .

var   -ə   =nan rad â-   b   -e   cəmə   kəlâ bargənəs

direction Ob   =with pass Pvb became 3S   PossP.3S hat fell.down.3S

At that same moment that the girl was passing by him at speed, as the girl reached him, his hat fell off.

26 zambila kəlâš   pinâbe   .

   zambila kəlâ =š pi-   nâ   =b   -e

   wicker   hat   =3S Pvb   set.up =Aux   3S

He had put on a straw hat.

27 badan cəmə   kəlâ kə   bargənəs   , əmda   havâsəš

   badan cəmə   kəlâ kə   bargənəs   əm   =da havâs   =əš

   then PossP.3S hat Comp fell.down.3S DemP   =Loc attention =3S

nəbe   , ən   varda   ce   kəlâ havâsəš

nə-   b   -e   ən   var   =da ce   kəlâ havâs   =əš

Neg   was 3S   DemP   direction =Loc PossD.3S hat attention =3S

partəš   âka   .

part   =əš â-   ka

throw =3S Pvb   made

Then when his hat fell off, he wasn't paying attention, and the hat distracted him in one direction.

28

a	varda		kəlâ	ce	havâsəš		part	âka			,
a	var	=da	kəlâ	ce	havâs	=əš	part	â-	ka		
DemD	direction	=Loc	hat	PossD.3S	attention	=3S	throw	Pvb	made		

ən	varda		dəcarxa	sarəku		latanz	nâi		.
ən	var	=da	dəcarxa	sar	-ə	=ku	latanz	nâ	-i
DemP	direction	=Loc	bicycle	head	Ob	=Loc	pear	put	Impf.3S

In the other direction the girl distracted him - and on the front of the bicycle he'd put the pears.

29

bâ	sabad	əm	latanz	nâi		.
bâ	sabad	əm	latanz	nâ	-i	
with	basket	DemP	pear	put	Impf.3S	

He'd put the pears in their basket.

30

ənjâ	mâğe	kə	dəcarxa	bâme			,	əm	râ	delakâ			ila	
ənjâ	mâğe	kə	dəcarxa	b-	âm	-e	əm	râ	dela	=kâ	i	-la
there	moment	Comp	bicycle	Pst	came	3S	DemP	way	in	=Loc	a	Cl

səg	nâ	be		.
səg	nâ	b	-e	
stone	put	was	3S	

Just then and there where the bicycle came, a stone had been put in the road.

31

bəgənəs			səgə		u	dəcarxa	bargənəs		,	latanz	bargənəs		,
bə-	gənəs		səg	-ə	u	dəcarxa	bargənəs			latanz	bargənəs		
Pst	collided		stone	Ob	and	bicycle	fell.down.3S			pear	fell.down.3S		

pəsarain			bargənəs		.
pəsar	-a	=in	bargənəs		
boy	Disc	=also	fell.down.3S		

The stone and the bicycle collided, the pears fell, and the boy fell too.

32 pəsara   kə   bargənəs   cəmə   pâ itka məslə   inkə   gereftâr

   pəsar -a   kə   bargənəs   cəmə   pâ itka məsl -ə   inkə   gereftâr

   boy   Disc Comp fell.down.3S PossP.3S leg a.bit like   Ob Compl occupied

be   , nârâhat əštan pâš   itka barvâ   , əštan pâvəraš

b   -e   nârâhat əštan pâ =š   itka barvâ   əštan pâvəra   =š

was 3S   upset   self leg =3S a.bit brought.up self trouser.hem =3S

bâ   kafâ , əštan gureiš   bâ   pâin   .

bâ   kafâ   əštan gurei =š   bâ   pâin

brought up   self sock =3S   brought down

After the boy fell, it looked like he was busy with his leg. He was upset. He lifted his leg up a little, brought up his trouser hem, and pulled down his sock.

33 gureiš   kə   pâin bâ   , həm heynda   əštan pâ kərâ dast

   gurei =š   kə   pâin bâ   həm heyn   =da əštan pâ kərâ dast

   sock =3S Comp down brought   sameP moment =Loc self leg Prog hand

zani   , i dafa bindəš   â !

zan -i   i dafa bind =əš â

hit   Impf.3S   a time saw   =3S oh!

Having pulled down his sock, and just as he was touching his leg with his hand, suddenly he saw oh!

34 se nafar ca   rafeğun   kə   avun   šənâsi   yâ

   se nafar ca   rafeğ -un kə   a   -vun šənâs -i   yâ

   3 person PossD.3S friend P   Comp DemD P   know Impf.3S or

nəšənâsi   bində   avə   diasənd   .

nə- šənâs -i   bind -ə a   -və dias -ənd

Neg   know   Impf.3S   saw   3S DemD Ob look 3P

Three of his friends - I don't know if he knew them or didn't know them - he saw that they were looking at him.

438

35 *i*   *nafar*   *dasəku*   *ila*   *pingpong* *dabe*   , *əštarâ*

   i   *nafar*   *das*   *-ə*   =*ku* *i* -*la* *pingpong* *da-*   *b*   -*e*   *əšta* =*râ*

   a   person hand   Ob   =Loc a Cl pingpong Pvb was.in 3S   self =for

pingpongənan   *bâzi* *dabe*   .

pingpong   -*ə*   =*nan* *bâzi* *da-*   *b*   -*e*

pingpong   Ob   =with game Pvb   was.in   3S

One had a ping pong game in his hand, and was playing ping pong.

36 *əm*   *əmân*   *diasise*   , *avun*   *cəmân* *del* *cəmərâ*

   əm   *əm*   -*ân* *dias*   -*ise*   *a*   -*vun* *cəmân* *del* *cəmə*   =*râ*

   DemP DemP P   look   Impf.3S DemD P   Poss.3P heart PossP.3S =for

bəsəjəs   .

bə-   *səjəs*

Pst   burned

He looked at them, and they felt for him.

37 *bâtəšân*   *âğâ*   *bəšam*   *avə*   *itka* *kəmak* *âkaram*

   bât   =*əšân* *âğâ*   *bə-*   *š*   -*am* *a*   -*və* *itka* *kəmak* *â-*   *kar*   -*am*

   said   =3P   mister Sbj   go   1P   DemD Ob a.bit help   Pvb.Sbj do   1P

.

They said, "Come on, let's go and give him some help."

38 *badan* *bâmind*   *cəmə*   *nazdik* , *xolâsa* *cəmə*   *latanzânəšân*

   badan *b-*   *âm*   -*ind* *cəmə*   *nazdik*   *xolâsa* *cəmə*   *latanz* -*ân*   =*əšân*

   then Pst   came 3P   PossP.3S near   in.short PossP.3S pear   P   =3P

gəla *gəla* *daka*   *carâ*   *sabadəku*   .

gəla *gəla* *da-*   *ka*   *ca*   =*râ* *sabad* -*ə*   =*ku*

Cl   Cl   Pvb   poured PossD.3S =for basket Ob =Loc

Then they came over to him and, in short, they put his pears in the basket one by one.

39 *nəzânind*   *kə*   *əm*   *latanz* *bâ* *sabadəš*   *dəziai*   .

   nə-   *zân*   -*ind* *kə*   *əm*   *latanz* *bâ* *sabad* =*əš* *dəzi* -*a*   =*i*

   Neg   know   3P   Comp DemP pear   with basket =3S stole Ptc =Cop.3S

They didn't know that these pears were stolen, along with the basket.

40 *əmun*   *nəzânind*   .

  əm   *-un* *nə-*   *zân*   *-ind*

  DemP P   Neg   know   3P

They didn't know.

41 *hici*   .

  hici

  nothing

Anyway.

42 *əməšân*   *cəmənan*   *kəmakəšân*   *bəka*   , *ğašangəšân*

  əm   *=əšân cəmə*   *=nan kəmak*   *=əšân bə-* *ka*   *ğašang*   *=əšân*

  DemP =3P PossP.3S =with help   =3P Pst did   beautiful =3P

daka   *sabadəku*   *pigatəšân*   *cəmə*   *dəcarxa*

da-   *ka* *sabad*   *-ə* *=ku pi-* *gat*   *=əšân cəmə* *dəcarxa*

Pvb   poured basket Ob =Loc Pvb picked.up =3P PossP.3S bicycle

jəloku   *bənâ*   *u* , *bad*   *avəšân*   *râst*   *âka*   ,

jəlo *=ku bə-* *nâ* *u*   *bad* *a*   *-v* *=əšân râst* *â-*   *ka*

front =Loc Pst put and later DemD Ob =3P upright Pvb made

ca   *dəcarxašânin*   *canan*   *râst*   *âka*   .

ca   *dəcarxa* *=šân* *=in* *ca*   *=nan râst* *â-* *ka*

PossD.3S bicycle   =3P =also PossD.3S =with upright Pvb made

They helped him, poured the pears nicely into the basket, picked it up and put it on the front of his bicycle and then helped him up and lifted his bicycle up too.

43 *badan* *avəšân*   *âdâ*   , *əməšân*   *âmâda âka*

  badan a   *-v* *=əšân â-* *dâ*   *əm*   *=əšân âmâda â-* *ka*

  then DemD Ob =3P Pvb handed.over DemP =3P ready Pvb did

, *səga*   *gəlašânin*   *pigat*   *fər*   *bədâ*   *râ*   *a*   *var*   .

  səg *-a* *gəla* *=šân* *=in* *pigat* *fər* *bə-* *dâ* *râ* *a* *var*

  stone Lnk Cl   =3P =also picked.up throw Pst give way DemD direction

Then they handed it back to him, got him ready, picked up the stone and threw it out of the way.

44 *danəšt*   *əm*   *dəcarxa* *əštarâš*   *pigat*   .

   da-   nəšt   əm   dəcarxa əšta   râ   =š   pi-   gat

   Pvb   sat.astride.3S   DemP   bicycle   self   way   =3S   Pvb   picked.up

He sat on this bicycle and went on his way.

45 *lənǧəšam*   *itka* *se*   *karise*   , *majbur* *bebe*

   lənǧ   =əš   =am   itka   se   kar   -ise   majbur   be-   b   -e

   leg   =3S   =also   a.bit   pain   do   Impf.3S   obliged   Pst   be   3S

dəcarxada   *damanəšə*   , *həm*   *latanzə*   *dəcarxa*

   dəcarxa   =da   da-   ma-   nəš   -ə   həm   latanz   -ə   dəcarxa

   bicycle   =Loc   Pvb   Phb   sit.astride   3S   sameP   pear   Ob   bicycle

pigirə   *əštarâ*   *râ* *dagənə*   *bəšu*   .

   pi-   gir   -ə   əšta   =râ   râ   da-   gən   -ə   bə-   š   -u

   Pvb.Sbj   pick.up   3S   self   =for   way   Pvb.Sbj   set.off   3S   Sbj   go   3S

His leg was hurting a bit, so he was forced not to sit on the bicycle, but take the pears and the bicycle and set off to go on his way.

46 *a*   *sə* *nafar* *xərdiân*   *kə*   *kərâ* *šind*   , *əmân*   *bindəšân*

   a   sə   nafar   xərdi   -ân   kə   kərâ   š   -ind   əm   -ân   bind   =əšân

   DemD   3   person   child   P   Comp   Prog   go   3P   DemP   P   saw   =3P

â   *!*

  â

oh!

Where those three children were going, they saw oh!

47 *ila*   *zambila* *kəlâ* *!*

   i   -la   zambila   kəlâ

   a   Cl   wicker   hat

A straw hat!

48 *zambila* *kəlâšân*   *kə*   *bind* , *carâšân*   *fuzə*

   zambila   kəlâ   =šân   kə   bind   ca   =râ   =šân   fuzə

   wicker   hat   =3P   Comp   saw   PossD.3S   =for   =3P   whistle

bəze   .

  bə-   z   =e

  Pst   hit   =Tr

When they saw the straw hat, they whistled to him.

49 *he   , əštə   zambila kəlâ !*

   he   əštə   zambila kəlâ

   hey!   Poss.2S wicker   hat

"Hey! Your straw hat!"

50 *bad   ain   âgardəs   , bəfaməsəš   kə*

   bad   a   =in   â- gardəs   bə- faməs   =əš kə

   later DemD =also Pvb turned.back.3S Pst understood =3S Comp

ca   zambila kəlâye   .

ca   zambila kəlâ   =ye

PossD.3S wicker   hat   =Cop.3S

Then he too turned back, and realized that it's his straw hat.

51 *i   nafar əm   xərdiân   zambila kəlâšân   pigat   , bədâ*

   i   nafar əm   xərdi -ân zambila kəlâ =šân pi- gat   bə- dâ

   one person DemP child   P   wicker hat   =3P   Pvb picked.up Pst run.3S

bəše   bəbardəš   avəš   âdâ   .

bə- š -e bə- bard =əš a   -v =əš â- dâ

Pst go 3S Pst carried =3S DemD Ob =3S Pvb handed.over

One of these children picked up the straw hat, ran and went and took it and gave it to him.

52 *avəš   âdâ   , avə   inkə binde*

   a   -v =əš â- dâ   a   -və inkə bind -e

   DemD Ob =3S Pvb handed.over   DemD Ob Compl saw   3S

ənjure   , adabânə , sə gəlaš   latanz pigat   əmə

ənjur =e   adabânə sə gəla =š latanz pi- gat   əm -ə

like.this =Cop.3S   politely 3   Cl   =3S pear   Pvb picked.up DemP Ob

âdâ   .

â- dâ

Pvb handed.over

He handed it over and when he saw how it was, he politely took three pears and gave them to him.

53 *bâtəše*   *âğâ*   *ila*   *nafari*   *pigi*   *ila*

    bât   = *əš*   = *e*   *âğâ*   *i* -*la*   *nafar*   = *i*   *pi*-   *gi*   *i*   -*la*

    said   = 3S = Tr   mister   a   Cl   person   = Ind   Pvb   pick.up!   a   Cl

âda   .

â-   *da*

Pvb   hand.over!

He said, "Mister, take and pass on one per person."

54 *əmin*   *latanz* *pigatəše*   *, cakuš*

    əm   = *in*   *latanz* *pi*-   *gat*   = *əš*   = *e*   *ca*   = *ku*   = *š*

    DemP   = also   pear   Pvb   picked.up = 3S   = Tr   PossD.3S   = Loc   = 3S

igat   *bəbardəš*   *avânəš*   *âdâ*   .

i-   *gat*   *bə*-   *bard*   = *əš*   *a*   -*vân* = *əš*   *â*-   *dâ*

Pvb   took   Pst   carried   = 3S   DemD   P   = 3S   Pvb   handed.over

He took the pears, carried them and handed them over.

55 *əmân*   *kə*   *əštarâ*   *mašğulə*   *əštarâ*   *latanzəšân*

    əm   -*ân*   *kə*   *əšta*   = *râ*   *mašğul* -*ə*   *əšta*   = *râ*   *latanz*   = *əšân*

    DemP   P   Comp   self   = for   busy   Ob   self   = for   pear   = 3P

pigatabe   *gəla gəla kərâ harinde*   .

pi-   *gat*   -*a*   *b*   -*e*   *gəla*   *gəla*   *kərâ*   *har*   -*inde*

Pvb   picked.up   Ptc   be   3S   Cl   Cl   Prog   eat   Impf.3P

Having taken the pears, they were each busy eating them one by one.

56 *bâminde*   *yavâš yavâš ha*   *latanza*   *seyb*   *kə*   *ha*

    b-   *âm*   -*inde*   *yavâš*   *yavâš*   *ha*   *latanz*   -*a*   *seyb*   *kə*   *ha*

    Pst   came   3P   slow   slow   sameD   pear   Lnk   owner   Rel   sameD

dârəkuš   *latanz cia*   *be*   .

dâr   -*ə*   = *ku*   = *š*   *latanz*   *ci*   -*a*   *b*   -*e*

tree   Ob   = Loc   = 3S   pear   pick   Ptc   Aux   3S

Bit by bit they drew close to the pear farmer who had picked pears up that same tree.

57 *əmin*   *əštarâ*   *dârəku*   *kə*

   əm   =*in*   *əšta*   =*râ*   *dâr*   -*ə*   =*ku*   *kə*

   DemP   =also   self   =for   tree   Ob   =Loc   Comp

išiabe   , *bale* , *latanzəš*   *ciabe*   ,

i-   *ši*   -*a*   =*b*   -*e*   *bale*   *latanz*   =*əš*   *ci*   -*a*   =*b*   -*e*

Pvb   went.down   Ptc   =Aux   3S   yes   pear   =3S   pick   Ptc   =Aux   3S

cun   *latanzə*   *dakarise*   *əštan kəštiku*   , *əštan kəštiku*

cun   *latanz*   -*ə*   *da-*   *kar*   -*ise*   *əštan kəšti*   =*ku*   *əštan kəšti*   =*ku*

because   pear   Ob   Pvb   pour   Impf.3S   self   apron   =Loc   self   apron   =Loc

dakarise   , *əštan šey*   *delaku*   *dakarise*   , *i*

da-   *kar*   -*ise*   *əštan šey*   *dela*   =*ku*   *da-*   *kar*   -*ise*   *i*

Pvb   pour   Impf.3S   self   shirt   in   =Loc   Pvb   pour   Impf.3S   a

cizi   *əštan ənjâku*   *məslə*   *kəšti vâjənde*   *cana*   .

ciz   =*i*   *əštan ənjâ*   =*ku*   *məsl*   -*ə*   *kəšti*   *vâj*   -*ənde*   *ca*   =*na*

thing   =Ind   self   there   =Loc   like   Ob   apron   say   3P   PossD.3S   =with

He had come down from the tree, having been picking pears and pouring them into his apron, or shirt, or something like what they call an apron.

58 *a*   *jâš*   *dakardabe*   , *əməš*

   a   *jâ*   =*š*   *da-*   *kard*   -*a*   =*b*   -*e*   *əm*   =*əš*

   DemD   place   =3S   Pvb   poured   Ptc   =Aux   3S   DemP   =3S

pigat   *bâ*   *kə*   *gəla gəla kərâ diasise*   , *bâtəš*   *e*   !

pi-   *gat*   *bâ*   *kə*   *gəla gəla kərâ dias*   -*ise*   *bât*   =*əš*   *e*

Pvb   picked.up   brought   Comp   Cl   Cl   Prog   look   Impf.3S   said   =3S   eh!

He was pouring them there, and having picked them and taken them he was looking at them one by one, and said oh!

59 *i*   *sabad*   *latanz*   *ni*   .

   i   *sabad*   *latanz*   *ni*

   one   basket   pear   Neg

One of the pear baskets is not there!

60 *hici*   .

   hici

   nothing

No sign.

61 *bašmardəš* *bâtəš* *bâbâ* , *man* *sə* *gəla* *sabad*

   b- *ašmard* =*əš* *bât* =*əš* *bâbâ* *man* *sə* *gəla* *sabad*

   Pst counted =3S said =3S father! 1S.Ob 3 Cl basket

vârdabim , *cərâ* *də* *gəlaye* ?

vârd -*a* =*b* -*im* *cərâ* *də* *gəla* =*ye*

brought Ptc =Aux 1S why 2 Cl =Cop.3S

He counted and said, "My goodness, I had brought three baskets, why are there two?"

62 *bad* *həm* *fekr* *u* *xiâləku* *dabe* ,

   bad *həm* *fekr* *u* *xiâl* -*ə* =*ku* *da-* *b* -*e*

   later sameP thought and imagination Ob =Loc Pvb was.in 3S

dasəš *əštan* *jibəku* *danâ* .

das =*əš* *əštan* *jib* -*ə* =*ku* *da-* *nâ*

hand =3S self pocket Ob =Loc Pvb put

.his hand in his pocket he put ,In such a state of confusion

63 *itka* *râst* *âbe* *bəvənda* *əm* *latanz* *əmân*

   itka *râst* *â-* *b* -*e* *bə-* *vənd* -*a* *əm* *latanz* *əm* -*ân*

   a.bit upright Pvb became 3S Pst stood 3S DemP pear DemP P

diašt .

diašt

looked.3S

He rose and stood there looking at these pears.

64 *bindəš* *â* !

   bind =*əš* *â*

   saw =3S oh!

He saw, oh!

65 *də* *se* *nafar* *kərâ* *a* *varda* *ânde* *latanzin* *cân*

   də *se* *nafar* *kərâ* *a* *var* =*da* *â* -*nde* *latanz* =*in* *cân*

   2 3 person Prog DemD direction =Loc come 3P pear =also Poss.3P

dasəku *dare* , *kərâ* *harənd* .

das -*ə* =*ku* *dar* -*e* *kərâ* *har* -*ənd*

hand Ob =Loc exist 3S Prog eat 3P

Two or three people were coming from that direction, pears in hand, and were eating.

66 *hey   fekrəš   bəka   kə   âxâ   , xodâyâ , əm   latanzun*

    hey   fekr   =əš bə- ka kə   âxâ   xodâyâ   əm   latanz -un

    repeatedly thought =3S Pst did Comp after.all O.God! DemP pear P

əmân   kâda   davârde   ?

əm   -ân kâ   =da da- vârd =e

DemP P where? =Loc Pvb brought =Tr

He kept thinking to him that O Lord, where did they bring these pears along from?

67 *əmun   dəziai   manku   âxâ   az cə*

    əm   -un dəzi -a =i   man =ku âxâ   az cə

    DemP P stole Ptc =Cop.3S 1S.Ob =Loc after.all 1S what?

cəmânnan   bâjəm   ?

cəmân   =nan bâj   -əm

Poss.3P   =with Sbj.say 1S

Are they stolen from me? Oh what should I say to them?

68 *əmunin   kə   ən   varda   ând   xâb agar latanz*

    əm   -un =in kə   ən   var   =da â   -nd xâb agar latanz

    DemP P =also Comp DemP direction =Loc come 3P well if pear

ci   biaye   ?

ci   bi -a   =ye

what? be Ptc =Cop.3S

If they'd been coming from this direction, what would have happened to the pears?

69 *ce   həm   hâluhavâ fekrku   be   kə   cə   bəkarə   ,*

    ce   həm   hâluhavâ fekr   =ku b -e kə   cə   bə- kar -ə

    PossD.3S sameP confused thought =Loc be 3S Comp what? Sbj do 3S

əmun   əštan latanzân   əštarâ   juninde   , əštarâ   yavâš yavâš

əm   -un əštan latanz -ân əšta =râ jun -inde   əšta =râ yavâš yavâš

DemP P self pear P self =for chew Impf.3P self =for slow slow

cəmə   varənan   bəšin   .

cəmə   var   -ə   =nan bə- š   -in

PossP.3S direction Ob =with Pst go Impf.3P

He was in all this confusion about what to do, they were chewing on their pears, and bit by bit going past him.

70 *bixabar az   hama ci   .*

   bixabar az   hama ci

   unaware from every thing

Altogether unaware.

71 *bad   mərdaka   həzənda   bəvənda   nəzânise   cə*

   bad   mərdak   -a   həzən   =da   bə- vənd -a   nə- zân   -ise   cə

   later man   Disc like.this =Loc Pst stood 3S Neg know Impf.3S what?

fekr   bəkari   .

fekr   bə- kar -i

thought Sbj   do   Impf.3S

Then the man just stood there like that. He didn't know what to think.

72 *tamân   âbe   .*

   tamân   â-   b   -e

   finished Pvb   became   3S

The end.

B11.   MASP: Pear Story, Masule

1 *i bâǧabuni   esâ   kə šâ   dâre*

   i bâǧabun   =i   es   =â   kə š   =â   dâr   -e

   a gardener   =Ind exist   =Cop.Pst.3S Rel go   =Cop.Pst.3S tree Ob

sardere   kara xəj cini   .

sar   =dere kara xəj cin   -i

head   =Srce Prog pear pick Impf.3S

There was a gardener who had gone up a tree and was picking pears.

2 *ila   səra   dasmâlni   əštan gardaneš   verâr*

  i -la sər -a dasmâl   =ni əštan gardan =eš verâr

  a   Cl red Lnk handkerchief =also self neck =3S place

ziniâ   .

zini   =â

hang   =Cop.Pst.3S

There was a red handkerchief hung round his neck.

3 *va ila   peškire   isbini   əštan pešeš*

  va i -la peškir -e isbi   =ni əštan peš   =eš

  and a   Cl apron   Ob white =also self in.front =3S

dabennâ   kə xəje   bušuyə   ce   dela

da- benn =â   kə xəj -e bu- šu -yə ce   dela

Pvb tied =Cop.Pst.3S Comp pear Ob Sbj can 3S Poss.3S in

dakarden   .

da- kard -en

Pvb pour P

And a white apron tied around his front, so that he could pour pears into it.

4 *bâğabun šu   dâre   sar   .*

  bâğabun šu   dâr -e sar

  gardener go.3S tree Ob on.top

The gardener went up the tree.

5 *i dâman xəj cinə   əštan peškire   dela dakarə   , uwarə*

  i dâman xəj cin -ə əštan peškir -e dela da- kar -ə uwar -ə

  a apron pear pick 3S self apron Ob in Pvb pour 3S bring 3S

ila   zamilakâ   xâli âkarə   va səra

i -la zamila   =kâ xâli â- kar -ə va sər -a

a   Cl woven.basket =Loc empty Pvb make 3S and red Lnk

dasmâlenam			a	xəjun		pâk	âkarə		hani	šu
dasmâl	-e	=nam	a	xəj	-un	pâk	â-	kar	-ə	hani	šu
handkerchief	Ob	=with	DemD	pear	Ob.P	clean	Pvb	make	3S	again	go.3S

sərdekâ			kafâ	va	dâre		sar	tâ	bəšâ		xəj	cinien	.
sərd	-e	=kâ	kafâ	va	dâr	-e	sar	tâ	bə-	šâ	xəj	cini	-en
ladder	Ob	=Loc	up	and	tree	Ob	on.top	so.that	Sbj	could	pear	pick	Inf

He picks an apronful of pears and pours them into his apron, brings it down and empties it into a basket, then cleans those pears with the red handkerchief and goes back up the ladder, up the tree, so he can pick pears.

6	dar	əm	beyn	i	merdaki		kə	lâfunəš		ila	bəze		gardane	
	dar	əm	beyn	i	merdak	=i	kə	lâfun	=əš	i	-la	bəz	-e	gardan	-e
	in	DemP	midst	a	man	=Ind	Rel	rope	=3S	a	Cl	goat	Ob	neck	Ob

dabennâ			,	va	bəzni		əškam	dâri		,	
da-	benn	=â		va	bəz	=ni	əškam	dâr	-i	
Pvb	tied	=Cop.Pst.3S		and	goat	=also	tummy	have	Impf.3S	

pirišâ			,	bâğabune		a	xəje		vardere	
piri	=š	=â		bâğabun	-e	a	xəj	-e	var	=dere
exist	=3S	=Cop.Pst.3S		gardener	Ob	DemD	pear	Ob	direction	=Srce

daviarda		.
da-	viard	-a
Pvb	passed.by	3S

At this moment a man with a goat, a pregnant one around whose neck he'd tied a rope, passes by the picker of those pears.

7	bəz	say	kari		kə	a	xəjən		bari		,	
	bəz	say	kar	-i	kə	a	xəj	-ən	b-	ar	-i	
	goat	attempt	do	Impf.3S	Comp	DemD	pear	Ob.P	Sbj	eat	Impf.3S	

bəza		šaib	niarzi		.
bəz	-a	šaib	ni-	arz	-i
goat	Lnk	master	Neg	allow	Impf.3S

The goat was trying to eat those pears, but its master wouldn't let it.

8 *bəze*   *zurenam*   *piyetəša*   , *rad*

  bəz -*e* *zur* -*e* =*nam* *pi*- *yet* =*əš* =*a* *rad*

  goat Ob force Ob =with Pvb picked.up =3S =Tr pass

âba   .

â-   *b*   -*a*

Pvb became 3S

By force he pulled the goat along, and went past.

9 *a*   *sardere*   *kə* *merdak* *dâre*   *sarekâ*

  a   *sar*   =*dere* *kə* *merdak* *dâr* -*e* *sar* -*e* =*kâ*

  DemD direction =Srce Rel man   tree Ob head Ob =Loc

piriâ   *ka* *xəj* *cini*   , *ila*   *zua kə kəlâ cə*

piri   =*â*   *ka* *xəj* *cin* -*i*   *i* -*la zua kə kəlâ cə*

exist =Cop.Pst.3S Prog pear pick Impf.3S a Cl boy Rel hat Poss.3S

sare   *piriâ*   , *ila*   *dəcarxa səvârâ*   , *uma*

sar -*e* *piri* =*â*   *i* -*la dəcarxa səvâr* =*â*   *uma*

head Ob exist =Cop.Pst.3S a Cl bicycle astride =Cop.Pst.3S came.3S

venəša   *kə* *də* *zamila*   *xəj* *yâ* *nua*   .

ven =*əš* =*a* *kə* *də* *zamila*   *xəj* *yâ* *nu* -*a*

see =3S =Tr Comp two woven.basket pear there put Ptc

From that direction, where the man up the tree was picking pears, a boy with a hat on his head came on a bicycle. He saw that there were two baskets of pears set there.

10 *iti*   *kafâ dedesə*   *dâre*   *sare*   *dedesə*   , *venə*   *bâǧabun*

  iti   *kafâ dedes* -*ə dâr* -*e sar* -*e dedes* -*ə*   *ven* -*ə bâǧabun*

  a.little up look 3S tree Ob head Ob look 3S see 3S gardener

mašǧule   *xəja*   *ciniea*   .

mašǧul -*e xəj* -*a cini* -*e* =*a*

busy   Ob pear Lnk pick Inf =Cop.3S

For a moment he looks up, he looks up the tree, and sees the gardener is busy picking pears.

11 *va əštan dəcarxa na zamin , say karə də gəla xəj*

   va əštan dəcarxa na zamin say kar -ə də gəla xəj

   and self bicycle put.3S ground attempt do 3S two Cl pear

piyerə .

pi- yer -ə

Pvb.Sbj pick.up 3S

He puts his bicycle on the ground, and tries to take two pears.

12 *bad venə bâğabun ai nevenə , i sabad xəj*

   bad ven -ə bâğabun a -i ne- ven -ə i sabad xəj

   then see 3S gardener 3S Ob Neg see 3S a basket pear

piyerə dəcarxa peše na , va əštanni dəcarxa sar

pi- yer -ə dəcarxa peš -e na va əštan =ni dəcarxa sar

Pvb pick.up 3S bicycle in.front Ob put.3S and self =also bicycle on.top

nəšə , rekâb žanə kə râ bušu .

nəš -ə rekâb žan -ə kə râ bu- šu

sit 3S pedal strike 3S Comp way Sbj go.3S

Then he sees that the gardener doesn't notice him. He picks up a basket of pears, puts it on the front of his bicycle, sits on the bicycle himself, and turns the pedals to head off.

13 *də gəla xəj râdere velakə .*

   də gəla xəj râ =dere ve- lak -ə

   two Cl pear way =Srce Pvb fall 3S

Two pears fall out on the way.

14 *dar ha beyni kə ka râ ši , a sardere*

   dar ha beyn -i kə ka râ š -i a sar =dere

   in same midst Rch Rel Prog way go Impf.3S DemD direction =Srce

ila kela kə əštan muunəš dabennâ , xeilini

i -la kela kə əštan mu -un =əš da- benn =â xeili =ni

a Cl girl Rel self hair Ob.P =3S Pvb tied =Cop.Pst.3S very =also

ğašangâ , kara ui bâ dəcarxa .

ğašang =â kara u -i bâ dəcarxa

beautiful =Cop.Pst.3S Prog come Impf.3S with bicycle

Just as he was going along, a girl from that direction who had braided her hair, very pretty, was coming along on a bicycle.

15 zua tâ   kela venəša   , šu   ai   dedesə   , i dafai
    zua tâ   kela ven =əš =a   šu   ai   dedes -ə   i dafa   =i
    boy until girl see =3S =Tr go.3S 3Sg.Ob look 3S   a moment   =Ind

ce   kəlâ balakə   .
ce   kəlâ balak -ə
Poss.3S hat fall   3S

When the boy saw the girl, he goes and looks at her, and suddenly his hat falls off.

16 šu   əštan kəlâ dedesə   , i dafai   ke   dəcarxa ila
   šu   əštan kəlâ dedes -ə   i dafa   =i ke   dəcarxa i -la
   go.3S   self hat look 3S   a moment   =Ind Comp bicycle a Cl

sangekâ   gir   karə   valakə   .
sang -e =kâ   gir   kar -ə   va- lak   -ə
stone Ob =Loc   involved do   3S   Pvb fall 3S

He turns to look at his hat. Suddenly the bicycle hits a stone and falls.

17 xəjen   hama vebun   zamine   .
   xəj -en hama ve-   b   -un zamin -e
   pear P   all Pvb   spill 3P ground Ob

All the pears spill on the ground.

18 dar ham beyni   kə zua zamine   lakâ   va ce
   dar ham beyn -i   kə zua zamin -e lak =â   va ce
   in same midst Rch Rel boy ground Ob fall =Cop.Pst.3S and Poss.3S

xəjen   vebenâ   , əštan pâ kara dedesi   kə   ce   pâ
xəj -en ve-   b   -enâ   əštan pâ kara dedes -i   kə   ce   pâ
pear P   Pvb   spilt 3Pl.Pst   self leg Prog look Impf.3S Comp Poss.3S leg

zahm âba   yâ ne , əštan guraveš   vuwardâ   jer
zahm â-   b   -a yâ ne əštan gurave =š vuard =â   jer
wound Pvb became 3S or not self sock   =3S brought =Cop.Pst.3S down

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,	se	gəla	xərden		kə	râketəšun		piriâ			,	va	tupušun
	se	gəla	xərd	-en	kə	râket	=əšun	piri	=â			va	tup	=ušun
	three	Cl	child	P	Rel	racket	=3P	exist	=Cop.Pst.3S		and	ball	=3P

piriâ			kara	məzâ	karin		,	ai		venən	.
piri	=â		kara	məzâ	kar	-in		a	-i	ven	-ən
exist	=Cop.Pst.3S		Prog	game	do	Impf.3P		3S	Ob	see	3P

At the same moment that the boy had fallen to the ground, his pears had spilt and he was looking at his leg to see if it was hurt or not and had pulled down his sock, three children with a bat and a ball see him. They were playing a game.

19 | ân | | ai | | ârasən | | | , | ce | xəje | jam |
|---|--|----|--|--------|--|--|---|----|------|-----|
| â | -n | a | -i | â- | ras | -ən | ce | xəj | -e | jam |
| come | 3P | 3S | Ob | Pvb | reach | 3P | Poss.3S | pear | Ob | collect |

âkarən			dakarən			zamila		dela	.
â-	kar	-ən	da-	kar	-ən	zamila		dela	
Pvb	make	3P	Pvb	pour	3P	woven.basket		in	

They come and help him, collect his pears together, and pour them into the basket.

20	va	bad	vaxti	dakarən			zamila		dela	.
	va	bad	vaxt	da-	kar	-ən	zamila		dela	
	and	then	time	Pvb	pour	3P	woven.basket		in	

And then, when they pour them in the basket,

21	va	a		zua	əštan	dəcarxa	râs		âkarə			,	va	xəje		na
	va	a		zua	əštan	dəcarxa	râs	â-	kar	-ə		va	xəj	-e	na
	and	DemD		boy	self	bicycle	upright	Pvb	make	3S		and	pear	Ob	put.3S

ce	peše		.
ce	peš	-e	
Poss.3S	in.front	Ob	

and set the boy's bicycle upright, and put the pears on front of it,

22 sangeni   vasate   râdere   piyerən   fərdan   ,

     sang -e   =ni vasat -e râ =dere pi- yer   -ən fərda -n

     stone Ob =also middle Ob way =Srce Pvb pick.up 3P throw 3P

zua de   dəcarxa sare   nenəšə   , dasenam   dəcarxa

zua de   dəcarxa sar -e ne- nəš -ə das -e =nam dəcarxa

boy in.any.case bicycle on.top Ob Neg sit 3S hand Ob =with bicycle

râ barə   .

râ bar -ə

way carry 3S

they take the stone from the middle of the road and throw it aside. Anyway, the boy doesn't sit on the bicycle, he leads it along by hand.

23 a   se   gəla zuen   kə aikâ   rad âbun   iti

     a   se   gəla zu -en kə a -i =kâ rad â- b   -un iti

     DemD three Cl boy P Rel 3S Ob =Loc pass Pvb become 3P a.little

peš   ân   , venən   kâ   ila   kəlâ yâ   laka   .

peš   â   -n   ven -ən kâ   i -la kəlâ yâ   lak -a

in.front come 3P see 3P Comp a Cl hat there fall Ptc

Those three boys pass him and go on a little way, then see that his hat has fallen down there.

24 dedesən   motavaje bun   kə   əm   kəlâ əm   zuašəna   .

     dedes -ən motavaje b   -un kə   əm   kəlâ əm   zua -šən =a

     look   3P cognizant be   3P Comp DemP hat DemP boy   Poss =Cop.3S

They look and realize that this hat belongs to this boy.

25 aznu airâ   fuša žanən   , a   zua munu   .

     aznu a   -i   =râ fuša žan -ən   a   zua mun -u

     again 3S Ob   =for whistle strike 3P   DemD boy stay 3S

They whistle for him again. That boy stops.

26 əm   zua bətel bətel   karə   ârasə   .

     əm   zua bətel bətel   kar -ə â- ras   -ə

     DemP boy running running do   3S Pvb reach 3S

This boy runs over and reaches him.

27 ainam   kə xəjəš piriâ   , ce kəlâ

 a -i =nam kə xəj =əš piri =â   ce kəlâ

 3S Ob =with Comp pear =3S exist =Cop.Pst.3S Poss.3S hat

piyerə   , ai âda   .

pi- yer -ə a -i â- da

Pvb pick.up 3S 3S Ob Pvb hand.over.3S

The one who had the pears, he takes his hat; the other gives it to him.

28 a barâye in kâ tašakkor bəkarə   , se gəla xəj piyerə

 a barâye in kâ tašakkor bə- kar -ə se gəla xəj pi- yer -ə

 DemD in.order.that thanks Sbj do 3S three Cl pear Pvb pick.up 3S

əmun   âda   .

əm -un â- da

DemP Ob.P Pvb hand.over.3S

He, in order to say thank you, takes three pears and hands them over.

29 əm se gəla xəjun   vaxti əmun   âda   ,

 əm se gəla xəj -un vaxt -i əm -un â- da

 DemP three Cl pear Ob.P time Rch DemP Ob.P Pvb hand.over.3S

əmen   xəje   əštan šeyekâ   pâk âkarən   , va

əm -en xəj -e əštan šey -e =kâ pâk â- kar -ən va

DemP P pear Ob self shirt Ob =Loc clean Pvb make 3P and

šuru karən bə xəje   harden   .

šuru kar -ən bə xəj -e hard -en

beginning do 3P to pear Ob ate Inf

When he hands over the three pears, they clean them with their shirts and begin to eat them.

30 va i dasenamni   məzâ karən .

 va i das -e =nam =ni məzâ kar -ən

 and a hand Ob =with =also game do 3P

And with one hand they keep playing the game.

31 dar ham beyn bâǧabun dâre   sardere   â   jer , venə e

 dar ham beyn bâǧabun dâr -e sar =dere â   jer ven -ə e

 in same midst gardener tree Ob on.top =Srce come.3S down see 3S oh

!

At the same moment the gardener up the tree comes down, and sees: Eh!

32 *kə*   *xui*   *sabade*   *sevâmi* , *zambileye*   *sevâmi pâr*

    kə   *xu*   *-i*   *sabad*   *-e* *sevâmi*   *zambile*   *-ye* *sevâmi pâr*

    Comp want   Impf.3S basket   Ob third   basket   Ob third   full

âkari   ,   *venə*   *kə*   *e* !

â-   *kar*   *-i*   *ven*   *-ə* *kə*   *e*

Pvb   make   Impf.3S   see   3S Comp oh

He was wanting to fill up the third basket; he sees: Eh!

33 *də* *gəla* *zamilaya*   .

    də *gəla* *zamila*   *=ya*

    two Cl   woven.basket   =Cop.3S

There are two baskets!

34 *hey*   *išmârə*   *išmârə*   *venə*   *də* *gəla* *zamilaya*   .

    hey   *išmâr* *-ə* *išmâr* *-ə* *ven* *-ə* *də* *gəla* *zamila*   *=ya*

    repeatedly count   3S count   3S see   3S two Cl   woven.basket   =Cop.3S

He counts them again and again, and sees that there are two baskets.

35 *takia*   *da*   *be* *sərd*   .

    takia   *da*   *be* *sərd*

    leaning   give.3S   to   ladder

He leans on the ladder.

36 *dar* *həm* *beyni*   *kə* *takiaš*   *duâ*   *be* *sərd*   ,

    dar *həm* *beyn* *-i*   *kə* *takia*   *=š*   *du*   *=â*   *be* *sərd*

    in   same midst   Rch Rel   leaning   =3S   gave   =Cop.Pst.3S to   ladder

venəša   *iâ*   *se*   *gəla* *xərde*   *iâ*   *barân*   *kara* *məzâ*

ven *=əš*   *=a*   *iâ*   *se*   *gəla* *xərd*   *-e* *iâ*   *barâ*   *-n* *kara* *məzâ*

see   =3S   =Tr   here three Cl   child   P   here come.along   3P Prog   game

karin   .

kar   *-in*

do   Impf.3P

Just as he leant on the ladder, he saw that three children are coming along here, playing a game.

37 *i*   *dasenam*   *kara* *xəj* *harən*   .

   i   *das*   *-e*   =*nam* *kara* *xəj* *har* *-ən*

   a   hand   Ob   =with Prog pear eat   3P

With one hand they're also eating pears!

38 *iti*   *avun*   *dedesə*   , *vali* *nešâ*   *vâten*   *kə*   *əm*

   iti   *a*   *-vun* *dedes* *-ə*   *vali* *ne-* *šâ*   *vât* *-en* *kə*   *əm*

   a.little DemD Ob.P look   3S   but Neg   could.3S say Inf Comp DemP

xəj   *cəməšəna*   .

xəj   *cəmə*   *-šən*   =*a*

pear Poss.1S   Poss   =Cop.3S

He looks at them for a while, but he cannot say "Those pears are mine."

39 *iti*   *avun*   *dedesə*   , *avenni*   *se* *gəla* *zuen*

   iti   *a*   *-vun* *dedes* *-ə*   *a*   *-ven* =*ni* *se* *gəla* *zu*   *-en*

   a.little DemD Ob.P look   3S   DemD P   =also three Cl   boy   P

ham *məzâ* *dirinâ*   *va* *ham* *xəjušun*   *piriâ*   , *kara*

ham *məzâ* *dirin* =*â*   *va* *ham* *xəj*   =*ušun* *piri* =*â*   *kara*

both game exist   =Cop.Pst.3S and both pear   =3P   exist   =Cop.Pst.3S   Prog

harin   *râ* *dalakun*   *šun*   .

har *-in*   *râ* *da-* *lak*   *-un* *šu* *-n*

eat   Impf.3P way Pvb   fall   3P   go   3P

He looks at them for a while: they are three boys, both with a game and with some pears, eating, walking along and going.

40 *əm*   *cama*   *dâstânâ*   .

   əm   *cama*   *dâstân* =*â*

   DemP Poss.1P story   =Cop.Pst.3S

This was our story.

Appendix C – Participant Charts

<u>Anbarani Pear Film</u>

Numbers refer to: 1. Gardener; 2. Pears; 3. Man with goat; 4. Goat; 5. Boy on bicycle; 6. Girl; 7. Wind; 8. Hat; 9. Boy's friends

Conn	Subject		Non-Subject		Free
	a gardener 1	INTR			went.up
	--1	S1	pear 2	INTR	was picking
	--1	S1	--2	N1	was picking
	--1	S1	--2	N1	was picking
	--1	S1	--2	N1	was pouring into his apron
	his apron				was full
	--1	S3			went down
	--1	S1	--2	N1	poured into basket
	a man 3	INTR	a goat 4	INTR	had got
	--3	S1	its horns		had got
	--3	S1			came
	--3	S1			came
	--3	S1	pears 2	N4	passed
	goat 4	S4			wanted
	--4	S1	pears 2	N1	take
	goat master 3	S4			didn't want
	--3	S1	--4	N3	dragged in that direction
	gardener 1	S4			was up tree
	his head				was hot
	a small boy 5	INTR			was passing by bike
	--5	S1			he planned
	--5	S1	a pear 2	N4	take
	--5	S1			saw
	gardener 1	S4			is busy
	--1	S1	(--5)	(N3)	doesn't see
	--5	S3	a basket 2	N4	took
	--5	S1	--2	N1	puts on bicycle
	--5	S1			sets off
	--5	S1			went
	--5	S1			went
	--5	S1	a girl 6	INTR	saw
	his eyes				fall on girl
	--5	S3			saw
	she 6	S3			is beautiful
	wind 7	INTR			blew
	--7	S1	hat 8	INTR	carried
	big hat 8	S3		INTR	was on his head
	his concentration				was thrown
	--5	S3			went
	--5	S1	a stone		hit
	--5	S1			fell
	basket 2	S4			spilt
	3 of his friends 9	INTR			were passing

Conn	Subject		Non-Subject		Free
	3 strangers 9	INTR			were passing
	--9	S1			were playing with a small board
	--9	S1			came
	--9	S1	his cry		helped
	--9	S1	pears 2	N4	poured
	God		him 5	N4	showed us
	his leg				hurt
since	--5	S3			had thieved
	--9	S4			went a little further
	--9	S1			saw
	his hat 8	S4			had gone from his memory
	--9	S1			whistled
	--9	S1	him 5	N4	called
	--9	S1	his hat 8	N4	gave to him
	--5	S3	three pears 2	N4	gave to them in exchange
	they 9	S3			didn't know
that	these pears 2	S3			were stolen
	--9	S3			came
	--9	S1			went on their way
	he 5	S4			also went on his way
	the three 9	S4			were going
	--9	S1	pears 2	N4	were eating
	gardener 1	S4			came down from tree
	--1	S1			counted
	--1	S1			saw
	that basket 2	S4			is not
	these three 9	S4	pears 2	N3	were eating
since	--9	S1			were coming to him from there
	gardener 1	S3			was embarrassed
	--1	S1			to say to them
	--9	S3	these pears 2	N4	from where did you get
	--9	S2			passed by
	this story				is finished

Asalemi Pear Film

Numbers refer to: 1. Gardener; 2. Pears; 3. Man with goat; 4. Goat; 5. Boy on bicycle; 6. Hat; 7. Girl; 8. Stone; 9. Boy's friends

Conn	Subject		Non-Subject		Free
	a man 1	INTR			is coming
	--1	S1			goes up a pear tree
	--1	S1	pears 2	INTR	is picking
	--1	S1	pears 2	N1	picks
	--1	S1	one by one 2	N1	throws into his apron
	--1	S1	a cloth		has tied round his neck
	--1	S1	pears 2	N1	is picking
	--1	S1	--2	N1	is bringing
	--1	S1	--2	N1	is throwing
	--1	S1	one basket (2)	(N1)	put on ground
	--1	S1	--2	N1	is throwing
at time	--1	S1	--2	N1	is bringing

	--1	S1	--2	N1	pours into basket
	one of pears 2	(S3)			fell into the straw
	--1	S1			he comes
so as to	--1	S1			empty
	--1	S1	his cloth		opens
			that pear (2) which		fell to the ground
	--1	S1	it 2	N3	cleans
	--1	S1	all 2	(N1)	throws into basket
	same 1	S1			goes up tree
then	a man 3	INTR	rope		having put on a goat
	pregnant goat 4	INTR			was
	--3	S1	it 4	N3	was leading
	--3	S1			passed by
	a young boy 5	INTR			sat on a bicycle
	--5	S1	hat 6	INTR	had put on head
	--5	S1			came
	--5	S1			to pass under the tree
	--5	S1	(some of)these pears 2	N4	saw
	--5	S1			was covetous
	--5	S1			dismounted
	--5	S1	one of them 2	(N1)	picked up
	--5	S1			to take with him
	--5	S1			saw that
	friend 1	S4			who went up tree
	--1	S1			doesn't notice
	--5	S1/3	basket 2	N4	picked up
	--5	S1	--2	N1	put on bicycle
	--5	S1			set off
	--5	S1			was going
	--5	S1			saw
	a girl 7	INTR			sat on a bicycle
	--7	S1			is coming opposite him
	--5	S3	girl 7	N3	noticing as he was
	--5	S1			turned in that direction
	wind				blew
	hat 6	S4			fell off his head
	--5	S3	girl 7	N3	he was focussed upon
	bicycle				collided with a stone 8
	--5	S1			fell
	basket 2	S4			all spilt
	basket 2	S1			emptied completely
then	2/3 friends 9	INTR			were coming from yonder
	they 9	S1			came
	--9	S1	basket 2	N4	collected
	--9	S1			poured into same basket 2

Conn	Subject		Non-Subject		Free
	--9	S1	pears 2	(N3)	they put onto his bicycle
	his leg				was wounded
	--5	S3			he limped away with bicycle
when	his friends 9	S4	his hat 6	N4	noticed
	--9	S1			whistled for him
	--5	S3			stopped
	--9	S1	--6	N4	carried
	--9	S1	hat 6	N1	gave back to him
	he 5	S3	reward		gave in exchange
	--5	S1	some of his pears 2	N4	gave to them
	those friends 9	S3	that stone 8	N4	picked up
	which 8	S3			had fallen there
	--9	S1	--8	N3	threw by side of track
so	something				wouldn't occur for another
	--9	S1	same pears 2	N4	were eating
	--9	S1			were coming
	--9	S1			to pass under tree
when	that picker 1	S4			came down from tree
	--1	S1			saw
	baskets 2	S4			are one too few
	--1	S1			counted
	--1	S1			saw
	one 2	S3			few is
	--1	S1			looked
	--1	S1			saw
now	they 9	S4			arrive at this pear tree
	--1	S3			would say to them
	--9	S3	my pears 2	N4	did you take or not?
anyway	they 9	S2			came
	--9	S1			passed by
	--9	S1			went
	this man too 1	S4			remained and
	basket 2	S4			was in front of him

Masali Pear Film

Numbers refer to: 1. Gardener; 2. Pears; 3. Goat; 4. Man with goat; 5. Boy on bicycle; 6. Bicycle; 7. Girl; 8. Hat; 9. Boy's friends

Conn	Subject		Non-Subject		Free
	man 1	INTR	pear 2	INTR	was picking
then	--1	S1	pear 2	N1	picked and
	--1	S1	a handkerchief		also had
	pears 2				which fell to the ground

	--1	S1	them 2	N3	was cleaning
then	--1	S1	pears 2	N1	was pouring into his apron
	--1	S1	--2	N1	was bringing
	--1	S1	--2	N1	was pouring into that basket
where	--1	S1	--2	N1	was pouring
	a.goat 3	INTR			was over there
	goat 3	IN/S1			came
	--3	S1	his pears 2	N4	in order to eat
	he 4	INTR	his goat. 3	N3	got
	--4	S1	its neck	N3	got
	--4	S1	its neck	N1	got
	--4	S1	--3	N3	led it over there
so	--3	S3	his pears 2	N4	would not eat
then	same 1	S4			came
	--1	S1	pears 2	N1	picked
	--1	S1	(pears 2)	N1	picked what was in reach
	--1	S1			saw
	--1	S1			cannot pick within reach
	--1	S1			went up tree
	he 1	S1			having gone up tree
	--1	S1	three or four baskets	N4	picked
	--1	S1	--2	N1	had put them there
	he 1	S1			having gone up tree
	a child 5	INTR			came from over there
	--5	S1			sat on a bicycle
	this child 5	S1			came and
	this man 1	S3			did not see
	--1	S1	pears 2	N4	was picking
then	--5	S1			came and
	--5	S1			dismounted by the tree
then	--5	S1	--bicycle 6	N3	let go
	--5	S1	--6	N1	dropped
then	--5	S1			went
	--5	S1			went
	--5	S1	pears 2	N4	to steal
first	--5	S1	one pear 2	N3	took
	--5	S1			saw
	nobody				is there
	man 1	S4			since wasn't seeing
	man 1 also	S4	him 5	N3	wasn't seeing
	this pearpicker1	S4			(right-dislocated)
	he 5	S3			came second time
	--5	S1	this basket of	N4	picked up just there

			pears 2		
	--5	S1	--2	N1	brought and
	--5	S1	bicycle 6	N4	set upright
	bicycle 6	S3	a basket		had at the front
	--5	S1	--2	N4	picked up
	--5	S1	--2	N1	loaded on its front
	--5	S1	bicycle 6	N3	sat on
	--5	S1			set off
	--5	S1			went
	--5	S1			went
	--5	S1			went some distance
then	--5	S1			saw in road
	a girl 7	INTR			is coming on a bicycle
	this girl 7	S1			came and
	this child 5	S3			was confused
	this pear thief 5	S3			(right-dislocated)
	this 7	S1			went
in.short	--7	S1	something		did to this child's mind
	--5&7	S1			went
	--5&7	S1	each other	N3	passed
	this girl 7	S1	his hat 8	N4	took
	girl 7	S1	hat 8	N1	took
	his attention				was thrown and
	this 5	S3			fell to the ground
	his pears 2	S4			all spilt
like.this	--5	S3			remained there
	--5	S1	his sock		brought down and so on
then	2 or 3 people 9	INTR			from that direction
who	children 9	INTR			same age came
	his peers 9	INTR			came and
	--9	S1			went to him
	--9	S1	(--5)	N3	helped
	--9	S1	pears 2	N4	gathered from the ground
	--9	S1	--2	N1	put back into the basket
then	--5	S3			said goodbye to them
	these kids 9	S3			went on their way
	this boy 5 too	S3	bicycle 6		mounted
	--5	S1			went on his way
	--5	S1			wanted to go home
but	hat 8	S4			had slipped his mind
	hat8	S4			that slipped his mind,
	--5	S3			went
	--5	S1			went a bit that way
	his friends 9	S4			whistled for him
that	--9	S1	him 5	N3	might make come back
	--9	S1			said that

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	your hat 8	S3			has slipped your mind
	he 5	S3	his hat 8	N3	picked up
again	--5	S1			set off
	--5	S1			went
before	--5	S1			set off
	--5	S1	(a pear 2)		gave to each one
	these kids 9	S4			were approaching that man
	that same man 1	S4			from whom
	this boy 5	S4			had stolen
anyway	that boy 5	S1			went
	they too 9	S4			went
	this man 1	S4			came down from tree
	--1	S1			said oh!
	my basket (2)	S4			is not
there	--1	S3			thinks
	my basket(2)	S3			what happened?
	--1	S1			said oh!
	four/five kids 9	S4			are coming from that way
	each one 9	S1	a pear 2	N4	is eating
then	he 1 also	S3			is embarrassed
	--1	S1	them 9	N3	to ask
well	the same?1		pear orchards		had planted here and there
well	they 9	S4			were coming from that way
whereas	the same? 9				were staying there
	--1	S1			would have said
	you 9	S1	my pears 2	N4	stole
	they 9	S2			were coming from that way
	--1	S1			said
well	--9	S1			came
	--1	S1	what?		ask
	they 9	S1	someone else's pears		perhaps took
or	--9	S1			have bought
or	--9	S1			took from their own orchard
so	that was it				
	man 1	S4			remained dumb
	these kids 9	S4	these pears 2	N4	were eating
	--9	S1			passed in front of him
	--9	S1			went

Appendix D – Informal Sociolinguistic Questionnaire

This list sets out some topics explored with respondents during informal interviews. Under the first topic, ethnic identity, examples of the kinds of specific questions asked are listed.

Ethnic Identity

What does it mean to be Talesh?

What makes Talesh different from other people groups?

Are you a typical Talesh? Why?

Whom do you consider to be a good example of a Talesh? Why?

Might other Talesh consider you to be different from them? Who and how?

Is the way in which you speak your language different from other Talesh? How?

What are the good things about being Talesh?

What are the not-so-good things about being Talesh?

In which village or town do the Talesh speak Taleshi the purest? What about their language makes you say that?

Is language an important factor in being Talesh?

In your opinion, what do other people groups and nations think about the Talesh?

What would you want the whole world to know about Talesh history and culture?

Other Sample Questions and Topics

Social network patterns: whom do you visit, who visits you, and what languages do you speak with each other?

Marriage patterns: levels of endogamy and exogamy; how marriages are arranged; what language(s) children speak when marriages between members of different language communities occur.

Language use: languages used at home; work; in formal and informal situations; preferred/most used for reading, singing, radio, TV, writing, arguing, counting, cursing, praying; languages used with friends, neighbours, guests, parents, spouse, children, siblings. Do you know any folk tales or children's songs in Taleshi?

Perceived benefit and attitudes: how important are the following languages (including Persian, Azeri, Taleshi and Gilaki) for communication; earning money; gaining respect; being a good member of one's family; religion; information?

Dialectal differences: are there people who speak Taleshi the same as you/slightly differently/very differently/so differently that you don't understand them? Who are they, and how is their speech different? Which varieties of Taleshi sound nicest to you? Where should I live to learn Taleshi the best? Does your language sound good to Talesh from other places? Talesh in which area are the best educated? Talesh in which area keep traditions the best?