A COMPARATIVE DIALECTAL DESCRIPTION OF IRANIAN TALESHI

A thesis submitted to the University of Manchester for the degree of PhD in the Faculty of Humanities.

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SCHOOL OF LANGUAGES, LINGUISTICS AND CULTURES
# Table of Contents

List of Tables .................................................................................................................. 6
List of Figures .................................................................................................................... 7
Abstract ............................................................................................................................... 8
Acknowledgements ............................................................................................................. 11
List of Abbreviations ........................................................................................................... 12

1 Introduction .................................................................................................................... 15
   1.1 Geographical and historical background ................................................................. 15
   1.2 Linguistic background .............................................................................................. 19
   1.3 Previous research .................................................................................................... 20
   1.4 Methodology ........................................................................................................... 21
   1.5 Presentation and transcription ................................................................................ 22
   1.6 Structure .................................................................................................................. 22

2 Phonology .................................................................................................................... 24
   2.1 Introduction ............................................................................................................. 24
   2.2 Consonants ............................................................................................................. 25
   2.3 Vowels .................................................................................................................... 43
   2.4 Syllable Types ....................................................................................................... 47
   2.5 Phonotactics ........................................................................................................... 48
   2.6 Other Phonological and Morphophonemic Process ............................................... 49
   2.7 Suprasegmental Features ....................................................................................... 53
   2.8 Orthography .......................................................................................................... 63

3 Nouns and nominal morphology ................................................................................ 66
   3.1 Introduction ............................................................................................................. 66
   3.2 Structure of the Noun ............................................................................................. 66
   3.3 Number and Case ................................................................................................... 66
   3.4 Gender .................................................................................................................... 78
   3.5 Possession ............................................................................................................... 78
   3.6 Relative Clause ...................................................................................................... 80
   3.7 Nominal Compounding ......................................................................................... 80
   3.8 Pronouns ............................................................................................................... 81
   3.9 Case in Nominative-Accusative and Ergative-Absolutive Constructions .................. 91

4 Verbs and verbal morphology .................................................................................... 103
4.1 Introduction .............................................................................................................103
4.2 Structural Types ....................................................................................................104
4.3 Key Morphological Elements .............................................................................111
4.4 Present, future and progressive forms ...............................................................123
4.5 Past Imperfective ..................................................................................................129
4.6 Subjunctive ............................................................................................................131
4.7 Imperative ..............................................................................................................133
4.8 Present and Past Perfect .....................................................................................133
4.9 Simple Past Intransitive .....................................................................................136
4.10 Simple Past Transitive ......................................................................................137
4.11 Non-Finite Verbs ................................................................................................147
4.12 Modality ..............................................................................................................149
4.13 Notes on other dialects ......................................................................................155

5 Other parts of speech ...............................................................................................158
5.1 Adpositions ..........................................................................................................158
5.2 Adjectives and Adverbs ......................................................................................175
5.3 Number ................................................................................................................181
5.4 Quantifiers ..........................................................................................................184
5.5 Conjunctions .......................................................................................................187

6 Syntax .......................................................................................................................201
6.1 Introduction ..........................................................................................................201
6.2 Noun phrase ........................................................................................................201
6.3 Relative clauses ...................................................................................................204
6.4 Complement Clauses ..........................................................................................208
6.5 Adposition phrase ..............................................................................................219
6.6 Adjective phrase ................................................................................................220
6.7 Numerals ..............................................................................................................220
6.8 Quantifiers ..........................................................................................................224
6.9 Simple sentences ................................................................................................225
6.10 Copula sentences ...............................................................................................243
6.11 Sentence types ....................................................................................................245
6.12 Negation ..............................................................................................................254
6.13 Co-reference ......................................................................................................256
6.14 Comparison ........................................................................................................259
B11. MASP: Pear Story, Masule ................................................................. 447
Appendix C – Participant Charts .............................................................. 458
Appendix D – Informal Sociolinguistic Questionnaire .............................. 465

Final word count: 79,979 words
List of Tables

Table 1: Population figures for six key Talesh districts ...................................................... 16
Table 2: Consonants Common to All Three Dialects ............................................................ 25
Table 3: Description of Consonant Inventory ........................................................................ 26
Table 4: Average frequencies in Hz for word-initial /k/ before front, central and back vowels 33
Table 5: [d]/[d'] .................................................................................................................. 36
Table 6: [n]/[n'] .................................................................................................................. 37
Table 7: [l]/[l'] ................................................................................................................... 38
Table 8: [r]/[r'] .................................................................................................................. 38
Table 9: Kishkekle’s (2007) minimal pairs ............................................................................. 39
Table 10: First and second formant values for relevant words across dialects .................. 41
Table 11: CV syllable examples ........................................................................................... 47
Table 12: CVC syllable examples ........................................................................................ 48
Table 13: CVCC syllable examples ...................................................................................... 48
Table 14: Orthographic conventions .................................................................................... 64
Table 15: Basic case and number system ........................................................................... 67
Table 16: Proportions of i and i-la in the three dialects ....................................................... 73
Table 17: Direct and Oblique Personal Pronouns ................................................................. 81
Table 18: Possessive and Indirect Object Pronouns .............................................................. 84
Table 19: The demonstrative singular paradigm in Anbarani, Asalemi and Masali ............ 90
Table 20: The demonstrative plural paradigm in Asalemi and Masali ................................ 90
Table 21: Distribution of 1S pronominal forms in the Anbarani corpus by argument role .... 98
Table 22: Some common verb stems in the three dialects ................................................... 104
Table 23: Frequently occuring complex predicates in Persian ............................................ 107
Table 24: Incidence of complex-predicate-like constructions by verb in Taleshi corpus: ..... 108
Table 25: Persian constituents in the non-verbal element of complex predicates .......... 109
Table 26: Taleshi constituents in the non-verbal element of complex predicates .......... 109
Table 27: Simple and complex verb equivalents ................................................................. 110
Table 28: Distribution of 1S pronominal forms in the Anbarani corpus by argument role .... 104
Table 29: Some common verb stems in the three dialects ................................................... 104
Table 49: Taleshi verbs which commonly accept preverbs ................................................................. 261
Table 50: Common verbs taking a wide range of preverbs ............................................................... 273
Table 51: Present and Past Tense Marking in the Masule Pear Story .............................................. 284
Table 52: How core motion verbs mark episodes and key locations in the Asalemi Baldy Story .......... 286
Table 53: Use of ‘come’ and ‘go’ in the Anbarani Pear Story ............................................................ 288
Table 54: Use of ‘come’ and ‘go’ in the Anbarane Mahalle Pear Story .............................................. 288
Table 55: Use of ‘come’ and ‘go’ in the Anbarani Nostalgia Story .................................................... 288
Table 56: Default participant reference strategies in all three dialects .............................................. 298
Table 57: Locations for recording the “Pear Film” ............................................................................. 316
Table 58: Percentages of cognates found in the 114-word list ........................................................ 318

List of Figures

Figure 1: Map of the Iranian Taleshi-speaking area (not to scale) ...................................................... 17
Figure 2: F1 and F2 values for Anbarani vowels .............................................................................. 44
Figure 3: F1 and F2 values for Asalemi vowels ................................................................................. 45
Figure 4: F1 and F2 values for Masali vowels .................................................................................... 47
Figure 5: First Asalemi declarative sentence with falling intonation ............................................. 58
Figure 6: Second Asalemi declarative sentence with falling intonation ......................................... 59
Figure 7: First Asalemi imperative sentence with falling intonation .............................................. 59
Figure 8: Second Asalemi imperative sentence with falling intonation ......................................... 60
Figure 10: Second Asalemi polar question with falling-rising intonation ..................................... 61
Figure 11: First Asalemi content question with falling-rising intonation ..................................... 62
Figure 12: Anbarani and Masali content questions equivalent to first Asalemi example ............... 62
Figure 13: Second Asalemi content question with falling-rising intonation ................................... 63
Figure 14: Second Anbarani and Masali content question examples ............................................ 63
Figure 15: Clitic placement in the clause by dialect ....................................................................... 138
Figure 16: Clitic placement on different constituents across the three dialects ............................ 138
Figure 17: Occurrence of complementizer across the dialects by fact and activity complement clause type .................................................................................................................... 209
Figure 18: S1 participant references ............................................................................................... 297
Figure 19: N1 participant references ............................................................................................... 297
Figure 20: S4 participant references ............................................................................................... 297
Figure 21: N4 participant references ............................................................................................... 297
Figure 22: S3 participant references ............................................................................................... 298
Figure 23: N3 participant references ............................................................................................... 298
Figure 24: Exophoric and endophoric categories of deictic expression ........................................ 299
Figure 25: Average RTT test scores for candidates in Anbaran and Masal ................................. 318
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

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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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Thanks also to Martin Quested and the Carr-Brown family who gave me places to stay in Manchester overnight on many occasions, and to all my friends and colleagues who supported me in various ways so that I could spend time studying. I am grateful to my parents for training me in the way I should go, and for continuing to love me whether I deserved it or not.

My greatest thanks go to my wife, Narineh. If I were to list here all the ways she has supported me, I would quickly exhaust the word limit. Thank you, my love, for your unfailing patience, encouragement, comfort, humour and beauty; and for Michael, our precious son, who has made his own contribution to my studies.

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1st person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2nd person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3rd person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A*</td>
<td>Most agent-like argument in a transitive clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>Accusative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADJ</td>
<td>Adjectival marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUG</td>
<td>Augment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUX</td>
<td>Auxiliary verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>Causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>Classifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMP</td>
<td>Complementizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMPR</td>
<td>Comparative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COP</td>
<td>Copula (followed by person and number)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPr*</td>
<td>Complex Predicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSSV</td>
<td>Concessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTV*</td>
<td>Complement-Taking Verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DADJ</td>
<td>Derived adjective marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEMD</td>
<td>Demonstrative (distal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEMP</td>
<td>Demonstrative (proximate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIM</td>
<td>Diminutive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DISC</td>
<td>Discourse marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>Emphatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>Ergative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EVID</td>
<td>Evidential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EZ</td>
<td>(Persian) ezafe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRQ</td>
<td>Frequentative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPF</td>
<td>Imperfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
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<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>Indefinite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INF</td>
<td>Infinitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTSV</td>
<td>Intensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IO</td>
<td>Indirect Object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IOD</td>
<td>Indirect Object (distal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IOP</td>
<td>Indirect Object (proximal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRR</td>
<td>Irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LV*</td>
<td>Light verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>Nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEC</td>
<td>Necessitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NQU</td>
<td>Negative question particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NV*</td>
<td>Non-verbal element</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>Oblique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P*</td>
<td>Most patient-like argument in a transitive clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAR</td>
<td>Partitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PHB</td>
<td>Prohibitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>Possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROG</td>
<td>Progressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRS</td>
<td>Present tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST</td>
<td>Past tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PTC</td>
<td>Participle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PTV</td>
<td>Partitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PVB</td>
<td>Preverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QU</td>
<td>Question (interrogative) particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCH</td>
<td>Relative clause head marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RECP</td>
<td>Reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL</td>
<td>Relativizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S*</td>
<td>Intransitive subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAMED</td>
<td>Same, distal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAMEP</td>
<td>Same, proximal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAP*</td>
<td>Speech act participant (i.e. 1st or 2nd person)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBJ</td>
<td>Subjunctive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRCE</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TR</td>
<td>Transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v.i.*</td>
<td>Intransitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v.t.*</td>
<td>Transitive verb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 (Emānzāde), 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 Māsule. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>% Taleshi</th>
<th>% Turkish</th>
<th>% Gilaki</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ästārā</td>
<td>63,254</td>
<td>65 (41,000)</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>&gt;1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haštpar</td>
<td>155,784</td>
<td>75 (117,000)</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rezvānšahr</td>
<td>60,064</td>
<td>93 (56,000)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māsâl</td>
<td>46,072</td>
<td>96 (44,000)</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuman</td>
<td>103,192</td>
<td>51 (53,000)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šaft</td>
<td>75,292</td>
<td>70 (53,000)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

---

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)
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.\footnote{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.}

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 Āstârâ 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 Saflâ 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; Khôlifeâbâd, famous for its Saturday bazaar; and Khôleh 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
regular appearance of speakers from this area on Taleshi television programmes. \(^5\) \(M\acute{a}s\acute{a}l\) is located some 50km west and slightly north of \(Rasht\), and 20km directly south of \(Rezv\acute{a}nshahr\), which is near the boundary between the central and southern dialects. \(Sh\ddot{a}nderman\) is roughly 6km north of the centre of \(M\acute{a}s\acute{a}l\). An excellent research opportunity in this area under the guidance of the deputy mayor of \(Sh\ddot{a}nderman\) 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 \(M\acute{a}s\acute{a}l\) itself.

1.1.1.4 Other Research Locations

In the northern area, we visited \(Anbar\acute{a}n\ Mahalle\), a village just to the west of \(\acute{A}st\ddot{a}r\acute{a}\). The Taleshi-speaking inhabitants of this village migrate north to \(Anbar\acute{a}n-e\ Ardabil\) during the hot summer months. We also visited \(Vizn\acute{e}\), 20km south of \(\acute{A}st\ddot{a}r\acute{a}\).

In the central area, we also visited \(Jokand\ddot{a}n\), 10km north of \(Ha\acute{t}par\) (the area is also known as \(Turk\ Mahalle\ “Turkish Place”\)).

In the southern area, in addition to visiting many homes in the \(M\acute{a}s\acute{a}l\) and \(\ddot{S}\ddot{a}ndarman\) areas, we also visited \(M\acute{a}s\acute{u}l\), a resort town in the Talesh mountains 30km south-west of \(M\acute{a}s\acute{a}l\) and 60km west of \(Ra\acute{s}\).

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 \(Ra\acute{s}\) 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 \(Tul\acute{a}r\acute{u}d\) and \(Xot\acute{b}eh Sar\acute{a}\) on the one hand, and south of \(T\acute{a}le\ddot{e}š\ Dul\ddot{a}b\) 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 \(Lis\ddot{a}r\) to the border with Azerbaijan;

\(^5\) 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 Kargānrud, 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 Talysh, which was based on the Talysh 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)

Taleshi dictionaries include Pirejko (1976) between Azerbaijani Talysh 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 Audiotecnica ATM63HE microphone.

2.1.2 Previous Studies

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labio-Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Post-Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosive</td>
<td>p b</td>
<td>t d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>k g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tʃ (č) dʒ (j)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tap</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td></td>
<td>f v s z</td>
<td>f (š) j</td>
<td>z (ž)</td>
<td>x y (ğ) h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td></td>
<td>m n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Approximant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>j (y)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
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<td>l</td>
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<tr>
<td>Approximant</td>
<td></td>
<td>l (F)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phoneme</td>
<td>Important phonetic realizations</td>
<td>Notes and Description</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>$p^h$  $p$</td>
<td>Voiceless aspirated bilabial plosive.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>$b$  $\beta$</td>
<td>Voiced bilabial plosive. Spirantisation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>$t^h$  $t$  $t^l$</td>
<td>Voiceless aspirated dental plosive.</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>$d$  $d^l$</td>
<td>Voiced dental plosive.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>$k^h$  $k$</td>
<td>Voiceless aspirated velar plosive. Velar Fronting</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>$g$  $g$</td>
<td>Voiced velar plosive. Velar Fronting</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>tj</td>
<td>$t_j$</td>
<td>Voiceless palatal grooved fricative.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>dʒ</td>
<td>dʒ</td>
<td>Voiced palatal grooved fricative.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>r  $r^l$</td>
<td>Voiced alveolar tap.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>Voiceless labio-velar fricative.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>Voiced labio-velar fricative.</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>s  $s^l$</td>
<td>Voiceless alveolar grooved fricative.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>Voiced alveolar grooved fricative.</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td>Voiceless post-alveolar grooved fricative.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>sɔ</td>
<td>sɔ</td>
<td>Voiceless post-alveolar grooved fricative.</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɣ</td>
<td>ɣ  $g$</td>
<td>Voiceless velar fricative.</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>Voiceless glottal fricative.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>Voiced bilabial nasal.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>n  $n^l$</td>
<td>Voiced alveolar nasal.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>Voiced palatal approximant.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>l  $l^l$</td>
<td>Voiced alveolar lateral approximant.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


2.2.3  Minimal Pairs

2.2.3.1  Labials

**Anbarani**

[pu] ‘foot’  
[bu] ‘load’

[pyr] ‘full’  
[bur] ‘spade’

[far] ‘well’  
[vaz] ‘condition’

[feɾ] ‘oven’  
[var] ‘place’

**Asalemi**

[pɔɾ] ‘previous’  
[bɔɾ] ‘load’

[pur] ‘full’  
[bur] ‘twist’

[ba] ‘was.3s’  
[va] ‘and’

[bar] ‘upon’  
[var] ‘direction’

[baˈla] ‘child’  
[faˈla] ‘shred’  
[valˈla] ‘by God!’

**Masali**\(^6\)

[pi] ‘fat’  
[bi] ‘quince’

[pu] ‘weft’  
[bu] ‘smell’

[faj] ‘improper’  
[va] ‘flame’

[pand] ‘ditch’  
[fand] ‘trick’

2.2.3.2  Dentals and Sibilants

**Anbarani**

[tʌ] ‘you.s’  
[də] ‘two’  
[sə] ‘red’  
[ʃə] ‘milk’

[səˈma] ‘straw’  
[jəˈma] ‘you.p’

[zəˈna] ‘knowing’  
[ʒəˈɡu] ‘like.this’

[ziˈna] ‘yesterday’

**Asalemi**

[tə] ‘2s’  
[də] ‘two’  
[sə] ‘stone’

[zaŋ] ‘knee’

---

\(^6\) /pur/ 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).
[se] ‘three’ [jæ] ‘to go’

Masali

[so] ‘shadow’ [zo] ‘born’ [ʃə] ‘king’ [ʒə] ‘(s/he) had hit’

2.2.3.3 Palatals

Anbarani

[tʃuˈka] ‘well’ [dʒuˈkas] ‘stranger’
[tʃaˈma] ‘our’ [dʒam] ‘crowd’ [jad] ‘each other’ [ʃan] ‘are gone’ [ʒana] ‘hitting’

Asalemi

[tʃam] ‘eye’ [dʒam] ‘crowd’ [jak] ‘one’
[ʃamun] ‘we have gone’ [ʒamuna] ‘we have loaded’

Masali

[ʃaˈɾaɣ] [ʒaˈɾa] ‘you all mix’

2.2.3.4 Back Obstruents

Anbarani


Asalemi

[ˈkio] ‘where?’ [giˈa] ‘plant’

Masali

[ɡar] ‘thunderbolt’ [γar] ‘exhausted’
2.2.3.5 Nasals

Anbarani

[my] ‘hair’   [nu] ‘put’

[ˈnuma] ‘did not come’   [nuˈna] ‘put on’

[umˈem] ‘I came’   [umˈen] ‘they came’

Asalemi

[muˈi] ‘hair.0b’   [nuˈe] ‘to put’

[aˈma] ‘we’   [aˈna] ‘so much’

[ʃim] ‘I went’   [ʃin] ‘they went’

Masali

[maˈtʃa] ‘nozzle’   [naˈtʃa] ‘ram’

[ɾaˈma] ‘flock’   [ɾaˈna] ‘wooden egg’

[ʃim] ‘I went’   [ʃin] ‘they went; sweet’

2.2.3.6 Liquids

Anbarani

[ɾivˈɔs] ‘rhubarb’   [liˈvɔn] ‘leaves’

[ˈvɔɾ] ‘place’   [ˈvɔl] ‘flower’

Asalemi

[ranɡ] ‘colour’   [lanˈɡɔn] ‘limping’

[ɾɔ] ‘way’   [lɔ] ‘not’ (Arabic loanword)

Masali

[ɾɔp] ‘snail’   [ɾɔp] ‘spider’

[ʒɔɾ] ‘mist’   [ʒɔl] ‘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. [kʰitʰiɾi] ‘kettle’ (compare Persian [kʰetʰiɾi]). 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); [lutfinda] (Anbarani) and [ˈlutfina] (Asalemi) ‘kindly’. In Masali the first consonant tends to fricativize slightly, e.g. [aˈɾɔfikʰu] ‘around adv.’, [hafˈman] ‘certainly’; [fikr] ‘thought’.

b. **Second segment of a consonant sequence:** After sibilants, some weak aspiration remains evident, e.g. [aŋˈɡuʃtʰ] ‘finger’ (Masali); [pʰusˈtʰ] ‘skin’ (Anbarani and Masali). After other consonants there is no aspiration, e.g. [paɾtʰ] ‘throw’ (all dialects), and sometimes no release of the second consonant in word-final position, e.g. [badˈbaxtʰ] ‘unfortunate’ (Masali).

### 2.2.5 Voicing

Voiced stops often undergo partial devoicing, especially in word-final position. Examples include: [mɛɾd] ‘man’ (all dialects); [myz] ‘banana’ (Anbarani); [bɔɾz] ‘rice’ (all dialects); [dasˈbənd] ‘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 [saˈpi]); [asˈpa]/[asˈba] ‘dog’ (cf. Anbarani [saˈpa]).

### 2.2.6 Glottalic Onset

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

---

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 [ɣ] or voiceless [q] plosive or as a voiced fricative [ʁ] depending on its environment (Pisowicz 1985, p.42). In Gilaki the voiced fricative is always used. 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 [ɕ] 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 /ɧ/ is usually the voiced velar fricative [ɣ], but may strengthen to the voiced stop [ɕ] 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:


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

---

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 Talysh, with Persian words such as [dast] ‘hand’ and [dust] ‘friend’ finding equivalents [das] and [dus] respectively. In Iranian Taleshi, however, many words which originally contained /st/ clusters, such as [das] and [dast] ([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:

- [ɡɔv] > [ɡu] (Anbarani), [ɡo] (Asalemi), [ɡɔ] (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


/n/ is an alveolar stop [n] except before velar sounds where it assimilates to [ŋ], e.g. [pa’laŋɔ] ‘leopard’ (all dialects); [aŋ’ɡɔl] ‘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 [goloˈbi]~[goloˈvi] ‘pear’ and [zaˈbɔn]~[zuˈvun] ‘tongue’.11

In Asalemi the [v] consonant can weaken to the point of disappearance: the [v] in [oβ] ‘water’ is commonly almost inaudible, while in [zˈun] ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Before Vowel</th>
<th>Anbarani</th>
<th>Asalemi</th>
<th>Masali</th>
<th>Persian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>_i</td>
<td>3100</td>
<td>2900</td>
<td>2600</td>
<td>2700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_a</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td>2500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_ə</td>
<td>1600</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_ɔ</td>
<td>1100</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>1300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11 Compare Persian [goluˈbi] and [zaˈbɔn].

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 Tālīši)...”; 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 Talysh, 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 [ruz]/[ryz] ‘day’, [pur]/[pyr] ‘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’, [yaˈzʊ] ‘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 [œ]. 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 ‘butter milk’ (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: [d]/[dʲ]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>F1 initial</th>
<th>F2 initial</th>
<th>F2 at 2ms</th>
<th>F2 avg.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d'u</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>2208</td>
<td>1292</td>
<td>1660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'ʊ</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>2143</td>
<td>1017</td>
<td>1409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du</td>
<td>353</td>
<td>1852</td>
<td>752</td>
<td>1054</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>1851</td>
<td>745</td>
<td>1056</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'um</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>2356</td>
<td>937</td>
<td>1451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'um</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>2043</td>
<td>885</td>
<td>1318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dum</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>1574</td>
<td>623</td>
<td>1026</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dum</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>1727</td>
<td>787</td>
<td>952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'a</td>
<td>358</td>
<td>2163</td>
<td>1724</td>
<td>1852</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'a</td>
<td>389</td>
<td>2168</td>
<td>1695</td>
<td>1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da</td>
<td>503</td>
<td>1797</td>
<td>1562</td>
<td>1608</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da</td>
<td>670</td>
<td>1760</td>
<td>1532</td>
<td>1554</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: [n]/[nʲ]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>F1 initial</th>
<th>F2 initial</th>
<th>F2 at 2ms</th>
<th>F2 avg.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n'a</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>2204</td>
<td>1687</td>
<td>1866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'a</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>2243</td>
<td>1707</td>
<td>1839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>1690</td>
<td>1622</td>
<td>1656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>491</td>
<td>1759</td>
<td>1577</td>
<td>1659</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Glosses: [n'a] ‘mother’, [na] ‘9’. Note also the minimal pair [nyn] ‘hid.3s’ and [nun] ‘bread’. 
### Table 7: [l]/[ɾ]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>F1 initial</th>
<th>F2 initial</th>
<th>F2 at 2ms</th>
<th>F2 avg.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l'u'ma</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>941</td>
<td>1309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l'u'ma</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>2037</td>
<td>1007</td>
<td>1468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lu'na</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>1690</td>
<td>1622</td>
<td>1656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lu'na</td>
<td>491</td>
<td>1759</td>
<td>1577</td>
<td>1659</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Glosses: [l'u'ma] ‘with a docked tail’, [lu'na] ‘nest’

### Table 8: [ɾ]/[ɾʲ]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>F1 initial</th>
<th>F2 initial</th>
<th>F2 at 2ms</th>
<th>F2 avg.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ku'r'a</td>
<td>379</td>
<td>2020</td>
<td>1741</td>
<td>1837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku'r'a</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>1892</td>
<td>1663</td>
<td>1794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'pura</td>
<td>463</td>
<td>1586</td>
<td>1604</td>
<td>1605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'pura</td>
<td>504</td>
<td>1717</td>
<td>1704</td>
<td>1692</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Glosses: [ku'r'a] ‘brazier’, ['pura] ‘full-LNK’
Kishekale (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: Kishekale’s (2007) minimal pairs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tar</th>
<th>‘sulking’</th>
<th>t'əər</th>
<th>‘moist’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pusta</td>
<td>‘sheepskin’</td>
<td>pust'a</td>
<td>‘rotten’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da</td>
<td>‘10’</td>
<td>d'ə</td>
<td>‘father’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du</td>
<td>‘buttermilk’</td>
<td>d'ə</td>
<td>‘smoke’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>su</td>
<td>‘marjoram’</td>
<td>s'ə</td>
<td>‘wood pulp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sur</td>
<td>‘salty’</td>
<td>s'ər</td>
<td>‘dinner’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| uzun | ‘always’ | uz'un | ‘bread’
| bur  | ‘twist’ | bur' | ‘blonde’ |
| nun  | ‘bread’ | n'un | ‘hidden’ |
| na  | ‘9’ | n'a | ‘mother’ |
| lɔ  | ‘rug’ | l'ɔ | ‘layer’ |
| kəl | ‘short thing’ | kəl' | ‘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 Kishekale’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. [a'di] (man’s name), [a'ni] ‘also’, [de'lə] ‘in’, [ki'lɪd] ‘key’, [ki'sə] ‘sack’, [te'lə] ‘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. 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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Palatalized Vowel</th>
<th>Masali Form</th>
<th>Azerbaijani</th>
<th>Azerbaijani Talyshi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ry]</td>
<td>‘face’</td>
<td>[ru]</td>
<td>‘child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[fy]</td>
<td>‘husband’</td>
<td>[fu]</td>
<td>‘go.3s’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[py'ta]</td>
<td>‘rotten’</td>
<td>[tʃy'la]</td>
<td>‘dappled’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kyn]</td>
<td>‘bottom’</td>
<td></td>
<td>Azerbaijani [tʃil]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[oʃyn]</td>
<td>‘iron’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[zy'myn]</td>
<td>‘tongue’</td>
<td>Azerbaijani Talyshi [zi'von]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[dy]</td>
<td>‘smoke’</td>
<td>[du]</td>
<td>‘buttermilk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ty]</td>
<td>‘mulberry’</td>
<td>Azerbaijani Talyshi [tyt]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[zy]/[zyt]</td>
<td>‘quick’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the cases of [ry] and [[y] 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 [py'ta] through [oʃyn] 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. [zy'myn] may be explained if we suppose that the vowel in the first syllable of [zi'von] rounded due to its proximity to a labial consonant, and that the second vowel then assimilated by a process of vowel harmony. 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 Harzand Tati (cited in Guizzo 2003); cf. Persian equivalent [goh].


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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Anbarani</th>
<th>F1/F2</th>
<th>Asalemi</th>
<th>F1/F2</th>
<th>Masali</th>
<th>F1/F2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>straight</td>
<td>duz</td>
<td>300/1800</td>
<td>dʉz</td>
<td>350/2200</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smoke</td>
<td>du</td>
<td>450/1950</td>
<td>dʉ</td>
<td>400/2050</td>
<td>du</td>
<td>250/1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tail</td>
<td>dum</td>
<td>300/1900</td>
<td>dʉm</td>
<td>300/1900</td>
<td>dum</td>
<td>300/1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dugh</td>
<td>du</td>
<td>300/1750</td>
<td>du</td>
<td>480/1600</td>
<td>du</td>
<td>300/1700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spider</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>maˈlərz</td>
<td>560/2100</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.CL</td>
<td>iˈla</td>
<td>400/1900</td>
<td>iˈlə</td>
<td>400/2300</td>
<td>iˈla</td>
<td>500/1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he.saw</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ˈvinda</td>
<td>400/2300</td>
<td>ˈvinda</td>
<td>450/1950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>festival</td>
<td>ˈida</td>
<td>400/2050</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>camel</td>
<td>daˈva</td>
<td>750/1700</td>
<td>ˈdəva</td>
<td>550/2400</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

---

21 Although 2050 Hz is high enough to represent palatalization in the context of a back vowel (see Asalemi [dʉ] 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 Talysh, 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. [xu’n] ‘blood’, [gu’[t] ‘flesh, meat’, [vu’z] ‘walnut’.

2.2.14 Affricates

Affricates in all three dialects are [tʃ] and voiced counterpart [dʒ]. 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anbarani</th>
<th>Asalemi</th>
<th>Masali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| (1) [jul]      | (5) [ja’ra]   | (9) [ja’ra]  | ‘wound’
| (2) [u’ja]     | (6) [dur’je]  | (10) [dur’je]| ‘harvest’

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.

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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.
On this basis, the sounds [a], [e], [u] and [ɔ] 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, ą), 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 [u] experiences varying degrees of labialization. While both Miller and Schulze argue that [u] and [y] constitute one phoneme in the Talysh 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 Talysh 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.
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].

It is found in open and closed syllables, and in stressed and unstressed positions. Examples include:

(13) [phony] ‘foot’  (14) [go] ‘cow’  (15) [ov] ‘water’
(16) [ofˈtov] ‘sun’  (17) [ogˈla] ‘egg’  (18) [ojɔ] ‘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 [ɔ]; cf. Persian equivalents pâ, gâ, āb, 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, c, a, ə, u, ą), and argued that [u] was manifested as [y] in the environment of a following alveolar consonant, e.g. diür ‘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 süı ‘corner’ versus su ‘origan’ and süııı ‘dinner’ versus sur ‘salty’.

Jirdahi and Samsar (2001) calculate formant values for the eight Taleshi vowel sounds [i, c, a, α, o, u, y, o, 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 ą), 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 ăb) and âftâv ‘sun’ (Persian ăftâb), 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.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word Initial</th>
<th>Word Medial</th>
<th>Word Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pʰu'neʃ</td>
<td>‘mosquito’</td>
<td>xuma'tʰɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba'si</td>
<td>‘must’</td>
<td>bixa'da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba'la</td>
<td>‘child’</td>
<td>astʰara'ʃi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Table 12: CVC syllable examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word Initial</th>
<th>Word Medial</th>
<th>Word Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>‘me’</td>
<td>barənɡ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bar‘kʰam</td>
<td>‘very’</td>
<td>anɡə[tʰə’ɾi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>max’sus</td>
<td>‘special’</td>
<td>tʰovus’tʰun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4.3 CVCC

Table 13: CVCC syllable examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word Initial</th>
<th>Word Medial</th>
<th>Word Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pʰard</td>
<td>‘bridge’</td>
<td>(no examples were found)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰənd</td>
<td>‘quick’</td>
<td>lo’fand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xəstʰ</td>
<td>‘wet’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (['agam] ‘if’, ['i'zəɾ] ‘yesterday’), VC ([əm] ‘this’, [ədə] ‘flour’) and VCC ([amr] ‘life’, arz ‘remark’).

2.5 Phonotactics

Sounds [m, n, r, f, s, z, ʃ, 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/ DEMO-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/bāxšāv/ ‘plate’ for Persian/bāšgāb/, Anbarani/sapa/ ‘dog’ for Asalemi and Masali/aspa/.

Other examples of metathesis in Asalemi include/jodra/ ‘chadoor’ for Persian/cadār/ 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-virj-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=ʃ/ < */hani=əʃ/ again=3s,26 /aval-i=kâ=m/ < */aval-i=kâ=əm/ first-OB=LOC=1s, and /cai=râ=r/ < */cai=râ=ər/ 3s.100=for=2s. The same principles apply in Anbarani and Masali.

2.6.4 Vowel Assimilation

The vocal components of the negative prefix /na/ (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

Anbarani

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

/ə/ → /ə/ / _ C /ə/

26 Contrast the alternative sentences hani = ʃ man ə and hani man = əʃ ə. Both mean ‘He hit me again’, but in the first sentence the enclitic =əʃ has moved leftwards from the verb to attach to hani, while in the second sentence it has moved to the pronoun man which, ending in a consonant, does not suppress the ə vowel.
/ə/ → Ø / _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=am/ NEG-FUT-give=1s ‘I will not give’

Asalemi

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

[a] → Ø / _V

Examples:

(33) /nə-xat-a/ NEG-slept-3s ‘he did not sleep’
(34) /nə-šâst=x=â/ NEG-could=3s=TR ‘he could not’
(35) /n-a-dar-im/ NEG-AUG-give-IMPF.3S ‘I was not giving’
(36) /n-â-n/ NEG.SBJ-come-3P ‘should they not come’
(37) /ni-a-sâ/ NEG-AUG-can.3S ‘he is not able’
(38) /ni-in-ar-d/ NEG-3P-eat ‘they do not eat’

Masali

Default negative prefix: /ne/

/e/ → /â/ / _/ â/ / ā/ /u/

/e/ → /ĩ/ / _/ ĩ/ / ɔ/ /a/

Examples:

(39) /ne-dâr-am/ NEG-have-1P ‘we do not have’
(40) /ne-xat-a/ NEG-slept-3s ‘he did not sleep’
(41) /nâ-â-kar-ɔ/ NEG-PVB-open-3S ‘he does not open’
(42) /nâ-uma/ NEG-came.3S ‘he did not come’
(43) /ni-ar-ɔn/ NEG-dare-3P ‘they do not dare’
(44) /ni=a/ NEG=COP.3S ‘is not’
2.6.4.2 Modal Prefix Vowel Assimilation

Anbarani

Default modal prefix: /bə/

/ə/ → /â/ / _ C /â/

/ə/ → Ø / _ V

Examples:
(45) /bə-bəm-u/ sbj-be-3s ‘he would cry’
(46) /bə-vət-e/ sbj-say-3s ‘he would say’
(47) /bə-hənd-ə/ sbj-sing-3s ‘he should sing’
(48) /bə-u-əm/ sbj-come-1s ‘I should come’

Asalemi

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-vəj-i/ sbj-say-2s ‘you would say’
(51) /bə-vin-u/ sbj-see-3s ‘he would see’
(52) /bə-pej-u/ sbj-come-3s ‘he would come’
(53) /bə-rvij-u/ or /bə-vrij-u/ sbj-run-3s ‘he would run’
(54) /bə-mun-am/ sbj-stay-1s ‘we should stay’
(55) /bə-viŋ-u/ sbj-see-3s ‘he would see’
(56) /bə-əm/ sbj-come-1s ‘I should come’

Masali

Default modal prefix: /bə/

/ə/ → /i/ / _ C /i, /e/

/ə/ → /u/ / _ C /u/

/ə/ → Ø / _ V
Examples:

(57) /bo-sâz-u/ SBJ-build-3s ‘he would build’
(58) /bi-vîn-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 [u],[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. [maʔˈlum] > [maːˈlum] ‘certain’, [daʔˈvat] > [daːˈvat] ‘invitation’, and also in some loanwords from Persian containing [h], e.g. [ʃaɾ] > [ʃaːɾ] ‘city’. Lengthening does not typically occur, however, when an equivalent Persian consonant is deleted in word-final position, e.g. [duˈru] ‘lie’ (Persian [duˈɾuʁ]), [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-i lutfina] ‘because of the kindness of the chief’; [bɔzˈun] ‘the goats’; [ʃkarˈan] ‘they open’; [daganaːstˈa] ‘having fallen in love’.

Enclitic elements such as case clitics and enclitic person agreement markers do not receive stress: [bozun = na] ‘the goats=with’; [paˈsun = na = fun] ‘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 ţa(a)-IN [ASM]
    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 = aš =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.

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 âm-a-in > âm-in. Further evidence for this is provided by the stress on the penultimate syllable of the verb in the previous example.
(67)  $i$-$la$  $pəɾca=s=ani$  $əstən$  $gardan$-$i=kə$  $da$-$bast=a$
      $a$-$CL$  $cloth=3S$=$also$  $self$  $neck$-$OB$=$LOC$  $PVB$-$tied$=$TR$
$əm$  $xəj$-$UN$  $kəɾ=a$  $ci=e$  $[ASP3$-$4]$  
      $DEMP$  $pear$-$P$  $PROG=3S$  $pick$-$INF$

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

(68)  $BÂR=əš$  $ə-ba$-$st-a=b-a$  $[ASB12]$
      $load=3S$  $PVB$-$tied$-$PTC=AUX$-$3S$

‘He’d bound the load onto the horse.’

(69)  $xa$-$i$-$li$  $ba$  $hisəb$  $taMA=s$  $hes$  $b-a$
      $very$  $to$  $extent$  $greed=3S$  $exist$  $was-3S$
      $ki$  $pulDÂR$  $ə-b-u$  $[ASB38]$
      $COMP$  $rich$  $PVB$-$SBJ$-$become$-$3S$

‘He was extremely greedy to get rich.’

This rule also applies to clauses with copula verbs:

(70)  $xe$-$i$-$li$  $pulDÂR=ə$  $[MCB]$
      $very$  $rich=COP$-$PST.3S$

‘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. $kəɾa$ 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.
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 bö-, prohibitive prefix ma- and negative prefix na- all usually take the accent:

(73)  ama de  BƏ-š-am  [ASA]
     1p   anyway    IMP-go-1p
     ‘So let’s go!’

(74) š-A  golabi  BƏ-dzd-ə  [MPS15]
     go-3s.pst  pear    sbj-steal-3s
     ‘He went to steal a pear.’

(75) ba üw-ân dâst  MA-žan  [ANR21]
     to  egg-p  hand  PHB-hit
     ‘Don’t touch the eggs!’

(76) NA-zin-im  bavín  ras-e  [ANR26]
     NEG,AUG-could-IMPF.1s  3p.IOD  reach-INF
     ‘I couldn’t reach them.’

(77) om merdak-a  NƏ-vind=aš=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.
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) \( ki \) \( Bo\bar{-}bar\bar{-}u \) \( am-i \) \( vi\bar{s}a=k\bar{a} \) \( VAR\bar{-}dar\bar{-}u \) \[ASB47\]

\( \text{COMP SBJ-carry-3S 3S-OB forest=LOC PVB.SBJ-PVB-dispose-3S} \)

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

(80) \( to \) \( mon \) \( DAR\bar{-}afan \) \( ce\bar{i} \) \( dela=k\bar{a} \) \[ASB62\]

\( 2S 1S.OB \) \( PVB\text{-throw! POSSD.3S-OB in=LOC} \)

‘You throw me inside it!’

2.7.4 Intonation

There are two basic intonation patterns in Iranian Taleshi: falling, and falling-rising. 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.”
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

Figure 7: First Asalemi imperative sentence with falling intonation
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 ruž ‘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.
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**

![Graph showing pitch and time for the sentence: 'Who saw that you were going to the village?']

**Figure 12: Anbarani and Masali content questions equivalent to first Asalemi example**

Anbarani:  
Masali:  

![Graphs showing pitch and time for Anbarani and Masali sentences]  

‘Who saw you were going to the village?’
Figure 13: Second Asalemi content question with falling-rising intonation

![Graph showing pitch vs time for a content question with falling-rising intonation.]

This morning what were you repairing?

Figure 14: Second Anbarani and Masali content question examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anbarani</th>
<th>Masali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>am ruž səbirā CICI kābiš såi äkarde?</td>
<td>‘This morning what were you repairing?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uri səbi CƏ kâr kariri?</td>
<td>‘What were you doing this morning?’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Main Phonetic Value(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>ی</td>
<td>[i]</td>
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<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>ِ</td>
<td>[e]</td>
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<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>ِ</td>
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<tr>
<td>ə</td>
<td>ﺉ</td>
<td>[ə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>â</td>
<td>ﺉ</td>
<td>[ɑ, ɔ, ɒ]</td>
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<tr>
<td>ü</td>
<td>ؤ</td>
<td>[y, ʉ]</td>
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<td>p</td>
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<td>c / č</td>
<td>چ</td>
<td>[tf]</td>
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<td>j</td>
<td>چ</td>
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<td>f</td>
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<td>v / u</td>
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<td>[v]/[u]</td>
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<td>s</td>
<td>س</td>
<td>[s]</td>
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<td>z</td>
<td>ز</td>
<td>[z]</td>
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<tr>
<td>š / ʃ</td>
<td>ش</td>
<td>[ʃ]</td>
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<tr>
<td>ž / zh</td>
<td>ظ</td>
<td>[ʒ]</td>
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<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>خ</td>
<td>[x]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ġ</td>
<td>چغ</td>
<td>[ʁ]/[ɣ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>ه</td>
<td>[h]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
No Arabic letter is commonly used to represent this Taleshi sound.
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:

\(^{34}\) 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 15: Basic case and number system</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dialect</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Anbarani</td>
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<tr>
<td>Asalemi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Masali</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anbarani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asalemi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masali</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -ānām, 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 -ahyā (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 šāxs ‘person’, is ašxās ‘people’. When this word was supplied in an elicitation prompt, an Asalemi speaker gave a response in Taleshi containing the word ašxās-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. 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 naḡl ‘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 xāsus-a ʔaxxās-un =rā kār =a naḡl vāt-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 naḡl-un cāk =a ba-vāt [AsNP]
3S particular-LNK story-OB.P good=3S PRS-say

‘He tells particular stories well.’

(83) a bamun pul ba-dā =y [AsNP] &AN/M
3S 3P.IOP money PRS-give=3S

‘He gives money to them.’

(84) a. aḥ pūl-ə du =na =yə [AnNP]
he money-OB give=LOC=3S

b. a kār =a pul-i ā-du-e [AsNP]
he PROG=3S money-OB PVB-hand.over-INF

c. a kərə pul-i ā-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 dār-i =kā paidā 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. tālesḥ-a merd-un cic =in kā =na [AnVP]
Talesh-LNK man-P what?=3P do=LOC

b. tālesḥ-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.
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  
\text{chief} \text{ came.3s}  
\text{The chief came.'}

(88)  
x\text{rdan}  k\text{âr=a}  \text{š-e}  [AsNP] & AN/M  
\text{child}  \text{PROG=3s} \text{ go-INF}  
\text{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  
\text{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  gord=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  
\text{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. First, i ‘one, a’ or i-la one-cl ‘one, a’ may precede the nominal expression. This strategy is common in all three dialects:

(91) i-la karg hamon bo-da [AsNP] & AN/M
    a-CL chicken 15.IO IMP-give
    'Give me a (any) chicken.'

(92) i ruz i-la buğavün du sa=ku pe-š-a=bo [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) am 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 (discussed for Persian in Paul 2008). In Anbarani this marker is extremely rare: 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:

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 nafur ‘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) \( \text{kas} = i \quad \text{av} \quad \text{vind-a} = y? \) \hspace{1em} [AnVP]

\( \text{person=IND} \quad 3S \quad \text{saw-PTC}=3S \)

‘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 \( \text{har} \) ‘any’ and \( \text{hic} \) ‘none’ and indefinite pronouns such as, for example, sentences (105) and (106) below:

(96) \( \text{a-i} \quad \text{diar} \quad \text{kija} = i \quad \text{vind} = a \) \hspace{1em} [AsNP]

\( 3S-\text{OB} \quad \text{other} \quad \text{sparrow=IND} \quad \text{saw}=\text{TR} \)

‘He saw another sparrow.’

(97) \( \text{pis-i} \quad \text{har} \quad \text{jur} = i \quad \text{naxşa} \quad \text{kašt} = a \) \hspace{1em} [ASB8]

\( \text{baldy-OB} \quad \text{any} \quad \text{way=IND} \quad \text{plan} \quad \text{made}=\text{TR} \)

‘In whatever way he planned…’

(98) \( \text{hiš} \quad \text{kas} = i \quad \text{mən} \quad \text{no-vind} = a \) \hspace{1em} [AsVP]

\( \text{no} \quad \text{person=IND} \quad 1S.\text{OB} \quad \text{NEG-saw}=\text{TR} \)

‘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) \( \text{bu-bu} \quad \text{ādum} = i \quad \text{əm} \quad \text{guš-a} \quad \text{kanār} \) \hspace{1em} [MCB]

\( \text{sbi-be.3S} \quad \text{man=IND} \quad \text{DEMP} \quad \text{corner-LNK} \quad \text{next.to} \)

‘Would that there were a man in the corner.’

(100) \( \text{əspa} = i \quad \text{atia} \quad \text{davendi} = a \) \hspace{1em} [MBB]

\( \text{dog=IND} \quad \text{just.there} \quad \text{tied}=\text{COP.3S} \)

‘A dog is tied up there.’

(101) \( \text{əm} \quad \text{əšta} = rā \quad \text{ka} = i \quad \text{sāz-ə} \) \hspace{1em} [MSG]

\( \text{DEMP} \quad \text{self=for} \quad \text{house=IND} \quad \text{build-3S} \)

‘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 \( (\text{i}) \text{goła and } =\text{i} \) 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]

\[ a-\text{CL} \quad \text{man} = \text{IND} \quad \text{PRS-come} = 3s \]

‘A man is coming.’

(103)  \[ i \quad \text{nafar = i … kār = a} \quad \text{takān} \quad \text{takān} \quad \text{hard-e} \quad [\text{ASB51}] \]

\[ a \quad \text{person} = \text{IND} \quad \text{PROG} = 3s \quad \text{shake} \quad \text{shake} \quad \text{eat-INF} \]

‘Somebody is shaking about.’

(104)  \[ i \quad \text{piranana = i = d,} \quad i \quad \text{zua-te = i} \quad \text{dăr-i} \quad [\text{MBB}] \]

\[ a \quad \text{grandmother} = \text{IND} = \text{COP.PST.3s} \quad a \quad \text{boy-DIM} = \text{IND} \quad \text{had-IMPF.3s} \]

‘There was a grandmother who had a little boy.’

(105)  \[ \text{da-rast-in} \quad i \quad \text{jogā = i} \quad [\text{ASA}] \]

\[ \text{PVB} \quad \text{arrived-3P} \quad a \quad \text{place} = \text{IND} \]

‘They arrived somewhere.’

(106)  \[ i \quad \text{ci = i} \quad \text{comān} \quad \text{bārā} \quad \text{gašt = a} \quad [\text{AsVP}] \]

\[ a \quad \text{thing} = \text{IND} \quad \text{POSS.1S} \quad \text{brother} \quad \text{bit}=\text{TR} \]

‘A certain something bit my brother.’

The second possibility – combining (*i*) *gola* (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)  \[ \text{can} \quad \text{gola = i du = a} \quad \text{bamun} \quad [\text{ASP22}] \]

\[ \text{some} \quad \text{CL} = \text{IND} \quad \text{gave} = \text{TR} \quad 3P.IOO \]

‘He gave some to them.’

(108)  \[ \text{camun} \quad \text{hic} \quad \text{gla = imi} \quad \text{nə-vind = a} \quad [\text{AsNP}] \]

\[ \text{POSSD.3P} \quad \text{none} \quad \text{CL} = \text{1S.IND} \quad \text{NEG-saw}=\text{TR} \]

‘I did not see a single one of them.’

\(^{44}\) 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.
One final option for the expression of the individuation marker is the unusual =iši ending found in Asalemi. 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. 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 āb-e bištar= i xorđ [Tambal Ibrahim story]. Note also one instance of a 1st person singular version in example (108) above.

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45 This marker also occurs in Shandermani, south of Masal. For example: i tambalxāna-hā =iši sāxta 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 eškāl nadāre ‘It’s no problem’: a ‘have’ construction, discussed further in §§3.5 and 6.11.6).

(111)  har  dukundār = išī  vāt = a,
   any  shopkeeper = 3S.IND  said = TR

   mardum  damānd = 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  fiūza = išī  ža  [ASS]
   a - CL  whistle = 3S.IND  struck. TR

   ‘He whistled once.’

(113)  agam  tikā = išī  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  āv = išī  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)  vāt = aš = a  xob  iškāl = išī  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 = amun = a merdak-a kərə goləbi cin-ə* [MPS3]

‘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 = dore kə uma a* 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-0b  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  
woman-0b  tooth

b. gâz =e žen / žen-ı gâz  
tooth=ez  woman(/-0b)  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-ı pul-i ba-ə-dâr-ı ā-ì  
if  trip-0b  money-0b  IRR-had-IMPF.3s  come-IMPF.3s

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

(121)  

sif-un  kisa  
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  pūl-ə  ba  i  kas-ə  du = na = yə  3s  money-0b  to  a  person-0b  give=LOC=3s

(b. a  kâr =a  pul-ı  i  nafar-ı  ā-du-ε  3s  PROG=3s  money-0b  a  person-0b  PVB-give-INF

‘He is giving the money to someone.’

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

---

47 Differential Object Marking is a feature of many Iranian languages. See Bossong 1985 for further details.
(123)  
\[ \begin{align*}
  & a \text{ baman pul } \text{ ba-dâ=yə} \\
  & \quad \text{3s 15.IO money PRS=give=3s}
\end{align*} \]  
\[ \text{[AsNP]} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
  & a \text{ mon pul } \text{ â-da} \\
  & \quad \text{3s 15.08 money PVB=give.3s}
\end{align*} \]  
\[ \text{[MaNP]} \]

‘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.

\[ \begin{align*}
  & a-i \text{ har kas-i } i-tka \text{ xərāk } \text{ du=a} \\
  & \quad \text{3s-08 each person-08 a-little food gave=TR}
\end{align*} \]  
\[ \text{[AsNP]} \]

‘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):

\[ \begin{align*}
  & a \text{ rais-i } \text{ var-i } \text{ mand-a} \\
  & \quad \text{DEMD chief-08 direction-08 stayed-3s}
\end{align*} \]  
\[ \text{[MaNP]} \]

‘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):

\[ \begin{align*}
  & a \text{ av-un } \text{ žen-un } \text{ bārə =nda} \text{ gap } \text{ žə} \\
  & \quad \text{3P-P women-08.P about=LOC speech hit.TR}
\end{align*} \]  
\[ \text{[AnNP]} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
  & a \text{ a-mun } \text{ žen-un } \text{ bārə =kə} \text{ gaf } \text{ žə} \\
  & \quad \text{3-OB.P woman-08.P about=LOC speech hit.TR}
\end{align*} \]  
\[ \text{[AsNP]} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
  & a \text{ av-en } \text{ ženak-un } \text{ xunerə lua} \text{ kərd=əšun=a} \\
  & \quad \text{3-P woman-08.P about talk did=3P=TR}
\end{align*} \]  
\[ \text{[MaNP]} \]
‘They spoke about the women.’

(127) a-i i-la əmbəlu əştan jif-i (dela)=kā 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 żen-i narm-i=na gaf əža [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 sā 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 po 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

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 sâr-a kafš [AsNP]
   woman-OB red-LNK shoe

   'The woman’s red shoe.’

(131) a-pi =š = b-a ki ašтан amu° kəla bə-bar-ə [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 = aš 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) māsin = aš 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 əv be-ŋ-ə [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 = aš part bo [ANP24]
   concentration=3s thrown was.3s

   ‘His concentration was thrown.’

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 tola=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 āš-pej-giri stew-cook-taking ‘cooking’ (cf. Masali āš-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 vol.
In addition to such onomatopoeic words as Anbarani *jajjaj* ‘chirping’ and *tajtaj* ‘pecking’, all three dialects also make use of similitative reduplication. This is particularly common in Masali. Examples encountered in texts include: *diyajra-ciya *drum’, *satan jib- *mi*b-i=ku self pocket-[reduplicated element]-ob=loc ‘in his pocket’, *daraj-aruf* ‘sweeping’, and *mraz-pars* ‘crockery’. Masali also provides *djar-u-ducun* ‘forestation’, where *djar* means tree (cf. Persian *deraxt* and Anbarani/Asalemi *dud*).

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Direct</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1S</strong></td>
<td>Anbarani</td>
<td>Az</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>To</td>
<td>To</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>Av</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>Me</td>
<td>Me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>Szma</td>
<td>Szma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>Avun/Avun</td>
<td>Ac</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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 *Man* is used for O in ergative environments, and for the indirect object. *Man* 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 gā-un vang=a cow OB P moo=COP.3S ‘The cattle are (busy) mooing’, xordan-un jor=a child OB P cry=COP.3S ‘The children are crying’ and vešī=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 əštān 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) əštān a-i dozdi-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 əštān bo-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 əštān kəšt=a.
that man-OB self killed=TR

a da-gla merd-i əštān =əštun kəšt=a [AsVP]
those two-CL man-OB self=3P killed=TR

‘That man killed himself. Those two men killed themselves.’

(141) ama əštān ǧovat da-yam [MaVP]
1P self strength give-1P

‘We shall feed ourselves.’

---

\(^55\) 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”.

82
In Masali, this coreferential usage has developed into a construction with a set of intransitive verbs, especially še ‘go’, daxəte/vixəte ‘hide’ and mândə ‘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 cotaxəl-i = ku əšta = rə yə 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 = rə şu. şu… [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 rə ‘way’ in the example below clearly shows that the rə attaching to əštan is the clitic ‘for’:

(144) dəcaxə pi-gir-ə əšta = rə rə da-gon-ə bo-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 asbabbazi-amra bàzi kud-i [GPS]
he-too self-for self toy-with play do-3S.IMPF

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

Possessive:

(147) əštən šua = ru ci pət = e? [AnVP]
self husband-for what? cooked=TR

‘What did you cook for your husband?’

(148) əm pis-i əštən kis-e iə nə = n [ASB31]
this baldy-OB self bag-P here put=TR.P

83
‘This baldy put his bags here.’

(149)  a faḫat oštan sar-i šāst = aš = 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 and Indirect Object Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Anbarani</th>
<th>Asalemi</th>
<th>Masali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>possessive</td>
<td>indirect</td>
<td>possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>cəmän</td>
<td>bamän</td>
<td>cəmän</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>oštə</td>
<td>batə</td>
<td>oštə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>ca(və)/cəmə</td>
<td>bavə/bəmə</td>
<td>ca(i)/cimi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>cama</td>
<td>bama</td>
<td>cama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>šəma</td>
<td>bašəma</td>
<td>šəma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>cavun/comun</td>
<td>bavun</td>
<td>camun/cumun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 çi- ~ iš- (< *haca “from”) is a typical feature of Tatic languages and one of the most important diagnostics used to identify members of the family.”
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 =ašš ā-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.

\[(155) \] cəmān yud =anda =y aštān piadada =nda ba kāšān  
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.’
Let me wash your head.

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

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

'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:

'A wife of that man.'

'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 bo-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 gola xumār. libās xumār,

DEMP side-OB mouse CL depressed fox depressed

xərs badbaxt. ce asp-i=ʂ 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=imā əmən bərvaraz=yâ,

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

xodā ce ka xarāba bo-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 əştan ka=ku ə-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  bo-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=ın  negahbāni  du-e  ki  dəzd-e  n-ā-n
DEMP-P  PROG=3P  guard  do-INF  COMP  thief-P  NEG-SBJ.come-3S
cumun  kisa-mun  no-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  əštân  kis-e  iâ  nā=n
DEMP  baldy-OB  self  sack-P  here  put=TR.P
camun  kis-e=yaš  z=in  əštân  asb-i [ASB31]
POSSD.3p  sack-P=3s  put=TR.P  self  horse-OB

88
‘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) $av$-$ə$ $ə̄sətə$ bāl-$ān$ no-$vind=ə;
3S-OB POSS.2S child-P NEG-saw=TR

fağat $cəmən$ gol-$ān=ə$ $vind=ə$ [AnNP]
only POSS.1S CL-P=3S saw=TR

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

In Masali, by contrast, the suffix -$šin$ attaches to the possessive pronoun to perform this function.\footnote{Note the equivalent suffix -$šene$ in Mazandarani (Borjian 2004, p.10).} The Masali equivalents of the two examples shown above are as follows:

(174) $a$ $ə̄sətə$ xərdan-$un$ ne-$vind=ə=ə$
3S POSS.2S child-OB.P NEG-was=3S=TR

fağat $cəmən$-$šən$-$i$ $vind=ə$ $=ə$ [MaNP]
only POSS.1S-CL-OB saw=3S=TR

‘He did not see your children; he only saw 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
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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Proximate</th>
<th>Distal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Oblique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>əm</td>
<td>əm-ə/əm-i/əm-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 20: The demonstrative plural paradigm in Asalemi and Masali**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Proximate</th>
<th>Distal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Oblique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>əm-ə</td>
<td>əm-un</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. The oblique singular əm-ə only occurs twice in the corpus, both times in response to the equivalent Persian elicitation prompt in=rā (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 āyā 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.

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 Talysh.
3.8.7 Reciprocal

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

(177) a. də gla merd-ə yado əža [AnVP]
     2  CL  man-OB  RCPR  hit.TR

b. a də gla merd-i yando əža [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 žam-am [MaVP]
     1P  RCPR  hit-1P

'We shall hit each other.'

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

(179) bəl-ən yad=anda pecxa=na=n [AnVP]
     child-P  RCPR=LOC  fight=LOC=3P

'The children are fighting against one another.'

(180) merd-un yado gərd=ə 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 Talysh (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 kär=a pul-i ą-du-e [AsNP]
   he PROG=3s money-OB PVB-hand.over-INF

c. a korâ pul-i ą-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 timũ kâ=na [AnVP]
    1s roof-OB=AUX-1s repair do=LOC

b. az bun-i kâ=b-im sãy ą-kard-e [AsVP]
    1s roof-OB PROG=AUX-1s repair PVB-cause-INF

c. az bumapešt-i rec ą-kar-imì [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) bز-ə suїb-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) an  pis-i æštan kis-ə iə nā = n
        DEMP baldy-OB self bag-P here put=TR.P
        camun kis-ə = æš ŋ = in æštan asb-ı [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 = æš dozdi-a-ni, rоvus-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.
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 aštan tung-e žyn ā-kard = in

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

ha = ni camon gla = kâ = š istsfâda kard = a [AsNP]

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

‘He lost his jugs. He used mine again.’

(195) a-i aštan māhi-a geri-a rošta-e pe-gat = in;

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

camun āxor-i = kâ = š can gořa ġôrmâğ ġâckavnost = a [AsNP]

POSS.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 dozdi-a-ni = əš = 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) ayâ 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 əkard = əš = a [MaNP]
3s self jug-OB loss PVB-caused=3S=TR
‘He lost his jug.’

(200) a səŋg-i câ = dila tâv â-du = əš = a [MaNP]
3s stone-OB well=in drop PVB-gave=3S=TR
‘He dropped the stone in the well.’

(201) a faǧat 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

60 This suffix is stressed, in contrast to the indefinite clitic which would be unstressed.
‘He ate me, and left a drop of blood behind.’

‘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 mon ‘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):

---

61 In Shandermani text ‘The Wise Sons’ examples were found of specific objects both with and without oblique case-marking. With marking: mən-i š ijåza du= a 3s-ob=3s permission gave=TR ‘He gave permission.’ Without marking: mår = aš kašt= a snake=3s killed=TR ‘He killed the snake.’
'I took my house rubble (and) sold it in town.'

'I threw you into a sack.'

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

‘No one saw me.’

‘I invited him to come.’

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

‘I saw the red one.’ OR ‘I saw a red one.’

Anbarani has three first person singular forms: direct āz, oblique mān and accusative māna (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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S</th>
<th>A_{imperfective}</th>
<th>A_{perfective}</th>
<th>O_{imperfective}</th>
<th>O_{perfective}</th>
<th>Indirect Object</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>âz</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mân</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mânə</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The direct form âz represents all S arguments, and A-arguments in imperfective clauses. The accusative form mân 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 golə ba=m vind=e, gada golə=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-bāxš-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=s=an mân ža [AnNP]

again=3s=also 1S.OB hit.TR

‘He struck me again.’
(220) *hicki mān no-vind = e*

   no-one 1s.OB  NEG-saw=3s

   *faḡat i-la gada bāla mān 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 mān nofin kārd = e  ki bo-ma-m [AnVP]*

   3s-OB 1s.OB curse did=TR  COMP SBJ-die-1s

   ‘He cursed me so that I would die.’

(222) *nāci mān câng ža [AnVP]*

   wolf 1s.OB claw hit.TR

   ‘A wolf clawed me.’

(223) *i-la bamān kāg bo-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 kā* 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 rá = yə*

   although  house=3s very far-LNK road=COP.3s

   *vali mān daavat kā 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 *mān* may both be used in different situations: *az* requires a pronominal agent clitic, whereas *mān* 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 = om = a [MaNP]
1s some person 3-P. OB = LOC saw = 1s = TR
'I saw some of them.'

(227) az sør-i vind = om = a [MaNP]
1s red-OB saw = 1s = TR
'I saw the red (one).'

(228) az sabz-a bar-i ne-xori = m = a,
1s green-LNK door-OB NEG-bought = 1s = TR
(om) sør-i xori = 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 gola ke sør = å xori = 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 = om = 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 = om = a [MaNP]
1s DEMD meat-RCH REL burnt-3s ate = 1s = TR
'I ate that meat that burnt.'

(232) az gâ-i ke nâxuš = å ġam hard = om = 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 = om = a [MaVP]
1s laughter did = 1s = TR
'I laughed.'

(234) az vât = om = a ke å-m [MaVP]
1s said = 1s = TR COMP come-1s
'I said that I am coming.'
(235) az kuf-i tā kard=a m=a [MaVP]
1s felt-ob fold did=1s=TR
‘I folded the felt.’

(236) mə āb-i vi-kard=a [MaVP]
15.Ob water-ob PVB-spilt=TR
‘I spilt the water.’

(237) mə a-i=na vāt=a mən ma-davor [MSS104]
15.Ob 3S-ob=with said=TR 15.Ob PHB-chop
‘I said to him, “Don’t chop me down!”’

(238) mə zu'a majbur kard=a kam=i āb b-ar-ə [MaVP]
15.Ob boy force did=TR little=IND water SBJ-eat-3s
‘I made the boy drink a little water.’

(239) mə komə asp-i majbur kard=a bə-dav-u [MaVP]
15.Ob POSS.1s horse-ob force did=TR SBJ-run-3s
‘I made my horse run and go.’

(240) mən am pul-i təlaft=a [MCB]
15.Ob DEMP money-ob found=TR
‘I found this money.’

(241) mə a-i davat kard=a ke b-ā [MaVP]
15.Ob 3S-ob invite did=TR COMP SBJ-come.3s
‘I invited him to come.’

(242) mə kār-i tamun kard=a m=a [MaVP]
15.Ob work-ob finish did-PTC=1s=TR
‘I have finished the work.’

(243) mə arus-i vuward-a m=a [MBB]
15.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 mo bard = a jangal-i = ku [MSS102]

3-P.OB 1S.OB took=TR forest-OB=LOC

‘They took me to the forest.’

(245) hicki mon ne-vind = a [MaVP]

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

‘No one saw me.’

(246) to mo väzi du-a = r = a [MSG]

2S 1S.OB trick gave-PTC=2S=TR

‘You tricked me.’

(247) a mo nefrin kard = s = a [MaVP]

3S 1S.OB curse did=3S=TR

‘He cursed me.’

(248) i div = i uma mon hard-a = s = 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Tense/Aspect/Mood</th>
<th>Affix/Clitic set (subject)</th>
<th>Alignment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.4.1</td>
<td>present future</td>
<td>Anbarani/Asaemi 1b, Masali 1a Anbarani 1b</td>
<td>Nominative Nominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4.2</td>
<td>past imperfective</td>
<td>Anbarani 1b</td>
<td>Nominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>present progressive</td>
<td>Asalemi/Masali 1a</td>
<td>Nominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>past progressive</td>
<td>Asalemi/Masali 1a</td>
<td>Nominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>past imperfective</td>
<td>Asalemi/Masali 1a</td>
<td>Nominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>present subjunctive</td>
<td>1a</td>
<td>Nominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>perfect subjunctive</td>
<td>1a</td>
<td>Nominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>imperative</td>
<td>1a</td>
<td>Nominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>present perfect (intransitive)</td>
<td>Anbarani/Asalemi 1b, Masali 1a</td>
<td>Nominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>past perfect (intransitive)</td>
<td>Anbarani/Asalemi 1b, Masali 1a</td>
<td>Nominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>present perfect (transitive)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ergative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>past perfect (transitive)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ergative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>simple past (intransitive)</td>
<td>1a</td>
<td>Nominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.10</td>
<td>simple past (transitive)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ergative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.11.1</td>
<td>infinitive</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.11.2</td>
<td>present participle</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>past participle</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.12.1</td>
<td>counterfactual conditional</td>
<td>Anbarani/Asalemi 1a, Masali n/a</td>
<td>Nominative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Anbarani</th>
<th>Asalemi</th>
<th>Masali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stem I</td>
<td>Stem II</td>
<td>Stem I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘do’</td>
<td>kā</td>
<td>kārd</td>
<td>kar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘say’</td>
<td>vut</td>
<td>vāt</td>
<td>vāj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘see’</td>
<td>vin</td>
<td>vind</td>
<td>vin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘bring’</td>
<td>vā</td>
<td>vārd</td>
<td>bar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘die’</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>mārd</td>
<td>mer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘eat’</td>
<td>ha</td>
<td>hā(rd)</td>
<td>ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘give’</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>du</td>
<td>da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘come’</td>
<td>um</td>
<td>å</td>
<td>âm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hit’</td>
<td>ža</td>
<td>žan</td>
<td>ža</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘arrive’</td>
<td>ras</td>
<td>da-ras</td>
<td>da-rast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘rain’</td>
<td>vua</td>
<td>vār</td>
<td>vārast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘cook’</td>
<td>pât</td>
<td>pej</td>
<td>pat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘put’</td>
<td>nu</td>
<td>nā or nu</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘kill’</td>
<td>kəšt</td>
<td>kəš</td>
<td>kəšt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sleep’</td>
<td>hət</td>
<td>xas</td>
<td>xət</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sing’, ‘read’</td>
<td>händ</td>
<td>xun</td>
<td>xand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘get’, ‘take’</td>
<td>gat</td>
<td>ger</td>
<td>gat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

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’, ā- ‘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 ābiru (preverb ā, so no subjunctive prefix) with bəkəšu in (249); and darafan (preverb da, so no imperative prefix) with bobar in (250):

(249) a-i ba-pist = i suk-i {sar ā-bir-u / bə-kəš-u} [AsVP]
3S-OB PRS-want=3S cockerel-OB head PV.B. SBJ-chop.off-3S / SBJ-kill-3S

‘He wants to [decapitate/kill] the cockerel.’

(250) tə be mon dara-fan kisa dela = kâ,
2S come! 15.OB PV.B.IMP-put.in sack in=LOC
mon bo-ber viša = kâ [ASB74]
15.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 ā-nə-kard = a [AsVP]
3S-OB fruit skin PV.B. NEG-peeled=TR

‘He did not peel the fruit.’

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 usado ‘he raised’; duxado ‘he called’; and bubostə ‘it became’,bigitə ‘he took’;
2. the negative particle is placed not at the beginning, but between the prefix and the main verb: u-naə-sadəm ‘I did not raise’ fo-naə-kəšəm ‘I am not taking out’; va-naə-vərsəm ‘I am not asking’, etc.
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) \text{av} = \text{an} \quad \text{da-gəni} \quad b\text{-}a\text{-}əštən \quad \text{ru} \quad [\text{ANP34}]  
he=also \quad \text{PVB-set.off.3s} \quad \text{to-self} \quad \text{road}  
‘He too went on his way.’

(255) \text{tə} \quad \text{həşī} \quad a\text{-}şü \quad \text{ru} \quad \text{da\text{-}a\text{-}gəni\text{-}mün} \quad [\text{ANR33}]  
until \quad \text{sun} \quad \text{PVB.SBJ-go.down.3s} \quad \text{road} \quad \text{PVB-AUG-set.off.-1p}  
‘We were on our way by sunset.’

(256) \text{av} \quad \text{ba} \quad \text{d}i \quad \text{təraʃ} \quad \text{da\text{-}ru\text{-}gəni} \quad [\text{AnVP}]  
3s \quad \text{to} \quad \text{village} \quad \text{direction} \quad \text{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\text{-}ə\text{-karde} ‘roll up sleeves’ and vir\text{-}ə\text{-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) \text{se} \quad \text{cäɾ} \quad \text{ruz} \quad \text{da\text{-}lak\text{-}ən} \quad \text{nun\text{-}i} \quad \text{har\text{-}ən} \quad [\text{MBB}]  
3 \quad 4 \quad \text{day} \quad \text{PVB-fall-3p} \quad \text{bread-ob} \quad \text{eat-3p}  
‘For three or four days they set to eating bread.’
(258) carx-i da-nošt-a râ da-lak-a š-a [MPS20]
bicycle-OB PBV-sat-3s road PBV-fell-3s went-3s
‘He sat on the bicycle, set off and went.’

(259) ṣštā = râ šu, gin-ə šu [MCB]
self=for go.3s fall-3s go.3s
‘He goes on his way, sets off and goes.’

(260) sōb-i ruz ā-b-u, əm-en yā = ku gin-ən
morning-OB day PBV-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 occurring complex predicates in Persian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kardan</td>
<td>‘TO DO’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zadan</td>
<td>‘TO BEAT, TO HIT’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daːdan</td>
<td>‘TO GIVE’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gereftan</td>
<td>‘TO HOLD, TO TAKE’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daːštan</td>
<td>‘TO HAVE’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?aːmadan</td>
<td>‘TO COME’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?aːvardan</td>
<td>‘TO BRING’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xordan</td>
<td>‘TO COLLIDE’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keʃidan</td>
<td>‘TO PULL, TO TOLERATE’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaːftan</td>
<td>‘TO FIND, TO OBTAIN’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šodan</td>
<td>‘TO BECOME’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bordan</td>
<td>‘TO TAKE, TO CARRY’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raftan</td>
<td>‘TO GO’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Karimi-Doostan 1997, p.91)

64 The symbols [?] and [a:] here represent glottalic onset and back ā 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:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Anbarani</th>
<th>Asalemi</th>
<th>Masali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>âbe</td>
<td>become</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>âdue</td>
<td>hand over</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>âkarde</td>
<td>open</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>âšê</td>
<td>go</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be</td>
<td>be</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dâgonâste</td>
<td>fall (across)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>davârde</td>
<td>bring (across)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>due</td>
<td>give</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gate</td>
<td>get</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>harde</td>
<td>eat</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karde</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaše</td>
<td>drag</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mânđe</td>
<td>remain</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nue</td>
<td>set</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pekarde</td>
<td>do (up)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šêe</td>
<td>go</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vârde</td>
<td>bring</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vârəste</td>
<td>rain</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>žêe</td>
<td>hit</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zunuste</td>
<td>know</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *žêe* ‘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 occurrences 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

Follì, 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun:</th>
<th>kotak zadan/xordan</th>
<th>‘to beat/get beaten’ (beating hit/eat)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adjective:</td>
<td>sabok kardan/sodan</td>
<td>‘to degrade v.t./v.i.’ (light do/become)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Particle:</td>
<td>bâlâ âvârdan</td>
<td>‘to vomit’ (up bring)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP:</td>
<td>be bâd dîdan</td>
<td>‘to waste’ (to wind give)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrase:</td>
<td>dast o pâ kardan</td>
<td>‘to try (hard)’ (hand and foot do)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the Taleshi corpus, only nouns, adjectives and prepositional phrases were found in parallel contexts, as illustrated in the examples below:

Table 27: Taleshi constituents in the non-verbal element of complex predicates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun:</th>
<th>ru dagonie</th>
<th>(road fall.across) ‘set off’ [Anbarani]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>guš âkarde</td>
<td>(ear open) ‘listen’ [Asalemi &amp; Masali]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjective:</td>
<td>xâli âbe</td>
<td>(empty become) ‘empty v.i.’ [Asalemi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tai âkarde</td>
<td>(empty do) ‘empty v.t.’ [Asalemi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rušun âkarde</td>
<td>(alight do) ‘kindle’ [Asalemi &amp; Masali]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP:</td>
<td>yud = u še</td>
<td>(memory=from go) ‘be forgotten’ [Anbarani]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-gardoste (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 (Follì, 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).

65 Note that preverbs in Taleshi are much more productive than particles are in Persian.
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 Foll, Harley and Karimi (2004):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>simple</th>
<th>complex</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lasidan</td>
<td>las zadan</td>
<td>‘flirtation strike.INF’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rağsidan</td>
<td>rağs kardan</td>
<td>‘dance do.INF’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dialect</th>
<th>Simple Verb</th>
<th>Complex Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anbarani</td>
<td>pevəžniste</td>
<td>intəxāb karde</td>
<td>‘choose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asalemi</td>
<td>pesəste</td>
<td>ġat karde</td>
<td>‘stop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>parəste</td>
<td>parvāz karde</td>
<td>‘fly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>viriste</td>
<td>āsib vinde</td>
<td>‘be damaged’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>daraste (Masali darufte)</td>
<td>gezo že</td>
<td>‘sweep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masali</td>
<td>vijarde</td>
<td>gāz gate</td>
<td>‘bite’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>izāvoniste</td>
<td>bidār ākarde</td>
<td>‘wake up’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 too escape’ (compare Anbarani bətələ and Asalemi bivriju); and balad nima ‘I don’t know’ (compare Anbarani zənanim and Asalemi nənamusî).

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 *entexāb kardan* ‘to choose’). The third example is from Asalemi:

\[(263)\]  
\[\text{dozdi} = \text{š} = \text{bə} \quad \text{kārd}-\text{a} \quad \text{[ANP30]}\]  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{steal} = &3\text{S}=\text{AUX.3S} & \text{do-PTC}
\end{align*}
\]  
‘He had stolen (them).’

\[(264)\]  
\[\text{av} \quad \text{i-} \text{tka} \quad \text{ba} \quad \text{peštə} \quad \text{intexāb} = \text{ə} \quad \text{ba-} \text{kā} \quad \text{[AnVP]}\]  
\[
\begin{align*}
3\text{s} & \quad \text{a-little} & \quad \text{to} & \quad \text{later} & \quad \text{choose} = &3\text{s} & \quad \text{FUT-do}
\end{align*}
\]  
‘He is choosing a little later.’

\[(265)\]  
\[\text{fəkr} = \text{ə} \quad \text{â-kard} = \text{a} \quad \text{[ASP27]}\]  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{thought} = &3\text{s} & \quad \text{PVB-did=TR}
\end{align*}
\]  
‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Set 1a (suffix)</th>
<th>Set 1b (enclitic)</th>
<th>Impf</th>
<th>Sbj</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>AzNT</th>
<th>IrNT</th>
<th>AzNT</th>
<th>Kurdish</th>
<th>Persian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td>=im</td>
<td>=im</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td>-am</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>-iš</td>
<td>-iš</td>
<td>=iš</td>
<td>=iš</td>
<td>-iš</td>
<td>=iš</td>
<td>-i(t)</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-ö</td>
<td>-ö</td>
<td>-öÖ</td>
<td>-öÖ</td>
<td>=öÖ</td>
<td>-ö(t)~=Ö</td>
<td>-ö~=Ø</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>-imun</td>
<td>-amun</td>
<td>-emun</td>
<td>-amän</td>
<td>=amun</td>
<td>=imän</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>-in</td>
<td>-än</td>
<td>-än</td>
<td>-än</td>
<td>=än</td>
<td>=(i)än</td>
<td>-in</td>
<td>-an(d)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 30: Set 2 Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Set 2 (enclitic)</th>
<th>IrNT</th>
<th>AzNT</th>
<th>Kurdish</th>
<th>Persian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>=ım</td>
<td>=ım</td>
<td>=im</td>
<td>=ım</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>=ö</td>
<td>=öÖ</td>
<td>=ıt</td>
<td>=ıt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>=öš</td>
<td>=öš</td>
<td>=i</td>
<td>=eš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>=ımun</td>
<td>=ımän</td>
<td>=män</td>
<td>=emun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>=ın</td>
<td>=ıän</td>
<td>=ıän</td>
<td>=ıtun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>=ıšun</td>
<td>=ıšän</td>
<td>=ıšän</td>
<td>=ıšun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 31: Set 1 and Set 2 endings in Asalemi and Masali

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Asalemi</th>
<th>Masali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Set 1a</td>
<td>Set 1b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Set 1a</td>
<td>Set 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impf</td>
<td>Sbj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>-im</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>-iš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>-ımun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>-ırun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>-ın</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

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 =ıya 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, $\langle b-\rangle a$-$PR-i-m.$

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, $b_{\tilde{a}}$- in Masali – cf. §5.1.3.1), 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 $=anda$, 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 $=\tilde{a}n$ 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 $-uvən$, $-\tilde{a}vən$ and $-\tilde{a}n$ respectively to the first syllable of the verb stem. 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 $-\tilde{a}n(d)$ (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 “$ovn-ie$”.

114
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.  
\[ \text{av šō ki i-tka uv bo-gol-uvōn-ə} \]  
3S went.3S COMP a-little water SBJ-boil-CAUS-3S

b.  
\[ \text{a Š-a ki tike=i āv bo-gol-āvōn-u} \]  
3S went-3S COMP little=IND water SBJ-boil-CAUS-3S

c.  
\[ \text{a Š-a ke kam=i āb bo-juš-ān-ə} \]  
3S went-3S COMP little=IND water SBJ-boil-CAUS-3S

‘He went to boil some water.’

(267) a.  
\[ \text{kas=i sər-uvōn-e cuk=e} \]  
person=IND laugh-CAUS-INF good=COP.3S

c.  
\[ \text{a-vun xanda du-e xub=a} \]  
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 ā-kard-e ‘open v.t.’ consists of a preverbal element ā; 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 ā-b-e which may mean either ‘open v.i.’ or ‘be opened’.  

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:

\[ \text{This mirrors a process in Persian utilizing oppositions such as kardan/šodan and zadan/xordan (cf. Mahootian 1997, p.143).} \]
'The water spilt by my hand. The knot of the rope opened at the hands of a boy.'

'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 hārde ‘to eat’ (example (270)c), which often has a passive force in Persian (cf. the first line of Table 26 above):

'...'
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, and followed by the participial marker -a to give a passive meaning:

(271) $kisa=kâ$ dast $u$ pâ $da\text{-}bend\text{-}ist\text{-}a=b-a$ [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 $= b\text{-}a$ iâ $âm\text{-}e$ $ki$ 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-vaist-a [ASA]
    POSSP.3P jaw-P PVB-rip.out-PASS-PTC

‘Their jaws are ripped out.’

(274) vin-ə au, ha=ni ce māl-en varā-du-ist-a,
    see-3s oh! same=also POSSD.3s flock-P PVB-loose-PASS-PTC
    gâ u šot 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) conta ner-i to 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 gəlavənəsta ‘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:

\[(276) \quad i \quad ci = i \quad comon \quad bor = a \quad [AsVP] \]

\[a \quad \text{thing}=\text{IND} \quad \text{POSS.1S} \quad \text{brother} \quad \text{stung}=\text{TR} \]

‘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):

\[(277) \quad hic = i \quad ne-ðər-ə \quad [MBB] \]

\[\text{nothing}=\text{IND} \quad \text{NEG}-\text{have}-3\text{s} \]

‘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) \( cimi = kâ \) 
\( sōvāi \) 
\( dē \) 
\( šōma = râ = nî \) 
\( nə-m-a-must \)  
\[ASA\] 
P OSSP.3S=LOC 
more 
anyway 
\( 2p = for = also \) 
NEG-1S-AUG-know

‘Anyway, I do not know any more than that to tell you.’

(279) \( bai \) 
\( šōt \) 
\( n-iš-a-dâ \)  
\[AsVP\] 
3S.IOD 
milk 
NEG-2S-AUG-give

‘You will not give him milk.’

Present subjunctive:

(280) \( ki \) 
\( dozd-e \) 
\( n-â-n \) 
\( cumun \) 
\( kisa-mun \) 
\( nə-bar-un \)  
\[ASB27\] 
COMP 
thief-P 
NEG.SBJ-come-3P 
P OSSP.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 
DEM R direction 
COMP 
POSSD.3S 
pear 
PHB-eat-3S

‘He took it in that direction, so that it would not eat his pears.’

(282) \( ke \) 
\( diar-i = râ \) 
\( itəfāğ \) 
\( da-ən-gən-u \)  
\[ASP23\] 
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) \( n-a-zun-in \) 
\( cimi \) 
\( kə \) 
\( kiâ = rə \)  
\[ASB32\] 
NEG-AUG-know-IMPF.3P 
P OSSP.3S 
house 
where=COP.3S

‘They did not know where his house was.’

Simple past (intransitive):

(285) \( sarusadu \) 
\( sab-i = nə \) 
\( nə-hōt-e \)  
\[AnNP\] 
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-å-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-ə  [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  püš  be-vârd-ə  [ANR5]
       able=LOC  NEG=AUX.3S  money  SBJ-bring-3S

‘He was not able to earn money.’

Present perfect (intransitive):

(290)  ama  ašṭən  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-əo  hala  mui  hârd=a  ni  [AnVP]
       3S-OB  still  fish  ate=PTC.TR  NEG
b. a hanuz mâi hard-a-ni = s = 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) šoma 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) xôdâ ma-nânâ [MSS31]
god PHB-do.3S

‘God forbid!’

(297) agar xêrdan ma-boram-ə a-i šat 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 bo-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) \( av = an \) \( \ddot{g}arur = e \) \( b-u-\ddot{o} \)  
3S=also appointed=COP.3s sbj-come-3s  
'He is due to come too.'

(300) \( al\ddot{a}n \) \( c\ddot{i}k = a \)  
now good=COP.3s  
'Now he is well.'

**Present Tense, Negative**

(301) \( motavaje \) \( ni-a \)  
understanding NEG-COP.3s  
'He does not notice.'

(302) \( az \) \( xund-e \) \( balad \) \( n-ima \)  
1s sing-INF skilled NEG-COP.1s  
'1 do not know how to sing.'

**Past Tense**

(303) \( nav \) \( sura^78 \) \( b-im \)  
nine year COP.PST-1s  
'1 was nine years old.'

(304) \( az \) \( n-ima \) \( comon \) \( b\ddot{o}rvaraz\ddot{a}=y\dot{a} \)  
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 \( no \ s\ddot{a}le \ budam \) '1 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 Talysh, 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Tense</th>
<th>Future Tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INFINITIVE + LOCATIVE + AUX</td>
<td>ALLATIVE + INFINITIVE + AUX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vašt-é=dae=m</td>
<td>bæ-vašt-é=m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vašt-é=dae=ʃ</td>
<td>bæ-vašt-é=ʃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vašt-é=dae=Ø, etc.</td>
<td>bæ-vašt-é= Ø, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jump.PAST-INF=TAM=Set₁</td>
<td>TAM-jump.PAST-INF=Set₁</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Tense</th>
<th>Future Tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>STEM I + LOCATIVE + SET1B</td>
<td>ALLATIVE + STEM I + SET1B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ęża = na = m</td>
<td>ba-vind = im</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ęża = na = ʃ</td>
<td>ba-vind = iʃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ęża = na = yo, etc.</td>
<td>ba-vind = e, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I, you, he/she hits, etc.’</td>
<td>‘I, you, he/she will see, etc.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Tense: Asalemi</th>
<th>Present Tense with Preverb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ALLATIVE + STEM II + SET1B(enclitic)</td>
<td>PREVERB + SET1B + a- prefix + STEM II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba-vind = im</td>
<td>â-m-a-kard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba-vind = iš</td>
<td>â-s-a-kard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba-vind = a</td>
<td>â-r-a-kard &lt; âr-a-a-kard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba-vind = imun</td>
<td>â-mun-a-kard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba-vind = irun</td>
<td>â-run-a-kard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba-vind = in</td>
<td>â-n-a-kard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I, you, he/she hit, etc.’</td>
<td>‘I, you, he/she will open, etc.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Tense: Masali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>STEM I + suffixes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1S vin-am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S vin-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S vin-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P vin-am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P vin-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P vin-on</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Anbarani and Asalemi, the Set1b 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):

\[(305) \text{av \ hâ = na = yο. \ av \ ângivin = yο \ hâ = na [AnVP]} \]

\[
3s \text{ eat=LOC=3s} \quad 3s \text{ honey=3s} \quad \text{eat=LOC} \\
\]

‘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.
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 + bo + 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-o = b-im timū kâ = na [AnVP]
roof-OB=AUX-1s repair  do=LOC
‘I was repairing the roof.’

(309) am rüž səb cic = b-iš kâ = na? [AnVP]
DEMP day morning what?=AUX-2s do=LOC
‘What were you doing this morning?’

(310) ânbu = bo 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 = ə = [AnNP]

heard=3S=TR

‘He heard the sound of the rain that was falling today.’

(312) kuluk-i ki əm ruž vua čomăn dada hi = š xarub kə [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 kə(r), while in Masali the frozen form korə is employed. A second progressive marker, damand, is also available in Asalemi:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Dialect</th>
<th>Strategy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Asalemi:</td>
<td>kə(r) + Set1b present endings (Table 33) + infinitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>e.g. kər = a vind-e ‘(s)he is going on seeing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kər = in vind-e ‘they are going on seeing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Masali:</td>
<td>korə + inflected form of present tense verb (Table 34)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>e.g. korə vin-ə ‘(s)he is going on seeing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>korə vin-ən ‘they are going on seeing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>Asalemi:</td>
<td>kə + AUX + Set1a past endings + infinitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>e.g. kə b-im vind-e ‘I was going on seeing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>OR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>damand=li + Set1a past endings + infinitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>e.g. damand = a vind-e ‘(s)he was going on seeing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Masali:</td>
<td>korə + inflected form of imperfective past tense verb (Table 37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>e.g. korə vin-im ‘I was going on seeing’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For example, the following sentences translate ‘he is eating’ into Anbarani, Asalemi and Masali respectively:

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”.
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  

āngivin = e  

ḥā = na  

[AnVP]  

3s  
honey=3s  
eat=LOC  

b.  

a  

kār = a  

asal  

hard-e  

[AsVP]  

3s  
PROG=3s  
honey  
eat-INF  

c.  

a  

kwarā  

asal  

har-ə  

[MaVP]  

3s  
PROG  
honey  
eat-3s  

‘He is eating honey.’

(317)  

a.  

av  

əštən  

ulatiun = e  

tā  

kā = na  

[AnVP]  

3s  
self  
clothes=3s  
don  
don=LOC  

b.  

a  

kār = a  

əštən  

partaliun  

da-kard-ə  

[AsVP]  

3s  
PROG=3s  
self  
clothing.OB  
PVB-don-INF  

c.  

a  

əštən  

xalâun  

kwarā  

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* *gola* dozd … *kâr = in* om-e [ASB14]

some CL thief ... PROG=3P come-INF

‘Some thieves are coming along.’

(319) *paranda* rabâr-i sar-i = na $kâ^{82}$ parost-e [AsNP]

bird river-ob over-ob=LOC PROG.3S fly-INF

‘The bird is flying over the river.’

(320) $côrâ = \$ kâ \ bôrâmôst-e?$ az $kâ = m \ bôrâmôst-e \ cun…$ [AsVP]

why=2S PROG cry-INF 1S PROG=1S cry-INF because...

‘Why are you crying? I am crying because …’

(321) xørån-e *har* koram-i *oštân = in* kâ \ ğ-e [AsVP]

child-P each which-ob self=3P PROG hit-INF

‘Each of the children are hitting each other.’

(322) $cî = \$ kâ \ kard-e?$ [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 *dəmand* is demonstrated in examples (327) and (328).

(324) *əm* *ruj* sob-i = râ $cô = b-iş \ kâ \ kard-e?$

DEMP day morning-ob=LOC what?=AUX-2S PROG do-INF

$kâ = b-im \ bun-i \ săy \ â-kard-e$ [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  karâ  â-i  [MaVP]
   3S  anyway  PROG  come-IMPF.3S

‘He was about to come. / He almost came.’

(326) ama  korâ  râ = dohe  š-imun  [MPS2]
   1P  PROG  way=SRCE  go-IMPF.1P

‘We were going along.’

(327) om-e  damand = in  negahbâni  du-e  [ASB27]
   3-P  PROG=3P  guard  give-INF

‘They were standing guard.’

(328) damand = a  ôstan  a  zuâ  nava = râ  laîlai  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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperfective Aspect, Past Tense</th>
<th>a- + PRS. STEM + SET1A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a-žan-im</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-žan-iš</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-žan-i, etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I,you,(s)he was/were hitting’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(329) gândom  devan  a-k-im  [ANR11]
   wheat  scythe  AUG-do-IMPF.1S

‘I was scything the wheat.’

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.
He was mowing the grass.

‘We were making dugh out of yoghurt.’

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:

He was saying, “Uncle!”

‘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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anbarani and Asalemi</th>
<th>Masali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S -im</td>
<td>-im(i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S -iš</td>
<td>-ir(i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S -i</td>
<td>-i/-iste³⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P -imun</td>
<td>-imun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P -in (Anbarani)/</td>
<td>-irun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-irun (Asalemi)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P -in</td>
<td>-in/-istine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some Masali examples:

³⁴ These alternate 3rd person forms are mirrored in the Koluri Tati alternates -i/-ise.
(335)  
\[ ziri \quad co \quad šur-iri? \quad hicci \quad ne-šur-imí \quad [MaVP] \]

yesterday \ what? \ wash-2S.IMPF \ nothing NEG-wash-IMPF.1S

‘What were you washing yesterday? I was not washing anything.’

(336)  
\[ i \quad zua-te = i \quad dár-i, \]

a \ boy-DIM=IND \ have-3S.IMPF

\[ zua-te-i = na \quad vâ-in \quad pisakula \quad [MBB] \]

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Subjunctive</th>
<th>Perfect Subjunctive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( bə ) + STEM I + SET1A</td>
<td>STEM I + PRF + AUX + SET1A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( bə-žan-əm )</td>
<td>( vind-a \ bu-_m )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( bə-žan-i )</td>
<td>( vind-a \ b-i )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( bə-žan-ə \text{ etc.} )</td>
<td>( vind-a \ bu-_\text{Ø}, etc. )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘I,you,(s)he would hit’ \ ‘I,you,(s)he would have seen’

**Table 39: Present subjunctive suffixes in Anbarani, Asalemi and Masali**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Anbarani</th>
<th>Asalemi</th>
<th>Masali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>-om</td>
<td>-um</td>
<td>-om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>-ō</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>-ō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>-amun</td>
<td>-am</td>
<td>-am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>-ân</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>-an\text{\textsuperscript{65}}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>-on</td>
<td>-un</td>
<td>-on</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{65} Naghzguy Kohan (1994) cites -\( a \) for this form, but in our corpus it was consistently -\( an \).
(337) \textit{bābe} \textit{b-u-\text{-}om} \textit{uv} \textit{b-o-kərn-\text{-}om?} [AnVP]

3S.IRR SBJ-come-1s water SBJ-draw-1s

'May I come and draw water?'

(338) \textit{bā\text{-}hānd-\text{-}om} [AnVP]

SBJ-sing-1s

'Should I sing?'

(339) \textit{piə = na = e} \textit{cic} \textit{b-o-hānd-\text{-}i,} \textit{cic} \textit{b-o-vut-\text{-}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) \textit{cəmān} \textit{dada} \textit{bape} \textit{av-ə} \textit{kutak} \textit{b-o-\text{-}žan-ə} [AnVP]

POSS.1s father must 3S-OBJ beating SBJ-hit-3s

'My father must beat him.'

(341) \textit{ama} \textit{i-tka} \textit{uv = e} \textit{piə = na} \textit{ki} \textit{aštān} \textit{b-o-\text{-}šəšt-amun} [AnVP]

1p a-little water=3s want=LOC COMP self SBJ-wash-1p

'We want a little water to wash ourselves.'

(342) \textit{agar} \textit{piə = na = šun = e} \textit{bāhāšt} \textit{bā-hānd-\text{-}om} [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) \textit{əm-un} \textit{momken =a} \textit{kas = e} \textit{digar = šə} \textit{golābi vi-get =a} \textit{bu-b-u}

DEMP-P possible=COP.3s someone=ez other=3s pear PVB-stole=TR SBJ-AUX-3s

\textit{yā} \textit{xəri-a = šun} \textit{bu-b-u}

or bought-PTC=3p SBJ-AUX-3s

\textit{yā} \textit{aštān bāg-i = ku} \textit{cind-a = šun} \textit{bu-b-u} [MPS47]

or self garden-OBJ=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 ba-.

Table 40: Imperative formation in all three dialects

| Imperative         |  |  |
|--------------------|  |  |
| ba- + STEM I + imperative suffix |  |  |
| ba-žan-Ø           |  |  |
| ba-žan-an (-a in Masali) |  |  |

‘hit! (singular/plural)’

**Table 40: Imperative formation in all three dialects**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(344)</th>
<th>rais</th>
<th>vu = na = yə</th>
<th>hərs-ə = ku</th>
<th>bo-təl</th>
<th>[AnVP]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chief</td>
<td>say=LOC=3s</td>
<td>bear-OB=LOC</td>
<td>IMP-run</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘The chief says: “Run away from the bear!”’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(345)</th>
<th>ra</th>
<th>bo-ši</th>
<th>[AnVP]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>way</td>
<td>IMP-go</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Leave quickly!’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(346)</th>
<th>bā-ha</th>
<th>pe-šum</th>
<th>[AnVP]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IMP-eat</td>
<td>PVB.IMP-drink</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Eat (and) drink!’

Masali examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(347)</th>
<th>šoma</th>
<th>dāstān = i</th>
<th>taarif</th>
<th>bo-kar-a!</th>
<th>[MCB]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>story=IND</td>
<td>description</td>
<td>IMP-do-2p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘You (plural) tell a story!’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(348)</th>
<th>i-te</th>
<th>ātaš</th>
<th>mə = rā</th>
<th>bu-war-a!</th>
<th>[MCB]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a-CL</td>
<td>fire</td>
<td>1S.OB=for</td>
<td>IMP-bring-2p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘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. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Perfect</th>
<th>Past Perfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Intransitive</strong></td>
<td><strong>Intransitive</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STEM II PPTC + SET1B</td>
<td>STEM II PPTC + AUX.PST + SET1B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mard-a = m</td>
<td>mard-a = b = im</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mard-a = š</td>
<td>mard-a = b = iš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mard-a(=yo), etc.</td>
<td>mard-a = b = e/a, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I, you, he/she have died, etc.’</td>
<td>‘I, you, he/she had died, etc.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Transitive</strong></td>
<td><strong>Transitive</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STEM II PPTC + SET2 + AUX.3S</td>
<td>STEM II PPTC + AUX.PST + SET1A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vind-a = m = a (=e in Anbarani)</td>
<td>vind-a = b-im</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vind-a = r = a (=e in Anbarani)</td>
<td>vind-a = b-iš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vind-a = š = a (=e in Anbarani)</td>
<td>vind-a = b-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I, you, he/she have seen, etc.’</td>
<td>‘I, you, he/she has seen, etc.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 xat-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).
Finally, observe the contrast between the two verbs across all three dialects in the following set of examples:

(356) a. bâla-i  

child-RCH REL

ki  

self

̄ōštān  

horse=3S=TR

bôva  

brother

pul = əš  

money=3S

dozdi-a = bô  

stole-PTC=AUX.3S

tānbe  

AUX.3S

punished

[AnNP]

barkard-a  

[AnNP]
b. NDAR-ki oštan bərə pul = oš dozdi-a = b-a,  
child-REL self brother money=3S stole-PTC=AUX-3S

\textit{tanbi}  \; \textit{b-a(-ya)}  \quad [\textit{AsNP}]

punished  \; \textit{AUX-3s(-PTC)}

c. NDAR-ke oštan bərə pul-i dozdi-a = š = ā  
child-REL self brother money-OB stole-PTC=3S=AUX.3S

\textit{ləs}  \; \textit{hard-a = š = a}  \quad [\textit{MaNP}]

stick  \; \textit{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.

\textbf{Table 42: Simple past intransitive}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anbarani</th>
<th>Asalemi</th>
<th>Masali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>š-em</td>
<td>š-im</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>š-eš**</td>
<td>š-iş</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>š-e</td>
<td>š-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>š-emun</td>
<td>š-imun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>š-en</td>
<td>š-irun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>š-en</td>
<td>š-in</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textit{(357)}  \; \textit{uma, uma, anbu = ku}  \; \textit{da-vərd-e}  \; [\textit{ANP10}]

came.3s  \; \textit{came.3s}  \; \textit{pear=LOC}  \; \textit{pVB-passed.by-3s}

‘He came closer and closer, and passed by the pears.’

\textit{(358)}  \; \textit{āz}  \; \textit{sər-em.}  \; \textit{to}  \; \textit{sər-eš}  \; [\textit{AnVP}]

1s  \textit{laughed-1s}  \; 2s  \textit{laughed-2s}

** Some verbs take an -iš ending for 2S, rather than -eš, e.g. \textit{mand-iš} in example (359).
‘I laughed. You laughed.’

(359)  

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{caxta} & \text{mând-iš?} \\
\text{how long?} & \text{stayed-2s}
\end{array}
\]  

[AnVP]

‘How long did you stay?’

(360)  

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
mârd-e & \\
died-3s
\end{array}
\]

[AnVP]

‘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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Simple Past Transitive for <em>vinde</em> ‘to see’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>STEM II (+ Set II) + Transitivity Marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Anbarani</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>vind(=əm)=c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>vind(=ə)=c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>vind(=əš)=c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>vind(=əmün)=c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>vind(=ən)=c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>vind(=əšün)=c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Asalemi</strong></td>
<td>vind(=əm)=a(/=in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vind(=ər)=a(/=in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vind(=əš)=a(/=in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vind(=əmün)=a(/=in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vind(=ən)=a(/=in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vind(=əšün)=a(/=in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Masali</strong></td>
<td>vind(=əm)=a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vind(=ər)=a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vind(=əš)=a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vind(=əmün)=a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vind(=ən)=a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vind(=əšün)=a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)  

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
a. & \text{bavə=ru =m} & \text{i-tka} & \text{xuruš} & \text{pāt =e} & \text{[AnVP]}
\end{array}
\]

3S.1O=for=1S a-little stew cooked=TR

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
b. & \text{cai = rā =m} & \text{tika = i} & \text{xāruš} & \text{pat =a} & \text{[AsVP]}
\end{array}
\]

POSS.3S=for=1S little=IND stew cooked=TR
c.  $a-i=rā$  $kam=i$  $xuruš$  $pat=əm=ə$  $[MaVP]$

$3S\text{-OB}=\text{for}$  $\text{little}=\text{IND}$  $\text{stew} \quad \text{cooked}=1S=\text{TR}$

‘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**

![Clitic placement in the clause by dialect](image1)

**Figure 16: Clitic placement on different constituents across the three dialects**

![Clitic placement on different constituents across the three dialects](image2)

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.\textsuperscript{89} For example, contrast the following Anbarani and Asalemi sentences:

\begin{verbatim}
(362) a. cejura an ku kâ? [AnVP]
     how   DEMP work   did.TR

b. cêta=r om kâr kard=a? [AsVP]
     how=2S   DEMP work   did=TR

'How did you do this work?'
\end{verbatim}

\subsection*{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).

\begin{verbatim}
(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 om ruz=iš ba-xrat yâ saxsa?
     wool   DEMP day=2S   FUT-sell   or    tomorrow

a-i saxsa=m ba-xrat, om 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?'
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{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*  
*ţazu*  
hār  
ruţ-a  
kām = 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  
gordu  
*uv* = in  
hā = *na*  
[AnVP]

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

‘The cows are drinking water around the well.’

(371) *id-a*  
ruţ-un = *u*  
*kōlā* = *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*  
bāla  
bo-bam-u,  
*i-tka*  
bavō  
šot = *iš*  
ba-du  
[AnVP]

if  
child  
SBJ-cry-3s  
a-little  
3s.10  
milk = 2s  
FUT-give

‘If the child cries, you shall give her a little milk.’

(373) *agar*  
bāla  
no-bam-u,  
bavō  
šot  
i-na-du = *š*  
[AnVP]

if  
child  
NEG-cry-3s  
3s.10  
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*  
bato  
i-la  
xolik  
á-ma-dā  
[AsVP]

1s  
2s.10  
a-CL  
spade  
PVB-1s-hand.over
‘I’ll give you a spade.’

(375) əm merd-en ki ka såy ā-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 ār-a-b  [AsVP]
3S every day sick-CMPR PVB-3s-become
‘He gets more ill every day.’

(377) a faǧat iā=kā dar-a-viard  [AsVP]
3S only here=LOC PVB-3s-pass.through
‘He is only passing through.’

(378) ida ruj-un kəlā per-a-nā  [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 na-ma-must  [AsVP]
1S sing-INF NEG-1s-know
‘I don’t know how to sing.’

(381) a hic māğe iā 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 bo-vind-e [AnNP]

every year 3s come = LOC = 3s COMP 1P.0B 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 diâcarxa = nda [ANP17]

a-CL small boy PVBP - pass.by = LOC = AUX.3s bicycle = LOC

‘A little boy was passing by on a bicycle.’

(385) se gala caβə 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-în zən = na nə = b-in ki əm âmbu

3-P know = LOC NEG = AUX.3p COMP DEM pears

doζdi-anin = e [ANP38]

steal - NEC = COP.3s

‘They were not knowing that these pears must be stolen.’

(387) se gala 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) \( \ddot{a}nbu = b\omega \quad coni = na \quad [ANP3] \)

\( \text{pear}=\text{AUX.3S} \quad \text{pick}=\text{LOC} \)

‘He was picking pears.’

(389) \( om \quad se \quad na\ddot{a}r \quad \dot{a}nbu = b-in \quad h\ddot{a} = na \quad [ANP37] \)

\( \text{DEMP} \quad \text{3 person} \quad \text{pear}=\text{AUX-3P} \quad \text{eat}=\text{LOC} \)

‘These three people were eating pears.’

(390) \( c\ddot{u}n \quad a \quad ru = b-in \quad av-\ddot{a} \quad um\ddot{a} = na \quad [ANP37] \)

\( \text{since} \quad \text{DEMR} \quad \text{way}=\text{AUX-3P} \quad \text{3s-OB} \quad \text{come}=\text{LOC} \)

‘Since they were coming towards him from that way.’

(391) \( \dot{a}\ddot{\text{sh}}tan \quad \ddot{d}\ddot{\text{\textbar}}\text{st} = \ddot{a}\ddot{\text{nda}} \quad gada \quad t\ddot{\text{\textbar}}\text{x}ta = nda \quad h\ddot{\text{\textbar}}\text{w}y\ddot{a} = b-in \quad k\ddot{a} = na \quad [ANP28] \)

\( \text{self} \quad \text{hand}=\text{LOC} \quad \text{small} \quad \text{board}=\text{LOC} \quad \text{game}=\text{AUX-3P} \quad \text{do}=\text{LOC} \)

‘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) \( da\ddot{-}\text{bird} = a\ddot{\ddot{s}} = a^{90} \)

\( \text{PVb-spl}=\text{3S}=\text{TR} \)

‘He split (it).’

Where other constituents are available, the clitic typically attaches to the left-most one.\(^{91}\)

(393) \( xarbiza = \ddot{s} \quad da\ddot{-}\text{bird} = a \)

\( \text{melon}=\text{3S} \quad \text{PVb-spl}=\text{TR} \)

‘He split the melon.’

(394) \( zu = \ddot{s} \quad xarbiza \quad da\ddot{-}\text{bird} = a \)

\( \text{quickly}=\text{3S} \quad \text{melon} \quad \text{PVb-spl}=\text{TR} \)

‘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:

\[(395)\]  
\[a-i\]  
\[xarbiza da-bird = (*oš) = a\]  
\[3s\-ob\]  
\[melon\]  
\[pVB\-split=TR\]  
\['He split the melon.'\]

The following constraints apply to clitic floating in Anbarani and Asalemi:

i. The subject is not available for clitic placement:

\[(396)\]  
\[i-la\]  
\[merd\]  
\[gol = aš\]  
\[boz-ə\]  
\[nokta\]  
\[gat-a = bə\]  
\[a\-s\]  
\[man\]  
\[CL=3s\]  
\[goat-OB\]  
\[leash\]  
\[get\-PTC=AUX.3s\]  
\['A man had got hold of a goat's leash.'\]

ii. Sentential adjuncts are not available for clitic placement:

\[(397)\]  
\[bad,\]  
\[do\]  
\[gola\]  
\[vedra = s\]  
\[ci-a = b-e\]  
\[a\-CL\]  
\[two\]  
\[CL\]  
\[basket=3s\]  
\[pick\-PTC=AUX-3s\]  
\['Later, he had picked two baskets' worth.'\]

iii. Interpolation blocks clitic floating:

\[(398)\]  
\[əm\]  
\[əv,\]  
\[gol\]  
\[əv-ı = kə,\]  
\[bar-vard = ušun = a\]  
\[DEM P\]  
\[water\]  
\[boiling\]  
\[water-OB=LOC\]  
\[pVB\-brought.out=3P=TR\]  
\['They brought up (their heads) from this water, the boiling water.'\]

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:

\[(399)\]  
\[ama = ni\]  
\[hânta\]  
\[əm\]  
\[bər-ə-i\]  
\[ki\]  
\[ža = mun = a\]  
\[we=too\]  
\[thus\]  
\[DEM P\]  
\[load-P-RCH\]  
\[REL\]  
\[put=1P=TR\]  
\[əm-ə = ni\]  
\[tele = ə\]  
\[a\-s\]  
\[REL\]  
\[E=CTP.3P\]  
\['We also, like this, these loads which we've loaded on, they're gold too!'\]

v. The clitic may only float leftwards, and so remains on the verb if the object is verbally postposed:

\[(400)\]  
\[ha = rə\]  
\[darafand-a = ušun = a\]  
\[mən\]  
\[əm\]  
\[kisa\]  
\[delə = kə\]  
\[SAME D=for\]  
\[threw.in-PTC=3P=TR\]  
\[1s\-OB\]  
\[DEM P\]  
\[sack\]  
\[into=LOC\]  
\['For the same reason they threw me into this bag.'\]
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) \[i-la=\textit{š} \quad \text{kina} \quad \text{vind}=\textit{e} \quad [\text{ANP21}]\]
\[
\text{a-CL}=3\text{S} \quad \text{girl} \quad \text{saw}=\text{TR}
\]
‘He saw a girl.’

(402) \[\text{cav}=\textit{aš} \quad \text{kolu} \quad \text{bâ} \quad [\text{ANP23}]\]
\[
\text{POSSD.3S}=3\text{S} \quad \text{hat} \quad \text{carried.}\text{TR}
\]
‘(The wind) carried away his hat.’

(403) \[\text{se} \quad \text{gola}=\textit{š} \quad \text{xac} \quad \text{bumun} \quad \text{du} \quad [\text{VIM}]\]
\[
3 \quad \text{CL}=3\text{S} \quad \text{pear} \quad \text{IOP.3P} \quad \text{gave.}\text{TR}
\]
‘He gave three pears to them.’

(404) \[\text{ca} \quad \text{šux}=\textit{aš}=\text{an} \quad \text{i-la} \quad \text{dâst}=\text{anda} \quad \text{gat-a}=b-a \quad [\text{ANP9}]\]
\[
\text{POSSD.3S} \quad \text{horn}=3\text{S}=\text{also} \quad \text{a-CL} \quad \text{hand=LOC} \quad \text{got-PTC=AUX-3S}
\]
‘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) \[\text{a} \quad \text{vâğcan} \quad \text{am-i} \quad \text{da-vast}=\textit{aš}=\text{an} \quad [\text{MaVP}]\]
\[
\text{he} \quad \text{certainly} \quad \text{it-OB} \quad \text{PVB-closed}=3\text{S}=\text{TR}
\]
‘He certainly closed it.’

(406) \[\text{ânhâ} \quad \text{vâğcan} \quad \text{ân-râ} \quad \text{bast-\textit{and}}\]
\[
\text{they} \quad \text{certainly} \quad \text{it-OM} \quad \text{closed-3P}
\]

---

92 Such a rule might be written $\text{NonInitial}(\text{cl_i},\text{VP}) \Rightarrow \text{LeftMost}(\text{cl_i},\text{PhonIntVP})$. 
'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 lāfin =aš 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 hom beyn-i kə takia=$ du = â
in same midst-RCH that leaning=3s gave=AUX.3s
be sərd [MASP36]

‘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=$un â-gārdond = 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 golābi əm zua dozdī = 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Table 44: Infinitive formation in all three dialects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>STEM II + -e (-en in Masali)</td>
<td>vind-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vind-en (Masali)</td>
<td>‘to see’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some examples of the nominalization of infinitive verbs are given in §6.4.8.

4.11.2 Participle

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participle</th>
<th>Table 45: Participle formation in all three dialects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a- + STEM I(^{93})</td>
<td>STEM II + -a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-xun (Asalemi)</td>
<td>xand-a (Asalemi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘singing’</td>
<td>‘having sung’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


‘A singing child arrived.’

(412) a. \textit{bâla hând-e hând-e ras-a} [AnVP] | child sing-INF sing-INF arrived-3S |

\(^{93}\) Kishekhale (2007, p.40) notes that this a- prefix is itself preceded by preverbs.
b.  xordan xand-e xand-e da-rast-a  [AsVP]
    child  sing-INF sing-INF PVB-arrived-3s

c.  xordan-i  ke  săz  xun-i  â-ras-a  [MaVP]
    child-RCH  REL  song  sing-IMPF.3s  PVB-arrived-3s

'The child arrived singing.'

(413) a.  dâstàn tuarif  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  mɔ=râ  dâstân  kɔra  vâ-i,
    however  COMP  OB.1s=for  story  PROG  say-IMPF.3s
    kuft  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/Kargarudi):

(414)  comân  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.'
‘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.

(416) \( \text{cakəst-a dast =əš kā dāž du-e [AsVP]} \)

broke-PTC arm=3S PROG pain give-INF

‘His broken arm is hurting 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

\(^94\) 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Counterfactual</th>
<th>Anbarani/Asalemi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Past participle (STEM II + -a) + (ba)be + Set 1a endings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1S</strong></td>
<td>mând-a (ba)be-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2S</strong></td>
<td>mând-a (ba)be-š</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3S</strong></td>
<td>mând-a (ba)be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1P</strong></td>
<td>mând-a (ba)be-mun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2P</strong></td>
<td>mând-a (ba)be-run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3P</strong></td>
<td>mând-a (ba)be-n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘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 å-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, kâš-t-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) $\text{agam pul = s}$ $\text{babe a-v-i} \quad [\text{AsVP}] \& \text{AN}^{95}$

if $\text{money} = 3$ $\text{IRR AUG-come-IMPF.3s}$

‘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. $\text{nuxaš beebee ba=na= y po-ye} \quad [\text{AnVP}]$

sick be-csv.3s able=loc=3s walk-INF

b. $\text{bâinki mariz=a ba-šå=i rå š-e} \quad [\text{AsVP}] \& M$

although sick=cop.3s prs-able=3s road go-INF

‘Although he is sick, he is able to walk.’

(423) a. $\text{nuxaš beebee uma} \quad [\text{AnVP}]$

sick be-csv.3s came.3s

b. $\text{bâinki mariz b-a âma} \quad [\text{AsVP}] \& M$

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) $\text{av-ç vut=e barkam to b-ü-i} \quad [\text{AnVP}]$

$\text{3s-ob said=TR perhaps 2s subj-come-2s}$

‘He said that you might come.’

---

95 Masali uses a transitive construction with *bədâri* ‘he would have had’ here.
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 ġazu ba-h-i* [AnVP]  
  big become-INF=for must food SBJ-eat-2s
- b. *barâyomki yâl ā-b-i* *basi xârâk*  
  so.that big PVB.SBJ-become-2s must food
- c. *xâ-i pilâ ā-b-i bi ġazâ 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 Talysh has “generalized the Iranian gerundive formation based on the infinitive, *PT-anim*-ym and *PT-anim* 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 zon = na no = b-in ki ā āmbu dźdi-anim = e* [ANP33]  
  3P know=LOC NEG=AUX-3P COMP DEMP pear stolen-NEG=COP.3S

‘They did not know that these pears must be stolen.’

(428) *ən uv hârd-anim = e?* [AnVP]  
  DEMP water eat-NEG=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-anim* 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 do goła = u ku i-la = yə pia = na? [AnVP]  
3S.POSS two CL=LOC which one-CL=2S want=LOC  

b.  am do-gla = kə = 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)  mon ni-a-pist [ASB57]  
1S.OB NEG-AUG-want  
‘I do not want to.’

(431)  a.  pia = na = yə cici bo-hân-i? [AnVP]  
want=LOC=COP.3S=2S what? sbj-sing-2s  

b.  ba-pist = tr = 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?’

97 In southern dialects such as Masali, ‘want’ is expressed with a normal transitive verb, as shown in the examples.
\[(432)\] a. \(av-ə\) \(pia=na=y\) \(b-u-ə\) \([\text{AnVP}]\) \\
\(3S.0B\) \(\text{want}=\text{LOC}=3S\) \(\text{SBJ}=\text{come} \cdot 3S\) \\
b. \(a-i\) \(ba-\text{pist}-i\) \(b-å\) \([\text{AsVP}]\) \\
\(3S.0B\) \(\text{PRS}=\text{want}=3S\) \(\text{SBJ}=\text{come.3S}\)

‘He wants to come.’

In the past tense the verb conjugates regularly in both dialects, except that in Asalemi the past copular \(\text{AUX}\) is appended the verb in the imperfective (434):

\[(433)\] a. \(må=ku=šun\) \(pia\) \(surud\) \(bå-hånd-om\) \([\text{AnNP}]\) \\
\(1S.0B=\text{LOC}=3P\) \(\text{wanted}\) \(\text{song}\) \(\text{SBJ}=\text{sing.1S}\) \\
b. \(bamån=kå=šun\) \(pist=\text{a}\) \(\text{taråna}\) \(bu-xun-um\) \([\text{AsNP}]\) \\
\(1S.10=\text{LOC}=3P\) \(\text{wanted}=\text{TR}\) \(\text{song}\) \(\text{SBJ}=\text{sing.1S}\)

‘They wanted me to sing a song.’

\[(434)\] a. \(pia=na=\text{š}=bå\) \(b-u-ə\) \([\text{AnVP}]\) \\
\(\text{want}=\text{LOC}=3S=\text{AUX.3S}\) \(\text{SBJ}=\text{come.3S}\) \\
b. \(a-\text{pi}=\text{š}=b-å\) \([\text{AsVP}]\) \\
\(\text{AUG}=\text{want}=3S=\text{AUX-3S}\) \(\text{SBJ}=\text{come.3S}\)

‘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. \(av-ə\) \(pia=na=y\) \(alån\) \(bå-ś-u\) \([\text{AnVP}]\) \\
\(3S.0B\) \(\text{want}=\text{LOC}=3S\) \(\text{now}\) \(\text{SBJ}=\text{go.3S}\) \\
b. \(a-i\) \(ba-\text{pist}=i\) \(\text{hamalån}\) \(bu-ś-u\) \([\text{AsVP}]\) \\
\(3S.0B\) \(\text{PRS}=\text{want}=3S\) \(\text{right.now}\) \(\text{SBJ}=\text{go.3S}\) \\
c. \(a\) \(\text{hamalån}\) \(xå\) \(bu-ś-u\) \([\text{MaVP}]\) \\
\(3S\) \(\text{right.now}\) \(\text{want.3S}\) \(\text{SBJ}=\text{go.3S}\)

‘He is about to leave.’

\[(436)\] \(pia=na=m=e\) \(\text{ku}\) \(\text{uråxom-om}\) \([\text{AnVP}]\) \\
\(\text{want}=\text{LOC}=1S=3S\) \(\text{work}\) \(\text{SBJ}=\text{finish.1S}\)

‘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. 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 Talyshe in employing *=da*; while in simple past tenses, verbs with no preverbal element take the preterite prefix *bo-*.

4.13.1 Anbaran Mahalle

Past imperfective with augment:

(437) | bape | mə = ru | se | gəla | safə | a-b-i | [AMP10]
| must | 15.08=for | 3 | CL | basket | AUG-be-3s

‘There should have been three baskets for me.’

Present and past progressive with *=da*:

(438) | am | com | 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 | datə = 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:

---

98 See Kishekhale (2007, p.66) for the Asalemi paradigm of *šâšte*. 

155
(440) nim-a rā sa bo-š-e, vu bo-goni 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=aš=e kə ṣm-e ƙa=ci 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 Jokanda

Present and past progressive with =da.

(443) ṣm-e hoye goła ƙa=ci hard-e=da [JOP31]

DEMP-P 3 CL pear=3P eat-INF=LOC

‘Three of them are eating pears.’

(444) a va=na … ƙe=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 kɔl u vi-gini-e. ṣm=ani ducarxa=na

POSSP.3S hat PVB-fell-3S DEMP=also bicycle=with

bo-goni-e [JOP17-18]
PST-fell-3S

‘His hat fell down. He also fell, along with the bicycle.’
(446) \( bimi = šun \quad kumak \quad bo-kard = e \quad [JOP19] \)

3S.\text{IOP}=3P \quad \text{help} \quad \text{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 \(=\text{ku}/=\text{kâ}/=\text{ku}\) ‘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 \(kű\) has word-level status as a nominal meaning ‘place’, in addition to its role as a postposition.

**Goal (place or object):**

(447) \(\text{oma} \quad \text{mala}=\text{kâ} \quad \) [ASB33]
came.3s place=LOC

‘He came to the village.’

(448) \(\text{goläbi-c}=\text{šun} \quad \text{pe-cin} \quad \text{da-nâ}=\text{šun}=\text{a} \quad \text{sabad-i}=\text{kâ} \quad \) [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) \(\text{tiätâ} \quad \text{darand}=\text{am}=\text{a} \quad \text{ātaš-i}=\text{ku} \quad \) [MBB]
thorn threw.in=1s=TR fire-OB=LOC

‘I threw the thorn in the fire.’

(450) \(\text{av-}=\text{o} \quad \text{oštän} \quad \text{sava} \quad \text{መ一如既}=\text{ku} \quad \text{avâšt}=\text{e} \quad \) [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 = ãs = 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 ãsib vind-a = b-a [AsNP]  
storm-OB = LOC damage saw = PTC = AUG-3s  
‘It had been damaged during the storm.’

(455) a sâb-i zud-i = ku š-a [MaNP]  
3s morning-OB soon-OB = LOC went = 3s  
‘He left early in the morning.’

Source:

(456) hârs-ə = ku bo-tol [AnVP]  
bear-OB = LOC IMP-run  
‘Run away from the bear!’

(457) a kâ = ku ā [MaVP]  
3s where? = LOC come = 3s  
‘Where is he coming from?’

(458) dâr-i = kâ xayli miva-e vi-gonst-in [AsNP]  
tree-OB = LOC many fruit-P PVB fell down = 3p  
‘Many pieces of fruit fell from the tree.’
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).\(^99\)

99 The Latin verb *usare* ‘to use’ also takes the ablative case.
(466) *užnan camân ḡola = ku = š istəfâda 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 =kur.

(467) *om xəy-un = kâ = š vind = a [ASP11]
   DEMP pear-P=LOC=3S saw=TR

‘He saw some of these pears.’

(468) *do se ḡola xordan kâ = n *om xəy-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 bo-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-ḡola 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 aštə dâst = u xali aṣbâni = 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 \(=\text{anda}/=\text{na}/=\text{na}\) ‘with’

Both instrument and accompaniment ‘with’ are most commonly specified by a case clitic: \(=\text{anda}\) in Anbarani, and \(=\text{na}\) in Asalemi and Masali.  

**Accompaniment:**

(474) 
\[
\begin{align*}
a. & \quad \text{av} \quad \text{fa} \mathring{\text{g}} \text{at} \quad \text{b} \text{â} \text{la} \text{=} \text{nda} \quad \text{uma} \quad [\text{AnNP}] \\
& \quad \text{3s} \quad \text{only} \quad \text{child} \text{=} \text{with} \quad \text{came.3s}
\end{align*}
\]
‘He came with only the child.’

(475) 
\[
\begin{align*}
hic \text{ki} \text{=} \text{na} \quad \text{nâ-uma} \quad [\text{MaNP}]
\end{align*}
\]
no.one \text{=} \text{with} \quad \text{NEG} \text{=} \text{came.3s}
‘He came without anyone.’

(476) 
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{adi} \text{=} \text{na} \quad \text{gudi} \quad [\text{ASA}]
\end{align*}
\]
Adi \text{=} \text{with} \quad Gudi
‘Adi and Gudi.’ (title of a story)

**Instrument:**

(477) 
\[
\begin{align*}
du \quad \text{sa} \text{=} \text{ku} \quad \text{sərd} \text{=} \text{anda} \quad \text{be-} \text{š-a} \text{=} \text{bo} \quad [\text{ANP2}]
\end{align*}
\]
tree \quad head=\text{LOC} \quad ladder \text{=} \text{with} \quad \text{PST} \text{-} \text{go} \text{-} \text{PTC} \text{=} \text{AUX.3s}
‘He had gone up the tree by means of a ladder.’

(478) 
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ži} \text{-a} \quad \text{ângol} \quad \text{i-la} \quad \text{zua} \quad \text{vasila} \text{=} \text{nda} \quad \text{u-bo} \quad [\text{AnVP}]
\end{align*}
\]
rope \text{-} \text{LNK} \quad knot \quad a-\text{CL} \quad \text{boy} \quad \text{means} \text{=} \text{with} \quad \text{PVB} \text{-} \text{opened.3s}
‘The rope was loosed by a boy.’

(479) 
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{âv} \quad \text{cəmən} \quad \text{d} \text{ast-i} \text{=} \text{na} \quad \text{vi-b-a} \quad [\text{AsVP}]
\end{align*}
\]
water \quad \text{POSS.1s} \quad \text{hand} \text{=} \text{with} \quad \text{PVB} \text{-} \text{spilt-3s}
‘The water was spilt by me.’

(480) 
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{d} \text{âs-i} \text{=} \text{na} \quad \text{əm-i} \quad \text{žan-ə}, \quad \text{ləs-i} \text{=} \text{na} \quad \text{əm-i} \quad \text{žan-ə} \quad [\text{MBB}]
\end{align*}
\]
sickle \text{=} \text{with} \quad \text{3s-OB} \quad \text{hit-3s} \quad \text{stick} \text{=} \text{with} \quad \text{3s-OB} \quad \text{hit-3s}
‘He hits him with a sickle, he hits with him a stick.’

\(^{100}\) \text{=na} \text{ has grammaticalized to a verbal marker of tense in Anbarani; see } \S 4.4.
Other:

(481) \( \text{kār=a} \ldots \text{gil-i} \quad \text{bard-e} \quad \text{avaz} \quad \text{kard-e} \quad \text{tel-e=na} \quad [\text{ASB35}] \)

\( \text{PROG=3S} \ldots \text{rubble-OB} \quad \text{take-INF} \quad \text{change do-INF} \quad \text{gold-P=with} \)

‘They are taking rubble and exchanging it for (lit. ‘with’) gold.’

(482) \( \text{dār-i} \quad \text{boni=na} \quad \text{daivar-u} \quad [\text{ASP10}] \)

tree-OB \quad under=with \quad passed-3S.SBJ

‘... to pass under the tree.’

(483) \( \text{əm} \quad \text{sāz-i} \quad \text{diāra} \quad \text{bondi=na}, \quad [\text{MBB}] \)

\( \text{DEMP} \quad \text{instrument-OB} \quad \text{drum} \quad \text{RECP=with} \)

\( \text{sāz-i} \quad \text{diyāra} \quad \text{yāxli} \quad \text{fāṛã} \quad \text{kar-ə} \quad [\text{MBB}] \)

instrument-OB \quad drum \quad very \quad difference \quad 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 \( \text{ba-} \), and indeed may also combine with \( \text{əštən} \), the reciprocal pronoun, to make the form \( \text{baštanna} \) (487). For example:

(484) \( \text{mardum} \quad \text{dамand=a} \quad \text{ba=na} \quad \text{xurust-e} \quad [\text{ASB40}] \)

\( \text{people} \quad \text{PROG=3S} \quad 3S.IO=with \quad \text{laugh-INF} \)

‘People were laughing at him.’

(485) \( \text{a-e} \quad \text{əm-in} \quad \text{sava=šun} \quad \text{ba=na} \quad \text{jam} \quad \text{â-kard=a} \quad [\text{ASP17}] \)

\( 3-P \quad \text{came-3P} \quad \text{basket=3P} \quad 3S.IO=with \quad \text{collect} \quad \text{PVB-make.be=TR} \)

‘They came (and) collected up the basket with him.’

(486) \( \text{mə} \quad \text{a-i=na} \quad \text{våt=a} \quad \text{men} \quad \text{ma-davor} \quad [\text{MSS104}] \)

\( 1S.OB \quad 3S.OB=\text{with} \quad \text{said=TR} \quad 1S.OB \quad \text{PHB-chop.down} \)

‘I said to him, “Don’t cut me down!”’

(487) \( \text{i-la=š} \quad \text{bumun=kā} \quad \text{pe-gat=a} \quad [\text{ASP11}] \)

\( \text{one-CL=3S} \quad 3P.IOP=\text{LOC} \quad \text{PVB-picked.up=TR} \)

\( \text{ki} \quad \text{baštanna} \quad \text{b-ar-u} \)

\( \text{COMP} \quad \text{for.self} \quad \text{SBJ-eat-3S} \)
'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) šüm³apapü  i-la  vər±anda  toktok  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  råxs=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) rå=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-istîne  [MPS36]
pear-LNK  plucker-OB  direction-OB=front  PROG go-IMPF.3p

'They were going along in the direction of the pear picker.'

(493) izom  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=bo  [AnVP]
3s  ten  year  ago  came-PTC=AUX.3s
b. a da sâl cimi bana ām-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 râdy, Middle Persian rây, where it has a
benefactive meaning ‘because of, for the sake of’ (Miller 1953, p.79, who suggests Russian
equivalents радё 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 ādam=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 št Cô 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) do gola 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 do gola vayu hest b-a [ASM]
3s.1op=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 bav=ru əlaf=anda bändan tümü a-k-im [ANR14]
1s=also 3s.iod=for grass=loc tie making aug-do-imf.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 am rafiğ-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  \( \text{=dəre} \) ‘source’

The case clitic \( \text{=dəre} \) is used only in southern dialects of Taleshi such as Masali, and expresses source. Examples include:

\[(507) \text{ama kərə rə=dəre š-imun [MPS2]} \]
\[1P \text{ PROG way=SRCE go-IMPF.1P} \]
\n‘We were going along the road.’

\[(508) \text{cər pin nafər xordan kərə a sar=dəre}\]
\[4 5 \text{ person child PROG DEMD direction=SRCE} \]
\[\text{ke ā-n [MPS42]} \]
\[\text{COMP come-3P} \]
\n‘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 \text{ume} ‘to come’, two with \text{mände} ‘to remain’ and some with combinations of other verbs and locatives \text{yə/uə}):

\[(509) \text{səb-i a sar=dəre iz-u, gəmə-un duš-u [MSS84]} \]
\[\text{morning-OB DEMD direction=SRCE gets.up-3s cow-OB.P milks-3s} \]
\n‘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 \text{var} ‘side, direction’

\text{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):

\[(510) \text{a rais-i var-i=kə mand-a [AsNP]} \]
\[3s \text{ chief-08 near-OB=LOC stayed-3s} \]
\n‘He stayed at the chief’s (house).’

\[(511) \text{mən bə-ba cəmən kəla \text{var [ASM]}} \]
\[1s.0B \text{ IMP-take POSS.1s daughter direction} \]
'Take me to my daughter.'

(512) a rais-i var-i mand-a [MaNP]

3s chief-08 near-08 stayed-3s

'He stayed at the chief’s (house).'</n

In Masali\footnote{\textit{var} is widely used in this sense in Shandermani.} \textit{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 \textit{sa/sar/sar} ‘head, at, on top of’

\textit{sa} (\textit{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 \textit{ka sar} ‘roof’ (Masali); \textit{sar abord-e} ‘head chop-INF’, hence ‘to execute’ (all dialects);\textit{şang-a-va-sa} night-\textit{ADJ}-side-at, ‘at night’s embrace, i.e. at sunset’ (Anbarani); and \textit{saf-sari} ‘tomorrow’ (Asalemi). In both Asalemi and Masali, Persian \textit{sar= e kâr=EZ} work ‘at work’ is expressed by \textit{kâr-a sar work-LNK} head.

Juxtaposed with other nouns, \textit{sa} conveys the following additional senses:

'at the top of':

(514) buğavin oštân 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) buğavin 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-08 head-08 stayed-3s

'The bird stayed in the tree.'

'on, over':

\footnote{\textit{var} is widely used in this sense in Shandermani.}
(517) mâi hasîr-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-ı=kâ nu=a [AsVP]
3S-OB chador POSS.3S head-OB=LOC put=TR
‘She put the chador over her head.’

(520) a-i jodra ca sar-ı=kâ vi-du=a [AsVP]
3S-OB chador POSS.3S head-OB=LOC PVB-lay.down=TR
‘She spread the chador over her.’

(521) a. kîža ru sa=ku par-a [AnNP]
bird river head=LOC flew-3s
b. paranda robâr-i sar-ı=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-ı=ku nəš-ə [MBB]
bridge-OB head=OB=LOC sit-3s
‘He sits on the bridge.’

Direction/location:

(524) a-ven kərâ a sar=dore ã-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-ı=ku
seven antique and Khosrâvi money SAMED spring-LNK head-OB=LOC
Seven antique Khosravi coins are hidden under a stone at that same spring.’

Other Northern dialects also develop this theme, e.g. bošin om 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 źiu ‘under’ in §§5.1.2.5 and 5.1.2.6).

(526) kiža du piu = yɔ [AnNP]

bird tree up=COP.3s

‘The bird is in the tree.’

(527) ca long-ə piu yâra = y hest [AnNP]

POSSD.3s leg OB up wound=COP.3s exist

‘There is a wound on his leg.’

(528) ţâb = oš goleše 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 dolâń gandum zârd bo [ANR30]

field-P in wheat yellow was.3s

‘In the fields, the wheat was yellow.’

(531) ši = na = b-im ġad-a nuğ-ə dolân [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, =kā 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  oštan  jīf-i  (dela)=kā  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)=kā  nu=a  [AsNP]
      3S-OB  some  CL  walnut  a  thing-OB  in=LOC  put=TR

‘He put some walnuts into something.’

(534)  daraftand=əš=a  daryā  dela=kā  [ASB77]
      PVB=threw=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  hota  bɔ  [AnNP]
      sick-LNK  cow  tree  under=LOC  asleep  as.3s

‘The sick cow was asleep under the tree.’

When expressing goals or locations in Asalemi and Masali, bəni usually occurs with =kā (7/12 and 8/12 instances respectively), though this may optionally be dropped:

(536)  amu  əš-a  daryā  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  dər-i  bəni=ku  xət-a  [MaNP]
      child  tree-OB  under=LOC  slept-3s

‘The child slept under the tree.’

171
(538) šu ku boni [MBB]
go.3S hill under

‘He goes to the bottom of the hill.’

(539) dār-a boni mun-am [MSG]
tree-LNK under stay-1p

‘We can stay under a tree.’

Some place names also contain the word. For example cat bon, 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 bə=anda in Anbarani:

(540) hasir taxtəxāb-ə žiu mænd-e [AnNP]
mat bed-OB under stayed-3s

‘The mat remained under the bed.’

(541) av-ə i-la mežûna lağə žiu dağând=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-goni [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:
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) liw-án ba šoxšox b-in [ANP5]
leaf-P to rustle was-3P
‘The leaves were a-rustling.’

(546) sa=š ġāl bō 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), bə‎nâm=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 ba 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 bō 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) kolâ=šun â-du=a bai [ASP20]
hat=3P PVB-gave=TR 3S,IOD
‘They gave (his) hat to him.’
(549) \( n\text{-}a\text{-}zi\text{-}un\text{-}im \quad bav\text{ī}n \quad ras\text{-}e \quad [ANR26] \)

\[-\text{AUG-could-IMPF.1S} \quad 3\text{P.IOO} \quad \text{reach-INF} \]

‘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) \( ke \quad ba\text{št}\text{an}na \quad b\text{-}ar\text{-}u \quad [ASP11] \)

\[-\text{so.that for.self subj-eat-3S} \]

‘In order that he himself may eat (it).’

Finally, \( ba\) combines with \( n\text{ā}na\) 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 \( \text{ḏe}ir \text{az} \text{xodā} \text{hic} \text{kas} \text{nabud}. \)

(551) \( i\text{-}la \quad ha\text{šrāt}\text{=am} \quad â\text{ma} \quad k\text{̣}o \quad az \quad un \quad gard\text{an} \quad [MCB] \)

\[-\text{a-CL wolf=also came.3S COMP from those neck} \]

\( koloft\text{-}un\text{=}ku \quad [MCB] \)

\[-\text{thick-OB.P=LOC} \]

‘A wolf also came along, one of those thick-necked ones.’

(552) \( t\text{o}\text{=}ni \quad ye\text{k}=i \quad az \quad a\text{-}vun\text{=}ira \quad [MCB] \)

\[-\text{2S=also one=IND from 3-OB.P=COP.2S} \]

‘You are one of them too.’

(553) \( az \quad \text{ḏadim} \quad dust=i \quad d\text{ā}r\text{-}i \quad [MAS] \)

\[-\text{from ancient friend=IND had-IMPF.3S} \]

‘He had an old friend.’

(554) \( \text{ḏe}ir \quad az \quad xudā \quad hik\text{as} \quad ne\text{-}bu \quad [MBB] \)

\[-\text{apart from God nobody NEG-be.3S} \]

‘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 = øm = a [MaNP]
1s red-LNK door-O8 saw=1s=TR
'I saw the red door.'

Adjectives with a predicative sense have the structure noun + adjective + copular verb, e.g.:

(556) aštə 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 barəngə yəl = 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) ǧašəng-a javən-a kina [MSS89]
beautiful-LNK young-LNK girl
'a beautiful young girl'

(559) sang-ca-ye hest b-in, yəl-a bolənd-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, bicəra, harci harə = 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) təz-a šət-i yəl-a ǧəb [AsNP]
fresh-LNK milk-O8 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:

(562)  

a.  

\[ i-\text{la ka ye s\ddot{a}ng-i} \]  

\[ \text{a.CL house=EZ stone-DADJ} \]  

b.  

\[ i-\text{la s\ddot{a}ng-a ka} \]  

\[ \text{[MaNP]} \]  

‘A stone house.’

The *ezafe* also surfaced very occasionally in Asalemi texts, generally encliticized to a Persian loanword; for example:

(563)  

\[ \text{motavaje=ye ca k\\ddot{a}la b-in} \]  

\[ \text{[ASP19]} \]  

\[ \text{noticing=EZ POSSD.3S hat be-3P.PST} \]  

‘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),\(^\text{103}\) 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)  

\[ i-tka=\ddot{s} \]  

\[ \text{daka\ddot{s}-a=b-e a-me} \]  

\[ \text{[AnVP]} \]  

\[ \text{a-little=3S dragged-PTC=AUX-3S AUG-died.3S} \]  

‘(If) more time had passed (lit. if he had dragged a little), he would have died.’

(565)  

\[ \text{a viva\ddot{z}en hay k\ddot{a}r=a g\ddot{a}ym \ddot{a}-b-e} \]  

\[ \text{[AsVP]} \]  

\[ \text{that widow repeatedly PROG=3S fat PVB-become-INF} \]  

‘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):  

\[ \text{“\ddot{c}omo bo \ddot{c}a m\ddot{o-k"u} yol-e} \]  

\[ \text{my brother from I:OB-ABL big-AUX:3SG:S} \]  

‘My brother is bigger than I.’
(566) čəmân miv-ān oštə miv-ān-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) comən dər oštə dər-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 hər ruž-a₁⁰⁴ voj nuxaš bi=na [AnVP]
3s every day-Frq more sick become=Loc
'He is becoming more sick every day.'

(569) har ruz robär-i āv tika=ı 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=kə səvəi de šəma=rə na-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 ziəd tul bə-dain-i mard=ə [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 câg o câg-tar b-u [MaVP]
DEMD widow fat and fat-CMPR become-3s
'That widow is getting fatter and fatter.’

¹⁰⁴ This -ə suffix in Anbarani appears to be a borrowing from the Persian equivalent -e in e.g. har ruž-e ‘every day’. We gloss it as “frequentative” here.

¹⁰⁵ Gilaki also borrows -tar from Persian. For example, kuček-tar ‘little-CMPR’ is found in the Gilaki Pear Story text.
Other Masali examples of this usage include:

\(573\) \(\text{diāra} \ kam\text{-}tar=a \ ǧeymat \ [MBB]\)

\(\text{drum} \ \text{littleCMPR=COP.3s} \ \text{price}\)

‘The drum is less in price (i.e. cheaper).’

\(574\) \(\text{vištatar}\)\(^{106}\) \(a\=i=na \ xəšin=a \ [MSS4]\)

\(\text{more} \ \text{3S-OB=with} \ \text{pleased=COP.3s}\)

‘He is more pleased with her.’

All three dialects also possess a comparative particle meaning ‘like’. In Anbarani it is \(\text{bata}\), and it precedes the object of the comparison. In Asalemi the suffix \(-\text{šār}\) is used, and in Masali the suffix \(-\text{šī}\):

\(575\) \(\text{av} \ \text{bata} \ kiža \ hândi=\text{na}=\text{b} \ [\text{AnNP}]\)

\(\text{3S} \ \text{like} \ \text{bird} \ \text{sing=LOC=AUX.3s}\)

‘He was singing like a bird.’

\(576\) \(a \ \text{xaraguša-šār} \ \text{virit-a} \ [\text{AsNP}]\)

\(\text{3S} \ \text{rabbit.0B-like} \ \text{ran-3s}\)

‘He ran like a rabbit.’

\(577\) \(\text{aštə} \ \text{bar} \ \text{como} \ \text{bar-i-ši} \ \text{sər=a} \ [\text{MaNP}]\)

\(\text{POSS.2s} \ \text{door} \ \text{POSS.2s} \ \text{door-OB-like} \ \text{red=COP.3s}\)

‘Your door is red, like mine.’

\(578\) \(a. \ \text{av} \ \text{bata} \ \text{mən} \ \text{tol-a} \ [\text{AnNP}]\)

\(\text{3S} \ \text{like} \ \text{1S.0B} \ \text{ran-3s}\)

\(b. \ a \ \text{como-šār} \ \text{virit-a} \ [\text{AsNP}]\)

\(\text{3S} \ \text{POSS.3s.P-like} \ \text{ran-3s}\)

\(c. \ a \ \text{como-ši} \ \text{til-a} \ [\text{MaNP}]\)

\(\text{3S} \ \text{POSS.3s.P-like} \ \text{ran-3s}\)

‘He ran like me.’

\(^{106}\) Compare Persian \(\text{bištər} \ ‘\text{more}'\).
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) dăr-a kangul=i bu-mun, [MSG]
    tree-LNK hollow=IND IMP-stay
    ‘Stay in the hollow of a tree!’

(580) lâst-a xël=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’, hattā ‘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 tikā ‘little bit’ and this suffix.

Native Taleshi adverbs include manner adverbials such as Anbarani žui ‘forcefully’ and Masali vipər ‘sneakily’; time adverbials such as māški/saxsa/sabā (Anbarani, Asalemi and Masali respectively) ‘tomorrow’ and zina/izər/zira ‘yesterday’; and words based on demonstrative forms such as ata, ŋtə, ḥata, ḥənta ‘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: nəz ‘near’, duz ‘right, straight’, cuk ‘good, well’, piyuda ‘on foot’, ra ‘fast’; while Masali yields the example:

(581) uri boland lau 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 kà vârost-e [AsVP]

rain vigour-OB=with PROG rain-INF

‘It is raining heavily.’

(583) əštən majles-i = ku naš-ā ġašāng ġašāng-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 kərā sefîd ə-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) kəlok šəršər=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 = ş

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. mii = ş gada gada səpi b = ina [AnVP]

hair=3S little little white become=LOC

b. ce mu-yen yavâš yavâš-i = na kerâ sefîd ə-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)  
\[
\text{xali haivun-un mārd-in [AnVP]}
\]

\[
\text{many animal-P died-3P}
\]

‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taleshi</th>
<th>Persian</th>
<th>Taleshi</th>
<th>Persian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>i</em></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>šaš (Masali šiš)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yek</td>
<td></td>
<td>šiš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>دو</em></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>haf(t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>دو</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>ḡaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>سه</em></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>haš(t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>سه</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>ḡašt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td><em>چار</em></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>na (Anbarani nav)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>چار</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>ḡašt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td><em>پنجم</em> (Masali pin(j))</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>da (Anbarani ḡa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>penž</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>da</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *gola*, with which the numeral *ی‘one’ can combine to form *ی-la*. For example:
Another commonly found classifier is *nafar* ‘person’:

(591) cār pīn nafar xordan [MPS42]

4  5  person  child

‘Four or five children’

(592) dō se nafar ca rafīq-e a var-i=kā  kā=b-in

2  3  person  POSSD.3s  friend-P  DEMR  side-OB=LOC  PROG=AUX-3p

um-e  [ASP17]

‘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  šēt  a-i  bō-da  [MaVP]

a  little=IND  milk  3s-OB  IMP-give

‘Give him a little milk.’

(595) i-la  livān  āv  /  i-la  kāsa  āv  [MaNP]

a  glass  water  /  a-CL  bowl  water

‘A glass of water. A bowl of water.’
(596)  i  lâr-i=ku  do  man  se  man  nômek  da-kar-ơ  [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-ơ  [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  bâmân  ani  i-la  rama  ho-dar-un  [ASB71]
     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
     ąştan  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-ơ
     a-CL  mouse  here  go-3s
     muš-a  gola  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:

183
(602) \[i = i \quad \text{dâr} - i \quad \text{nezk} - i = kâ \quad \text{xat} - a \quad [\text{AsNP}]\]
\text{one-CL=IND \ tree-OB \ near-OB=LOC \ slept-3s}\n
‘Someone has fallen asleep near the tree.’

(603) \[a - i \quad \text{pul} \quad i = i \quad \text{â-du} = a \quad [\text{AsNP}]\]
\text{3s-OB \ money \ a-CL=IND \ PVB\text{-handed.}\over=TR}\n
‘He handed the money over to someone.’

Non-specific words like \text{ci} ‘thing’ do not take a classifier, but may be individuated by the attachment of the indefinite marker as in example (604).\(^{108}\)

(604) \[i \quad \text{ci} = i \quad \text{comon} \quad \text{bôrâ} \quad \text{gaś} = a \quad [\text{AsVP}]\]
\text{a \ thing=IND \ POSS.1s \ brother \ bit=TR}\n
‘Something bit my brother.’

(605) \[i \quad \text{can} \quad \text{gola} = i \quad \text{miva} \quad \text{vi-gənəst-a.} \quad [\text{AsVP}]\]
\text{a \ some \ CL=IND \ fruit \ PVB\text{-fell.}3s}\n
‘A few pieces of fruit fell.’

5.4 Quantifiers

5.4.1 Indefinite Quantifiers

Indefinite quantifiers used in all three dialects include \text{xaili} ‘many’ (Anbarani \text{xali}), \text{can(d)} ‘some’ (Anbarani \text{cân(d)}) and \text{bazi} ‘some’ (Anbarani \text{bâzi}). In addition, we find \text{vəi} ‘much’ in Anbarani and equivalent \text{ver} ‘much’ in Asalemi. \text{xaili} and \text{bazi} resemble determiners in taking bare (plural nouns); \text{can} resembles numerals in that it is usually followed by a classifier; while \text{vəi} and \text{ver} take singular nouns with the addition of a linker, like adjectives. Examples of the use of these quantifiers are given below:

(606) \[\text{əspa} \quad \text{xaili} \quad \text{âdam-e} \quad \text{gâz} \quad \text{gat} = \text{in} \quad [\text{AsNP}]\]
\text{horse \ many \ man-P \ bit \ got=TR.P}\n
‘The horse bit many men.’

(607) \[\text{av} \quad \text{bâzi} \quad \text{dâstân-un} \quad \text{cuk} = a \quad \text{tarif} \quad kâ = na \quad [\text{AnNP}]\]
\text{3s \ some \ story-OB.P \ well=3s \ description \ do=LOC}\n
\(^{108}\) See §3.3.1 for discussion of the indefinite clitic.
‘He tells some stories well.’

(608) a-i  
hamun = 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  
gola  
ogla  
kisa = kâ  
u = 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 jəgə respectively (e.g. (615)):

(611) ženak  
hama  
rəbəru = ku  
nəşt-a  [MaNP]

woman  
everyone  
opposite=LOC  
sat-3S

‘The woman sat down opposite everyone.’

(612) a  
hama  
ka-un = ku  
əgazə  
hard = əš = a  [MaNP]

3S  
all  
house-P=LOC  
food  
ate=3S=TR

‘He ate food in all the houses.’

(613) *hama = ye  
comən  
boz-en  [MaNP]

all=ez  
POSS.1S  
goat-P

‘All my goats.’
(614) ćumun pul-i  hama  mə=ku  bard=aš=a.  [MCB]

POSS.1S money-OB all 1S.OB=LOC took=3S=TR

‘He took all my money from me.’

(615) a  hama  jəgə  aštən  ḍspa  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  xorək=aš  kər=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  jəg=a  hard-e=rə  paidə  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  kə=mən  gaf  ẓ-e  gərd  [AsNP]

DEMD goat-P-RCH REL PROG=1P speech hit-INF all

‘All those goats that we are talking about.’

(620) gərd  cəmən  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’, harjā ‘wherever’ (Anbarani hārci and hārvāre respectively).

Finally, the classifier goša 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) am šiš xā goša goša goša da-xān-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/=a).\(^\text{109}\) It coordinates noun phrases (622), including within fixed phrases such as dast u pā ‘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) aštan pada u piyada=ru sard uv a-v-i-m [ANR31]
      self father and grandfather=for cold water AUG-bring-IMPF-3S

‘I used to bring cold water for my father and grandfather.’

(623) dast u pā dabend-ist-a = b-a [ASB78]
      hand and foot bound-PASS-PTC=AUG-3S

‘He was bound hand and foot.’

(624) am cə kār=i b-a to kard=a u fəlân [ASB44]
      DEMD what? deed=IND was-3S 2S did=TR and so on

\(^\text{109}\) Stilo (2004, p.273) notes that =o derives from Old Persian utō > Middle Persian ud > uδ > New Persian u > =o (citing Kent 1953, p.175), while vo 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 nezak 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 na-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=a m=a
1s some CL door saw=1s=TR
va ruk-un=ku xor=m=a [MaNP]
and small-OB.P=LOC bought=1s=TR
‘I saw some doors and bought some of the small ones.’

(628) nā=šun=a va bar-vard=uşun=a,
plunged=3P=TR and PVB-pulled=3P=TR
nā=šun=a va bar-vard=uşun=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-o 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 oštan pas-un=na kā=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 yā ‘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, yā 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.’

\[(634)\]  
pāmba əm ruj=iš ba-hvât yā māški \[AnVP\]
wool DEMP day=2S FUT-buy or tomorrow

‘Will you buy the wool today or tomorrow?’

\[(635)\]  
kā=m fokor kard-e (ki) b-uma=ya yā ne \[AsVP\]
PRG=1S think do-INF (COMP) PRS-come=COP.3S or NEG

‘I am wondering whether he is coming or not.’

\[(636)\]  
fekr kər̥ kər-om ə yā n-ə \[MaVP\]
think PROG do-1S come.3S or NEG-come.3S

‘I am wondering whether he is coming or not.’

\(^{110}\) For the etymology of yā in Persian, Stilo (200, p.273) cites Early Judaeo-Persian ayāb, yāw~ yaw~ yaβ and Middle Persian ayāb ‘or’. Although no examples of bisyndetic yā … yā 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 barû 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 batô =kâ morâğebat ba-kard =imun.
1P=also 2S.IO=LOC advice FUT-do=1P

tô =ni hama =na hamrâ bə-b [ASB23-24]
2S=also 1P.IO=with companion IMP-be

111 Stilo (2004, p.273) notes that both ammâ and valî are Arabic loanwords into Persian.

'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) \( \text{ham pas-e } \text{ca = rå } \text{mand-in} \)
both sheep-PPOSS.3S=for remained-3P

(641) \( \text{a-i = rå } \text{cåi } \text{dam } \text{kar-ao, } \text{gådim } \text{åftåba = yå,} \)
3S-OB=for tea brew do-3S ancient pot=COP.PST.3S

\( \text{åftåba } \text{åb } \text{da-kar-ao, } \text{kitiri=ni } \text{åftåba ate pe-na } [\text{MSS67}] \)
pot water PVB-pour.3S kettle=also pot there PVB-put.3S

'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).'

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) \( \text{rais-i } \text{bamon våt=a } \text{ki } \text{az } \text{asebåni=m } [\text{AsVP}] \)
chief-OB 15.IO said=TR COMP 1S angry=COP.1S

\(^{113}\) Other forms of the complementizer are extant in other Taleshi dialects, e.g. ko 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-, ko, cf. Sanskrit kā, kas, kim ‘who, which, what’ (cf. Stilo 2004, p.273; Kent 1953, p.195).
'The chief said to me, “I am angry ...”'

(643)  \[\text{av} - \text{o} \quad \text{vut} = \text{c} \quad \text{ki} \quad \text{b-uma} = \text{y} \alpha \quad \text{[AnVP]} \]
\text{3S-OB} \quad \text{said=TR} \quad \text{COMP} \quad \text{FUT-come=COP.3S}

‘He said that he will come.’

(644)  \[\text{i} \quad \text{dafe} \quad \text{vin} - \text{o} \quad \text{ke} \quad \text{bar} \quad \text{sed} \alpha \quad \text{kar} - \text{o} \quad \text{[MSG]}\]
\text{one} \quad \text{time} \quad \text{sees-3S} \quad \text{COMP} \quad \text{door} \quad \text{sound} \quad \text{makes-3S}

‘One day she hears that someone is knocking at the door.’

(645)  \[\text{c} \alpha \text{ra} = \text{i} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{magam} \quad \text{om} \quad \text{ki} \quad \text{bo-} \text{s-am} \quad \text{[AsVP]}\]
\text{solution=IND} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{but.that} \quad \text{DEMP} \quad \text{COMP} \quad \text{SBJ-go-1P}

‘There’s nothing for it but that we go.’

(646)  \[\text{a} \quad \text{\$-a} \quad \text{ke} \quad \text{kam} = \text{i} \quad \text{\$b} \quad \text{bo-ju} \text{s-\text{o-\text{o}}} \quad \text{[MaVP]}\]
\text{3S} \quad \text{went-3S} \quad \text{COMP} \quad \text{little=IND} \quad \text{water} \quad \text{SBJ-boil-CAUS-3S}

‘He went to boil a little water.’

(647)  \[\text{s} \\text{\$pa} \quad \text{axta} \quad \text{gu} \text{\$d} \quad \text{h} \alpha \quad \text{ki} \quad \text{n} \text{\$xa} \text{\$} \quad \text{bo} \quad \text{[AnVP]}\]
\text{dog} \quad \text{so.much} \quad \text{meat} \quad \text{ate.TR} \quad \text{COMP} \quad \text{sick} \quad \text{became.3S}

‘The dog ate so much meat that it got sick.’

Note that the conjunction may be omitted, e.g.

(648)  \[\text{havas} = \text{\$} \quad \text{k} \alpha \quad \text{i-la} \quad \text{\$m} \text{\$u} \quad \text{pe-gat-\text{o}}. \quad \text{[ANP18]}\]
\text{attention=3S} \quad \text{did.TR} \quad \text{one-CL} \quad \text{pear} \quad \text{PVB.SBJ-take-3S}

‘He went to take one pear.’

The conjunction \text{ki}/\text{ki}/\text{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)  \[\text{x} \text{\$rdan-i} \quad \text{ki} \quad \text{vi-ganost-a = b-a} \quad \text{h} \text{\$n} \quad \text{pe-p-a} \quad \text{[AsVP]}\]
\text{child-RCH} \quad \text{REL} \quad \text{PVB-fall-PTC=AUX-3S} \quad \text{again} \quad \text{PVB.got.up-3S}

‘The child who had fallen got up again.’

(650)  \[\text{m} \text{\$no} \quad \text{gu} \text{\$d-i} \quad \text{ki} \quad \text{\$gb = anda} \quad \text{s} \text{\$t-a = bo} \quad \text{h} \text{\$rd = o} \text{\$m = e} \quad \text{[AnNP]}\]
\text{1S.ACC} \quad \text{meat-RCH} \quad \text{REL} \quad \text{pot=LOC} \quad \text{burnt-PTC=AUG.3S} \quad \text{ate=1S=TR}

‘I ate the meat that was burnt in the pot.’
(651)  *boz  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  timûi  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  to  vuward = xr = a*  [MBB]
ram-RCH  REL  anyway  2S  brought=2S=TR

‘As for the ram, you brought it, after all!’

(654)  *co  ner = i?  ner-i  kə  oštən - 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  kayār=а  [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=kā  dastupā  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  aŋta  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-O8  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  am  c=а?  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 gola ke yâ pas â-mun-u
mouse CL COMP here remain PVB-stay-3S

‘The mouse, which stays back here, this mouse brings out those coins one by one.’

(666) am kə dår pe-š-a se câr gola 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

‘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 naš-ə vâ-a: [MSG]
stay-3s until snow comp sit-3s say-3p

‘She stays until, when the snow settles, they say …’

(668) əm kəla ki iā 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 ġadari duš
dance comp PVB-AUG-make.do-IMPF.3P demp amount dance

a-kar-i a-vâj-in boš tavla daraj [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 kola xanom ki b-a,  
noticing=ez girl lady COMP was-3s  
ā-gardost-a a tarā [ASP15]  
PVB-turned-3s DEMR direction  
‘When he noticed the young lady, he turned in that direction.’

(672) langān langān kā=b-a ducaxa=na š-e ke  
limping limping PROG=AUX-3s bicyclie=with go-INF COMP  
pīsti=kā ca rafeq-e motavaje=e ca kalā 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 subj-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 tā ‘until, in order that’

The subordinator tā 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 aštān āmbāzi=m gap ba-ža  
as.much life exist=3s self Anbaranı=1s speech FUT-hit  
tā camān riš maf no-b-u [ANR45]  
until POSS.1s root destroyed NEG-be-3s  
‘I’ll speak Anbaranı as long as I live, so long as my root is not destroyed.’

(675) am-i ger-on! tā ger-ən mus 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) om-i viša=kā varâ-dar-u tā pis ua anoštai
DEMP-OB forest=LOC PVB-cast-3s so.that baldy there hunger
bi-mer-u [ASB47]
sai-die-3s

‘(... he would) cast him into the forest so that the baldy would die there from hunger.’

(677) i boz-a kula i vara kəta tā bar-i ā-kar-ən
a goat-LNK little a lamb little until door-OB PVB-open-3P
xərs vi-tərak-ə am-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) long=əš udiž uma, cün dəzdi=əš=bə kārd=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) āz caxta külaš-a = ku bo-vut-um

1s however.much Kulash-OB=LOC SBJ-say-1s

užon = an kām 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 əštān əmbaži = 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 āšmāš-e āšmāš-e = ūn 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 bā vajud-e+ noun ‘in spite of X’ with bāinki/bāinke + full clause, whereas Anbarani uses beebee (see the examples at the end of §4.12.1):

(683) bāinki mariz b-a āma [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 barîye ‘for, on behalf of’ occurs three times. Anbarani and Asalemi
omit halke in favour of an intonational break, and favour ca-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) sor-a kafš [AsNP] & AN/M

red-LNK shoe

‘red shoe’
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, as illustrated by its optional use in Masali in (687) and the contrast between Asalemi and Masali in (688):

\[(687)\]  
\[i-la\quad s\-n\-a\quad k\quad O\quad R\quad i-la\quad k\=\=y\quad s\-\=n\-g\quad [M\-N\-P]\]  
a-CL stone-LNK house a-CL house=EZ stone  
‘A stone house.’

\[(688)\]  
\[h\-a\quad j\-a\quad \=y\quad h\-d\-a\quad (A\-s\-a\-l\-e\-m)\quad V\quad E\quad R\quad S\quad U\quad S\quad j\=\=y\quad h\-a\quad (M\-a\-s\-a\-l\-i)\]\n
\[e\-\=t\-L\-N\-K\quad p\-l\-a\-c\-e\quad p\-l\-a\-c\=E\quad e\-\=t\-I\-N\-F\]  
‘Place to eat.’

Other examples of -a as a linking vowel include: \(\acute{a}n\-b\-u\-a\, d\-u\) pear-LNK tree ‘pear tree’ (Anbarani); \(c\-u\-\acute{s}\-t\-a\, v\-a\-\acute{x}\-t\) lunch-LNK time ‘lunch time’ (Anbarani); \(g\-o\-l\-\acute{a}b\-i\-a\, b\-\acute{a}g\-a\, s\-\acute{a}\-h\-e\-b\) pear-LNK garden-LNK owner ‘pear orchard owner’ (Masali); \(c\-\=t\-a\, x\-\acute{a}\-l\) rock-LNK hole ‘cave’ (Masali); \(h\-a\-\acute{v}\-u\-\acute{s}\-\=a\, b\-\acute{a}l\=a\) rabbit-LNK child ‘baby rabbit’ (Anbarani); \(x\-\acute{k}\-a\, t\-e\) dust-LNK speck ‘speck of dust’ (Masali).

Note the ability of an adjective to be the head of an NP:

\[(689)\]  
\[m\-a\-n\quad s\-\=a\-r\-i\quad k\quad i\quad y\=l\=a\=m\=a\quad x\=a\=r\=\=i\=m\=a\quad [A\-s\-N\-P]\quad &\quad A\-N\-M\]  
1S.0B 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:

\(1\) Letters in parentheses represent situations where a sound which is normally elided is being shown explicitly because its presence is relevant to the discussion.

\(2\) See Mahootian (1997, pp.66ff) for a description of this phenomenon in Persian.

\(3\) Cf. Persian \(j\-a\=y\-e\ x\=o\-r\=d\-a\-n\).
a) in all three dialects, treating the first noun as an adjective, with adjectival suffix -a (examples (690) and (693));

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’. In each case the strategy shown is typically employed by that dialect:

(690) i-la  ov-a  ǧab /  sif-a  kisa  [AsNP]
    a-CL  water-LNK  pot  apple-LNK  sack

(691) i-la  uv-ə  ǧāb /  sef-ə  tu  [AnNP]
    a-CL  water-OB  pot  apple-OB  sack

(692) i-la  livān  āv /  kisa  siv  [MaNP]
    a-CL  container  water  sack  apple

Anbarani  Asalemi  Masali

(693) pūstin-a  kisa  pust-a  kisa  kisa=ye  pusti
    skin-LNK  sack  skin-LNK  sack  sack=εZ  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 boz
  my/this goat
  ‘My/this goat.’

(695) cəmən əm boz(-e)
  my DEMP goat(-P)
  ‘This(these) goat(s) of mine.

(696) i-la cəmən boz-un=kā
  a-CL POSS.1S goat-OB=LOC
  ‘A goat of mine (lit. one of my goats).’

(697) xayli cəmən boz-un=kā
  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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relative Clause</th>
<th>Main Clause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SU</td>
<td>SU</td>
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<tr>
<td>SU</td>
<td>DO</td>
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<tr>
<td>DO</td>
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<tr>
<td>DO</td>
<td>IO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBLIQUE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{121}\) 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 âštan amu kəla da-gonəst-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 to vuward = šr = 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 âštan-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 ʿhe 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 bāl-ān ki tola = na = b-im 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 = om = e [AnNP]

3P-RCH REL yesterday came-3P saw=1S=TR

‘I saw those who came yesterday.’

(705) a xaj-i ki vi-gonost-a = b-a zamin a-i tamiz

DEMD pear-RCH REL PVB-fell-PTC=AUX-3S ground 3s-OB clean

ā-rak = a [ASP7]

PVB-made=TR

‘That pear which had fallen to the ground, he cleaned (it).’

(706) mən merd-i ki izer āma 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) om c = a to dār-i? [MSG]

DEMP what?=3S 2S have-2s

‘What is this you have?’
6.3.3 Direct object in relative clause and subject in main clause

(709) dâstân-i ki ama deištî=mun=a om ravâyat b-a [ASPI]

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=kā har kas-i ki kisa dela=kā dar-a-fan-un

forest in=LOC every person=RCH REL bag in=LOC PVB.SBJ-AUG-throw-3P

kā=n bai i rama pas du-e [ASB71]

PROG=3P 3S.IOOD 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-poséd 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).

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’ “.
'These children were going in the direction of that pear picker – the same man whose pears this boy had stolen.'

'Carry off my timber in such a way that you don’t allow a speck of dust to remain here.'

'The third time he climbed the tree, a child had come along.'

'Hală 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). 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

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). 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=om=e*  *gola=i*  *merd*  *pe-s-e*  *du-un=ku*  *x=oc*
saw=1S=TR  CL=IND  man  PVB-went.up-3S  tree-P=LOC  pear

---

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.
"bo-con-o [AMP1]

sai-pick-3s

'I saw a man went up some trees in order to pick pears.'

(716) vind = aš = e buğavin-ə sa ğol = e, vin-ə-ni [ANP19]
saw=3s=TR gardener-OB head hot=COP.3s see-3s-NEG

'The saw that the gardener is busy (lit. his head is hot), that he does not notice.'

(717) ki to 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 ōnta 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 = aš = 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 vind = o 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 no-b-in ki am âmbu
3p know=LOC NEG-was-3p COMP DEMP pear

dozdi-anin = e [ANP13]
stolen-NEC=COP.3s

'They were not aware that these pears are stolen.'
‘It is in my memory that I was going to the desert with my grandfather.’

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* is used for both knowing (finite verb in complement clause) and ability (infinitive in complement clause):

Our father did not know (how) to earn money like that.’

I was not able to reach (i.e. catch) them.’

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) boż ke ne-šā hard-e vašt-e ne-šā.
goat REL NEG-can.3S eat-INF jump-INF NEG-can.3S
gusand=ni ne-šā hard-en vašt-e ne-šā [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) boż-o pi-a sava āu āmbü pe-gat-o [ANP11]
goat-OB want-3S basket there pear PVB.SBI-pick.up-3S

'The goat wanted to pick up a pear from the basket there.'

(730) a-pi=iš=b-a ki oštan amu kola bo-bar-u vali
AUG-want=3S=AUX-3S COMP self uncle girl SBJ-take-3S but
cimi amu n-a-pi=b-a oštan kola bo-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) pādošā kola=šun ba-pist-i bo-dar-un bamana.
king daughter=3S PRS-want-3S SBJ-give-3P to.me
vali mon 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) əştan  ka = rə  xâ-i  bə-ş-iste  [MPS30]
self  house=for  want-IMPF.3S  SBJ-go-IMPF.3S

‘He was wanting to go to his house.’

(733) ə de = şun  n-aşt = 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) ciimi  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  PVBJ-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  PVBJ-picked.up=TR  COMP  for.himself  SBJ-eat-3S

‘He picked one of them up to eat it.’

(738) av-ə  mân  nafin  kârd = e  ki  bə-ma-m  [AnVP]
3S-OBS  1S.OBS  curse  did=TR  COMP  SBJ-die-1S

‘He cursed me that I might die.’
I invited him to come.’

‘There is no solution but that we go.’

‘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:

‘Instead of taking (him) to the forest, ... he threw (him) into the sea.’

‘In order to become big, you must eat food.’

Verbs expressing shame all take a subjunctive verb in the complement clause:

‘They are ashamed in themselves to speak their own language.’
(745) əm-i=ni əm-i=xajəlat get=a əm-i=xajəlat 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) buğavūn-ə xajulat kaš=a bavun bo-vut-ə
gardener-OB shame drew=TR 3P.IOO SBJ=say-3S
əm âmbu=nə kurāi vārd=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 co da-kar-ə [MSG]
NEG-know-3S what? PVB=pour-3S
‘He does not know what to pour in.’

(748) pir-a ženak sob-i co kar-ə zum-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); hanta ‘so’ to introduce result clauses (751) and (752); agamcə for concessive ‘although’ (753); bubu ‘may it be’ (754); and bi ‘must’ (755) (see also basi ‘must’ in (743) above):
‘It is certain that this year’s summer will not be warm.’

‘As for these pears it is possible that someone else stole them.’

‘So in fact has snow fallen that it has filled the trees and hollows.’

‘So eat me that one drop of blood does not fall.’

‘Although his house is very far, nonetheless I invited him to come.’

‘Would that a man were hidden in this corner!’

‘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.\footnote{126 The Jokandān Pear Story (JOP10) yields the example \textit{mašğul = e ba do = da xoč ci-e} \textit{busy = COP.3s to tree = LOC pear pick = INF} ‘He is busy picking pears in the tree.’} In example (756), the result of the first clause is expressed with the preposition \textit{ba} ‘with’ and an infinitive verb. The remaining examples (757) to (760) express purpose, typically with the case clitic \textit{=ru/rā} ‘for’ modifying the whole (non-finite) verb phrase.

(756) \begin{align*}
\text{sa=} & \text{š} & \text{gāl} & \text{bo} & \text{ba} & \text{aštān} & \text{āmbū} & \text{con-e} & \text{[ANP16]} \\
\text{head=} & \text{3s} & \text{hot} & \text{was} & \text{3s} & \text{with} & \text{self} & \text{pear} & \text{pick-INF}
\end{align*}

‘He was busy (lit. his head was hot) with his pear picking.’

(757) \begin{align*}
\text{sāngavasa} & \text{ki} & \text{ka} & \text{ṣ-e} & \text{vāxt} & \text{bo} & \text{[ANR32]} \\
\text{dusk} & \text{COMP} & \text{house} & \text{go-INF} & \text{time} & \text{was} & \text{3s}
\end{align*}

‘At dusk, which was the time to go home.’

(758) \begin{align*}
\text{āš-i} & \text{pat-e = rā} & \text{cō} & \text{a-kar-in?} & \text{[ASM]} \\
\text{stew-OB} & \text{cook-INF = for} & \text{what} & \text{AUG-do-IMPF.3p}
\end{align*}

‘In order to cook the stew, what were they doing?’

(759) \begin{align*}
\text{ā-guard-i = rā} & \text{pe-nu = a} & \text{[ASA]} \\
\text{PVB-return-INF-OB = for} & \text{PVB-put = TR}
\end{align*}

‘We’ve put (it there) for (our) return.’

(760) \begin{align*}
\text{cavə} & \text{vind-e = ru = y} & \text{uma = na} & \text{[AnVP]} \\
\text{POSSD.3s} & \text{see-INF = for} & \text{3s} & \text{come = LOC}
\end{align*}

‘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) \begin{align*}
\text{a} & \text{tasnim} & \text{dār-i} & \text{a-i} & \text{bi-vin-i} & \text{[MaVP]} \\
\text{3s} & \text{decision} & \text{has-IMPF.3s} & \text{3s-OB} & \text{SBJ-see-IMPF.3s}
\end{align*}

‘He was intending to see him.’

All three dialects may employ a nominalized infinitival phrase in object position:
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) boz u gusand əštə = rā həndi hamrə = inâ [MSG]
goose and sheep self=for each other companion=COP.PST.3P

‘The goat and the sheep were companions for each other.’

(764) dār u ducun = əs pur ə-kard = a [MSG]
tree and foliage=3s full PVB-cause.be=TR

‘(The snow) has filled up the trees and the foliage.’

(765) rais əštən 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 ġab gil-i o āv-i = na saxt = 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 əštən dada u piadada = ru sərd uv

AUG-go-IMPF.1S self father and grandfather=for cold water

AUG-bring-IMPF.1S

‘I was going to bring cold water for my father and grandfather.’

(768) səḥəb = e sərvət o zəndeği 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 so-b-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 lázem=a [AsNP] & AN/M
eat-INF each man-OB=for need=COP.3S

‘All men need to eat.’

(772) haf xo-muxosravi pul ha cem-a sar-i=ku
7 Khosravi money SAMED spring-LNK head-OB=LOC
i-la sâng-a göla bôn-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 ści=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 sor-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=ə [AnVP]
3s very thirsty=COP.3s

‘He is very thirsty.’

Prepositional phrases can also modify adjectives:

(778) az aštə dast-i=kā xaili asebəni=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) umidavər bo-b-am ki a b-uma=ə [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 gola mersd [AsNP] & AN/M
three CL man
'Three men.'

(781) om se gola lira. vâ ne, vâ om da gola [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) om i ceka xun [MSS40]
DEMP one drop blood
'This one drop of blood ...'

(783) i-la a-xun-a xordan [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) camu se cûr 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-PO one-CL=Cop.3P
'Their voices are one (i.e. the same).'

(787) sabad-e i-la kam=in [ASP24]
basket-PO 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 =get=ər=ə? [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 do 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 =əş=e i do vind =əş=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 =kā in (792)):

(791) se goła cavo 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) man bamun =kā can nafar vind =a [AsNP]

15.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 goła =m bɔva 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 ̣gol=əs ̣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=ʃ kina vind=e ̣[ANP21]
a-CL=3S girl saw=TR

‘He saw a girl.’

(796) se ̣gola=ʃ bəvɨn ̣ámbu ̣du ̣[ANP32]128
3 CL=3S 3P.IOD pear gave=TR

‘He gave them three pears.’

(797) mə=ru ̣i-la=n ka hest=e ̣[AnNP]
1s.OB=for a-CL=also house exist=COP.3s

‘I have another house.’

(798) màn can ̣gola ̣bəɾəngə ̣vind=a, ̣i-la=m yāl 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) da ̣gola vayu hest b-a, ̣da ̣gola=ʃ=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 ̣gola=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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Asalemi</th>
<th>Anbarani</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-la karg bamon bɔda</td>
<td>i-la bamän kāg bɔda.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-CL chicken to.me give!</td>
<td>a-CL to.me chicken give!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Give me a chicken!’
b. a-i se gla diar kibrit = ani pe-gat = a [AsNP]
3s-0B 3 CL other match=also PVB-took=TR

c. a se gola kerbit = e digar pi-get = zš = a [MaNP]
3s 3 CL match=EZ other PVB-took=3s=TR

‘He took three more matches.’

(801) se cür gola zambil = am cind-a = š = å [MPS10]
3 4 CL basket=also picked-PTC=3s=AUX.3s

‘He had also picked three or four baskets.’

In Masali, the classifier gola 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 xəəmuxosravi pul ha cem-a sar-i = ku
7 Khosravi money SAMED spring-LNK head-OB=LOC
i-la søng-a gola bon-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 ozgar-a gola bu-m [MSS98]
1s SAMED splinter-LNK CL was-1s

‘I was that very splinter.’

(804) har i i-la golābi 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 do gola 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 gola=m barangâ 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 gola=i miva vi-gâ=vi** [AsNP]
    a some CL=IND fruit PVB-fell-3s

    ‘A few fruit fell down.’

(808) **av-ə cân gola miva hâ** [AnNP]
    3s-OB some CL fruit ate.TR

    ‘He ate some fruit.’

(809) **mânə cân gola 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:


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=aš=an i dâst=anda gat-a=ba** [ANP9]
    POSSD.3S horn=3S=also one hand=LOC got-PTC=AUX.3S
'He had grasped its horns with one hand.'

(812) *dumla=kâ sm tele-mun yand=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) *cc 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 gola ca xɔc=da*

to each-one=IND=3s CL POSSD.3s pear=LOC

*bo-du* [AMP8]
PST-gave.TR

‘He gave one of his pears to each one.’

(817) *har i i gola golâbi â-du=š=a* [MPS35]

each one a CL pear PVB-gave=3s=TR
‘To each one he gave one pear.’

(818) \textit{tež \textit{zambil-un = ku = š}  \textit{gōla = i bo-dazdi} [AMP6]}
\textit{fast basket-P=LOC=3S CL=IND PST-stole.TR}

‘Quickly he stole one (of the pears) from the baskets.’

(819) \textit{bavə = ru  \textit{āsp = anda} bu a-kōn-im [ANR10]}
\textit{3S.IOD=for horse=LOC load AUG-carry-IMPF.1S}

‘For him I was transporting a load by horse.’

(820) \textit{i-la \textit{merd = ani} i-la boz-i sar-i = kā  \textit{lāfond = oš} da-kard-a [ASP9]}
\textit{a-CL man=also a-CL goat-OB head-OB=LOC rope=3S 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) \textit{(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) 
\[ \text{VARG cama kula har-ə yə} \quad \text{XORS cama kula har-ə} \quad [\text{MSG}] \]  
\[ \text{wolf POSS.1P young eat-3s or bear POSS.1P young eat-3s} \]  

‘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) 
\[ \text{belaxarə ošta=rə yə̂=ku mun-U} \quad [\text{MSG}] \]  
\[ \text{finally self=for there=LOC stay-3s} \]  

‘In the end, she stays there.’

(827) 
\[ \text{am-e iä MAND=in a šav-i=rä} \quad [\text{ASB26}] \]  
\[ \text{3-P here stayed=3P DEMR night-OB=for} \]  

‘They stayed here that night.’

(828) 
\[ \text{am-i PE [MCB]} \]  
\[ \text{3S-OB cook.3S} \]  

‘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) 
\[ \text{do gola vaRA kar-ə. do gola vaRA a-i=rä b-u} \quad [\text{MSG}] \]  
\[ \text{2 CL lamb do-3S 2 CL lamb 3S-OB=for be-3S} \]  

‘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”:  

229
(830) \( \text{BoZ vā ko GUsand jān, bar-I ma=rā å-ka [MSG]} \)

\( \text{goat says COMP sheep dear door-OB 1S.OB=for PV8-open!} \)

'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) \( \text{az i ŠART=i šama pe-na=m [MSG]} \)

\( \text{1s a test=IND 2p PV8-put=1s} \)

'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) \( \text{barka PUL =i əm-i å-da [MCB]} \)

\( \text{much money=IND 3S-OB PV8-hand.over.3S} \)

‘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) \( \text{əm-en šu-n janGAL [MSG]} \)

\( \text{3-p go-3p forest} \)

‘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) \( \text{i BoZ=i b-u, i guSAND=i [MSG]} \)

\( \text{a goat=IND is-3S a sheep=IND} \)
‘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) \( i-la \) \( MUŠ \) \( yâ \) \( gard-\o \)  
\( a-\text{CL} \) \( \text{mouse here go-3s} \)  
‘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 \( i \ nafâr \) ‘a person’ refers):

(836) \( \text{om xol-} 0 ku i nafâr bar-\o-a \)  
\( \text{DEMP cave=LOC a person PVB-came.in-3s} \)  
‘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) \( \text{âğâ to } KL=\text{sun? to iâ CI=\$ ba-kard?} \)  
\( \text{mister 2s who?=2s129 2s here what?=2s PRS-do} \)  
‘Mister, who are you? What are you doing here?’

(838) \( \text{viša dela=kâ HAR kas=i ki kisa dela=kâ darafan-un} \)  
\( \text{forest in=LOC any one=IND REL sack in=LOC throw-3p} \)  
‘In the forest, anyone they throw into a sack …’

(839) \( \text{HAR kas=i om-i hard=\o a a RÂST vâ} \)  
\( \text{any one=IND DEMP-OB ate=TR 3s truth speak.3s} \)  
‘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

129 The second person singular copula is \( =\text{i}\$ \); 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
to 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) ãm-i daraFAND=a ãm 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 ġadim vâ-n âsiÅB [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 POSS.3P head mercy-OB god POSS.1P head

‘The black stone on their head, God’s mercy on our head.’

(844) DƏ g̃ola ãmsfâ hest-e
2 CL then exist-3S.PST
bape mə=râ SE g̃ola safâ 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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(845)} & \quad 
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{pis-}I & \text{naḡ}l=i & \text{š}a\text{ma}=rå & \text{ba-våt}=\text{im} \\
\text{baldy-OB} & \text{story=IND} & 2P=\text{for} & \text{PRS-say}=1S
\end{array} \\
& \quad \text{‘I’ll tell you a story about a baldy. (As opposed to some other kind of story.)’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(846)} & \quad 
\begin{array}{cccc}
MƏN & \text{bø-bar-un} \\
1S & \text{SBJ-take-3S}
\end{array} \\
& \quad \text{‘Let them take me!’}
\end{align*}
\]

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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(847)} & \quad 
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{darafand}=\text{š}=a & \text{dar}YÅ & \text{del}=kå \\
\text{threw}=3S=\text{TR} & \text{sea} & \text{in}=\text{LOC}
\end{array} \\
& \quad \text{‘(Instead of leaving him in the forest) he threw (him) into the sea.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(848)} & \quad 
\begin{array}{cccc}
kår=a & \text{ka} & \text{gil}=\text{I} & \text{bard}=\text{e} & \text{avaz} & \text{kard}=\text{e} & \text{teLE}=\text{na} \\
\text{PROG}=3S & \text{house} & \text{mud-OB take-INF change do-INF gold=with}
\end{array} \\
& \quad \text{‘He’s taking house-rubble and exchanging it for gold.’}
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(849)} & \quad 
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{ham} & \text{pas-}E & \text{ca}=rå & \text{mand}=\text{in} \\
\text{both} & \text{sheep-P POSSD.3S=for} & \text{remained-3P}
\end{array} \\
& \quad \text{ham} & \text{a} & \text{teLE}=\text{ye} & \text{ca}=rå & \text{mand}=\text{in} \\
& \quad \text{both} & \text{DEMP} & \text{gold-P POSSD.3S=for} & \text{remained-3P}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ham} & \quad 
\begin{array}{cccc}
a & \text{ka} & \text{amu} & \text{kəLA}=\ddot{s} & \text{bard}=\text{a} \\
\text{both} & \text{DEMP=also} & \text{COMP uncle daughter=3S took=TR}
\end{array}
\end{align*}
\]
u amu serVAT bai da-rast-a [ASB79]

and uncle wealth 3s.100 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) _am ānbu=na kurāi vārd=a? [ANP37]

DEMP pear=2P whence? brought=TR

'These pears, where have you brought (them) from?'

(851) _am xordan-en=ni dar-a-kar-in camun=rā=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) cmau kula to 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 *kəmən kina* ‘my daughter’ is the sentence topic, and appears in Left-Detached Position:

(853)  cəmən kina, əm-i belaxơra rec ə-kard-a =s=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 bo-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  boland-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 āma, ko 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 nā-ā-kar-ə
goat POSSP.3S word-OB listen neg-PVB-do-3S
əm ašta=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, didn’t see him, this pear orchard owner.’

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-throw.in=3P=TR same 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-Delfrooz (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 ădam = i zād ‘a human being’ is by far the most salient part of the utterance:

\[(861) \ ădam = i \quad zād \quad bo-\text{mas-}ö \quad cōmān \quad luā \quad [MCB] \]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{man=IND} & \text{born} & SBJ-hear-3S & \text{POSS.1S speaking}
\end{array}
\]

‘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:

\[(862) \ ha=rā \quad dara\text{fand-a=šun=a} \quad mān \quad am \quad kīsā \ delā=kā \quad [ASB58] \]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{SAMED=for} & \text{threw-PTC=3P=TR} & 1S.OB & \text{DEMP bag in=LOC}
\end{array}
\]

‘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.

\[(863) \ au \quad yā \quad \text{mand-a} \quad \text{kas=i} \quad [MCB] \]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{oh!} & \text{here remain-3s someone=IND}
\end{array}
\]

‘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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POINT OF DEPARTURE</th>
<th>TOPIC</th>
<th>COMMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“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)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some examples of situational PoDs are set out below.

In the first example, ı rūž ‘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):

\[(864) \quad i \quad rüž \quad /\quad i-la \quad buğavün \quad aştan \quad ânbu-a \quad du \quad sa=ku\]
\[\text{one} \quad \text{day} \quad \text{a-CL} \quad \text{gardener} \quad \text{self} \quad \text{pear-LNK} \quad \text{tree} \quad \text{top=LOC}\]
\[\text{sərd=} \text{anda} \quad \text{be-š-a=} \text{bo} \quad [\text{ANP2}]\]
\[\text{ladder=LOC} \quad \text{PST-go-PTC=AUX.3S}\]

‘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:

\[(865) \quad cušt-a \quad vâxt=anda \quad must=anda \quad udu \quad tümü \quad a-k-im [\text{ANR15}]\]
\[\text{lunch-LNK} \quad \text{time=LOC} \quad \text{yoghurt=LOC} \quad \text{dugh} \quad \text{prepare} \quad \text{AUG-do-IMPF.1P}\]

‘At lunchtime, we used to prepare dugh using yoghurt.’

Two constituents may combine in this position:

\[(866) \quad âxər \quad i \quad ruz=i \quad \text{am} \quad \text{amu} \quad \text{cimi} \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{ârâ} \quad \text{ža} \quad [\text{ASB9}]\]
\[\text{finally} \quad \text{one} \quad \text{day=} \text{IND} \quad \text{DEMP} \quad \text{uncle} \quad \text{POSSP.3S} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{fire} \quad \text{hit.TR}\]

‘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:

\[(867) \quad kulaš=anda \quad // \quad \text{cama=ru} \quad \text{buğ} \quad \text{kaju} \quad \text{kâfšan=} \text{anda} \quad \text{hi} \quad //\]
\[\text{Kulash=LOC} \quad \text{POSS.1P=} \text{for} \quad \text{gardener} \quad \text{yard} \quad \text{desert=LOC} \quad \text{field}\]
\[\text{väi-a} \quad \text{vora=} \text{miün} \quad \text{hest-e} \quad [\text{ANR8}]\]
\[\text{much-LNK} \quad \text{land=} \text{1P} \quad \text{exist-PST.3S}\]

‘In Kulash, we had a garden, a yard, a field in the desert; we had lots of land.’

\[(868) \quad a \quad \text{var-i=} \text{kâ=} \text{ni} \quad \text{i-la} \quad \text{javân-a} \quad \text{zua=} \text{i} \quad ... \quad \text{uma} \quad [\text{ASP10}]\]
\[\text{DEMR} \quad \text{side-OB=} \text{LOC=} \text{also} \quad \text{a-CL} \quad \text{young-LNK} \quad \text{boy=} \text{IND} \quad \text{came.3S}\]

‘From that direction, a young boy ... came.’

Temporal and locational PoDs may also combine in the same sentence:

\[(869) \quad \text{am} \quad \text{rüž-iün} \quad \text{tulaš=} \text{anda} \quad \text{udam=} \text{un} \quad ... \quad \text{fursi=} \text{n} \quad \text{gap} \quad \text{ža=} \text{na} \quad [\text{ANR41}]\]
\[\text{DEMP} \quad \text{day-P} \quad \text{Talesh=} \text{LOC} \quad \text{man-P} \quad \text{Farsi=} \text{3P} \quad \text{speech} \quad \text{hit=} \text{LOC}\]

‘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) əmsaľa  hərdan-en diumlə =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-ı  əm-en  šu-n  [MSG]
later  morning-OB  DEMP-P  go-3P

‘Next: in the morning, they go.’

In particular, the connective bad(ən)’next’ may be used in a chain of events to signal each new development:

(872)  bad  uma  u  dər-i  taki=ku  vir-m-a
next  came.3s  and  tree-OB  next=LOC  PVB-came.down-3s
badan  carx =əš =na  ā-kard =a  läkənd =əš =a
next  bike=3s=with  PVB-let.go=TR  dropped=3s=TR
bad  əš-a  u  əš-a  goləbi  bo-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  angol  ce  mu  yə = 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 belaxarə ‘finally’ and xoləsa ‘in short’ all occur frequently in the left periphery:
‘Finally they go and bleat in the courtyard; in the end, what a headache!’

‘To sum up: this man’s daughter gets healed.’

Finally, mavā ‘lit. don’t say’ is used to introduce a new plot development in Masali, as shown in the following two examples:

‘However, he forgot his hat.’

‘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):

‘He went down.’

‘He poured (them) into the basket.’

‘He went 35.PST to-self road’
'They went on their way.'

(881) i-la gada zu a davârdi = na = bə diucarxa = nda [ANP17]

a-CL small boy pass.by=LOC=AUX.3s bicycle=LOC

'A small boy was passing on a bicycle.'

(882) hom-en i ruz = i šu-n jangal tāra 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) am uma do martsba [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) badaz || ŋadar = 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) be = ni šu hata [MSG]

go=also go.3s like.that

'The goat also goes like that.'

(888) š-ina aštān ka = râ be.estelâ [MPS48]

went-3P self house=for so.to.speak

'They headed for their house, so to speak.'

(889) amu ersdâr = ā 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 haftâd gola lira hom cat-a
mouse=also 70 CL coin SAME.P ROCK-LNK
xâl-i=ku dâr-om [MCB]
cave-OB=LOC have-1s
‘Then the mouse says: “I have 70 coins in this very cave!”’

(891) âxâxâx om xâl-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) om âšmâš =ašun hard=in.
DEMP stew=3P ate=TR.P
dur az majlis om=ašun 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]

\(\text{there a person exist=}\text{COP.3s}\)

‘There is someone there.’

(896) \(əštə\ sar-i=kâ\ asbəj=a\ hest\) [ASA]

\(\text{POSS.2s head-OB=LOC louse=}\text{COP.3s exist}\)

‘There are lice on your head!’

(897) \(ca=râ\ ġast\ hest=a\ b-ā\) [AsVP]

\(\text{POSSD.3s=for intention exist=}\text{COP.3s SBJ-come.3s}\)

‘He intends to come.’

(898) \(agar\ i-tka=š\ pūl\ hest\ bə\ a-vu-i\) [AnVP]

\(\text{if a-bit=}3\text{s money exist be.3s AUG-come-IMPF.3s}\)

‘If he’d had some money he would have come.’

(899) \(cai\ pâ\ yara=ya/\ pâ\ sar-i=kâ=š\)

\(\text{POSSD.3s foot wound=}\text{COP.3s foot end-OB=LOC=3s}\)

\(\text{yara hest=}a\) [AsVP]

\(\text{wound exist=}3\text{s}\)

‘His foot is wounded.’

(900) \(iâ\ rama=i\ dari=a\) [MBB]

\(\text{here flock=IND exist=}\text{COP.3s}\)

‘There is a flock here.’

The following example involves an external possessor construction with \(=râ:\)

(901) \(a\ ġadim-a\ bun-un=râ\ banja\ b-a\ hest\) [ASM]

\(\text{DEMD old- LNK roof-OB.P=for window was-3s exist}\)

‘Those old roofs had windows.’

Copula with relative clause (note second copula on ‘loud’):
(902) a merd = i = a ki boland = 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 xordan = i = a [AsNP]

other child = IND = COP.3S

‘It is another child.’

(904) az ni = mâ como baravrzâ = 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 asobâni = a [MaVP]

chief angry = COP.3S

‘The chief is angry.’

(906) monken = a kas = e digar = aš 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 mašqul = 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 golâ bôva 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 = ast NEG = COP.3S may be reanalysed as a negative copula.
‘There were six brothers, one sister.’

(910)  
\[
\begin{align*}
& i & bæz = i & b-u, & i & gusand = i \quad [MSG] \\
& a & \text{goat}=\text{IND} & \text{be-3S} & a & \text{sheep}=\text{IND} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘(Once) there was a goat (and) a sheep.’

(911)  
\[
\begin{align*}
& az & \text{bu-bu-}\text{m} & a & \text{kina} \quad [MSG] \\
& 1s & \text{SBJ-}\text{be-1.S} & \text{DEMD} & \text{girl} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Let it be just me and that girl.’

(912)  
\[
\begin{align*}
& șət & \text{bar} & \text{gun}=a, & \text{alaf} & \text{bar} & \text{duš} \quad [MSG] \\
& \text{milk} & \text{upon} & \text{udder}=\text{COP.3S} & \text{grass} & \text{upon} & \text{shoulder} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘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 ăyă is sometimes borrowed in clause initial position:¹³¹

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.
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 = i  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  fôkâr  kard-c (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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Anbarani</th>
<th>Asalemi</th>
<th>Masali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>who?</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td>cə</td>
<td>ce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what?</td>
<td>cə</td>
<td>cə</td>
<td>ce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what thing?</td>
<td>cic</td>
<td>cici</td>
<td>ce ciz = i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>how?</td>
<td>cəjur</td>
<td>cətar</td>
<td>cəjur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which?</td>
<td>ku i-la</td>
<td>kəram-la</td>
<td>kam i-la</td>
</tr>
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<td>where? whence?</td>
<td>kurâ=u</td>
<td>kiā</td>
<td>kā=ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whither? to where?</td>
<td>kura</td>
<td>kiā</td>
<td>kā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>how many?</td>
<td>cân gola</td>
<td>cân gola</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>why?</td>
<td>cəru</td>
<td>cərā</td>
<td>cerā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>when?</td>
<td>keni</td>
<td>kaini</td>
<td>kai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The examples below demonstrate that sentences in the interrogative mood follow the default constituent order of SOV (“interrogative in situ”):

(917) \textit{ki} \textit{bato} an \textit{dii} du? [AnVP]

who? 2S.IO DEMP buttermilk gave.TR

‘Who gave you this buttermilk?’

(918) \textit{an} \textit{do-gola=ku} kam i-la \textit{xâ-i}? [MaVP]

DEMP two-CL=LOC which? one-CL want-2S

‘Which one of these two do you want?’

(919) \textit{mala=kâ=r} \textit{ki} \textit{vind=a}? [AsVP]

village=LOC=2S who? saw=TR

‘Whom did you see in the village?’

(920) cə \textit{bo-ka-m}? [AsVP]

what? SBJ-do-1S

‘What shall I do?’

(921) a \textit{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) \( x\text{rs}-i=k\text{â} \quad bi-r\text{vic}^{132} \quad [\text{AsVP}] \)

bear-OB=LOC    IMP-run

‘Run from the bear!’

(923) \( basi \quad x\text{rs}-i=k\text{â} \quad bi-r\text{vij-\text{@m}} \quad [\text{AsVP}] \)

must  bear-OB=LOC  SBJ-run-1S

‘I must run from the bear.’

(924) \( b-arz \quad bu-xun-u. \quad m-arz \quad bu-xun-u \quad [\text{AsVP}] \)

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 \( vute/vîte \) ‘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 \( k\text{i}/k\text{i}/k\text{ke} \) may optionally be used, though in Anbarani it much more commonly marks indirect speech, and is omitted when speech is direct.\(^{134}\)

(925) \( com\text{an} \quad b\text{ova} \quad vu=na=y\text{@} \quad ki \quad nuxa\text{\=e}=e \quad [\text{AnVP}] \)

POSS.1S  brother say=LOC=3S  COMP  sick=COP.3S

‘My brother says that he is sick.’

(926) \( rais \quad vu=na=y\text{@} \quad h\text{rs-\text{@}o}=ku \quad b\text{o-tol}! \quad [\text{AnVP}] \)

chief  say=LOC=3S  bear-OB=LOC  IMP-run

‘The chief says, “Run away from the bear!” ’

The default speech verb \( vîte \) 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

\(^{132}\) Or \text{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):  

\[(927)\quad a-vät-i \quad ba \quad üw-ään \quad dàst \quad ma-žan \quad [ANR21]\]

AUG-say-IMPF.3s to egg-P hand PHB-touch

‘He was saying “Do not touch the eggs!”’

\[(928)\quad vät=uish=a \quad ki \quad ama \quad de \quad bə-š-am \quad [ASA10]\]

said=3P=TR COMP 1P anyway SBJ-go-1P

‘They said: “As for us, let’s go.”’

\[(929)\quad pis-i=râ \quad asabâni \quad b-a \quad u \quad fələn\]

baldy-OB=for angry was-3s and so.on

\[(930)\quad daraʃand-a = ʒun = a \quad əm \quad kisa \quad dela = kâ\]

threw-PTC=3P=TR DEMP sack in=LOC

\[(931)\quad fikr \quad kar-ɔ \quad golâbi-a \quad zambil \quad cə \quad b-a? \quad [MPS41]\]

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’).

\[(932)\quad a-i \quad vät=a \quad ki \quad (əštə = râ = ni) \quad b-uma = y \quad [AsVP]\]

3S-OB said=TR COMP self=for=also PRS-come=3s

\[(933)\quad darafand-a = ʒun = a \quad əm \quad kisa \quad dela = kâ\]

threw-PTC=3P=TR DEMP sack in=LOC

\[(934)\quad fikr \quad kar-ɔ \quad golâbi-a \quad zambil \quad cə \quad b-a? \quad [MPS41]\]

thought do-3s pear-LNK basket what was-3s

‘He thinks: “What happened to the pear basket?”’

\[135\text{ Farrell (2008, p.13) observes this phenomenon in Balochi and takes it as evidence that } ki \text{ is serving as a marker of interpretive use.}\]
‘He said that he was going to come.’

(933)  
\[ a \cdot a-i \ vât=a \ ki \ a-pi=s=b-a \ b-â \ [AsVP] \]

\[ 3S-OB \ said=TR \ COMP \ AUG-want=3S=AUX-3S \ SBJ\text{-}come.3S \]

‘He said that he wanted to come.’

(934)  
\[ b \cdot a-i \ vât=a \ ki \ a-i=ni \ a-pi-b-a \ b-â \ [AsVP] \]

\[ 3S-OB \ said=TR \ COMP \ 3S-OB=also \ AUG\text{-}want=AUX-3S \ SBJ\text{-}come.3S \]

‘He said that he 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)  
\[ ma-vâ \ aštan \ kolâ \ vir=ôš \ ô-š-a \ [MPS31] \]

\[ PHB\text{-}say \ self \ hat \ memory=3S \ PVB\text{-}went-3S \]

‘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)  
\[ badaz \ vâ \ ašpa=i \ atia \ davendi=a, \ i \ gurba=i=ni \]

\[ later \ say \ dog=IND \ there \ tied=COP.3S \ a \ cat=IND=also \]

\[ atia \ davendi=a. \ vâ \ âm-un \ cerâ \ atia \ davendi=a? \ vâ \ âm-un \]

\[ there \ tied=COP.3S \ say \ 3-P \ why \ there \ tied=COP.3S \ say \ 3-P \]

\[ sar \ â-bor-am \ de. \ cerâ? \ pâdšâ \ zua \ arusi=a \ [MBB] \]

\[ head \ PVB\text{-}SBJ\text{-}cut\text{-}off\text{-}1P \ anyway \ why \ king \ son \ wedding=COP.3S \]

‘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 \textit{age} ‘if’. Meanwhile Miller (1953, p.215) comments that the use of conjunction \textit{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.

250
In our corpus, no examples of an explicit conjunction for ‘if’ were found in Anbarani and Asalemi texts, and only three in Masali. 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) \( \text{agar} \ \text{har} \ \text{kas} = i \ \text{am} \ \text{šart-i} \ \text{bard} = a, \ a \ \text{rāst} \)

\[ \text{if any} \ \text{CL=IND} \ \text{DEMP} \ \text{condition-OB} \ \text{carried=TR} \ \text{DEMR} \ \text{true} \]

\[ \text{vā} \ [\text{MSG}] \]

‘says.3s

‘Anyone who passes this challenge speaks the truth.’

(937) \( \text{agar} \ \text{ha} = nī \ a = ku \ \text{bu-mun-iste} \ \text{vā-i} \ [\text{MPS45}] \)

\[ \text{if} \ \text{SAMED=also} \ \text{DEMD=LOC} \ \text{SBJ-stay-IMPF.3s say-IMPF.3s} \]

‘Whereas if that same person had been coming from the other direction, he would have said ...’

(938) \( \text{borā} \ \text{varg} \ \text{agar} \ \text{zemestun} \ \text{dar-ma}, \)

\[ \text{brother wolf} \ \text{if} \ \text{winter} \ \text{PVB-come.in.3s} \]

\[ \text{zemestun-i} \ \text{nahār} \ \text{bahār} = a \ [\text{MSG}] \]

\[ \text{winter-OB} \ \text{lunchtime} \ \text{spring=3s} \]

‘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) \( \text{ti-a} \ \text{tā} \ \text{ā-du-ra} \ \text{ā-du-ra}, \)

\[ \text{thorn-LNK} \ \text{CL} \ \text{PVB-give=2S} \ \text{PVB-give=2S} \]

\( ^{136} \) 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 hom 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 ḫspa bɔ-kəš-ə ... a kina rec ā-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 bond-i=na sâz-i diâra xaili farğ 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=yo
although house=3S very far-LNK way=3S

vali mon dauvat 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 ıā? [ASB41]
as.if clay-OB PRS-buy=3P here
6.11.6 Predicative possessor constructions

In Anbarani and Asalemi, the verb *hest* ‘to exist’ is used alongside the possessum as subject and the possessor either with =*rā* or expressed as a pronominal clitic (see §3.5 for more on possession). This is shown in the examples below:

(946) *mā =rā* dīar *kā =ni hest = a* [AsNP]

1S.0B=for another house=also exist=3s

‘I have another house too.’ (Lit.: ‘For me another house also existing is.’)

(947) *i-la kāla = m hest = a* [ASM]

a-CL girl=1s exist=3s

‘I have a daughter.’

(948) *kulaš = anda // cama = ru buğ kaju kāfšan = anda hi //*

Kulash=LOC POSS.1P=for garden yard desert=LOC field

*vɔi-a vɔra = mı̄n 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 *dār* ‘to have’ (cognate with Persian *dāštan*) is sometimes employed in stem-II only. 137 For example:

(949) *zua dār - iste, nava dār - iste* [MSS106-107]

son have=IMPF.3s grandchild have=IMPF.3s

‘She had a son, she had a grandchild.’

---

137 In Shandermani texts two instances of stem-II *dāšte* were found (Tambal Ibrahim 51 and You Be Governor 39): *ama ašta = rā kārgar = i dāšt - a DEMP self=for worker=IND had-3s ‘She had her own worker’; and *dast = ašun dāšt = a hand=3P had=TR ‘they had a hand (in it)’.
‘I have another house.’

‘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)).

‘I don’t know more than that (to tell) you, anyway.’

‘I shall not give him milk.’

‘They did not know where his house was.’

‘It was not to be.’

The negative particle ne may also play a bisyndetic role. For example:

‘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

138 This is a light verb (compare Persian tars dāštan).
complement clause has scope over only its own clause ((958); contrast English ‘So that a thief would NOT come AND steal...’):

(957)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllllllll}
\text{cəmən} & \text{rafeq-i} & n-ašt = a & ki & nalat = i & \text{mən} \\
\text{POSS.1s} & \text{friend-ob} & \text{NEG-allowed=TR} & \text{COMP} & \text{snake=IND} & \text{1s.ob}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllllll}
\text{bə-gaz-u} & \text{[AsVP]} \\
\text{SBI-bite-3s}
\end{array}
\]

‘My friend did not allow a snake to bite me.’

(958)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllllllll}
\text{damand} = \text{in} & \text{negahbani} & du-e & ki & dəzd-e & n-ā-n \\
\text{PROG=3P} & \text{guard} & \text{give-INF} & \text{COMP} & \text{thief=p} & \text{NEG.SBI-come-3P}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllllll}
\text{cumun} & \text{kuja-mun} & nə-bar-un. & \text{[ASB27]} \\
\text{POSSP.3P} & \text{bag-OB.P} & \text{NEG.SBI-take-3P}
\end{array}
\]

‘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)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllllllll}
\text{hic} & \text{kas} & n\text{-a-š} & \text{[AsVP]} \\
\text{no} & \text{person} & \text{NEG-PRS-go}
\end{array}
\]

‘No one is going.’

(960)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllllllll}
\text{cumun} & \text{hic} & gola = i = mi & nə-vind = a & \text{[AsNP]} \\
\text{POSSD.3P} & \text{none} & \text{CL=IND=1s} & \text{NEG-saw=TR}
\end{array}
\]

‘I did not see any of them.’

(961)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllllllll}
\text{a-i} & \text{hic} & jagā = i & hard-e = rā & paidā & nə-kard = a & \text{[AsNP]} \\
\text{3s-OB} & \text{no} & \text{place=IND} & \text{eat-INF=for} & \text{find} & \text{NEG-did=TR}
\end{array}
\]

‘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 no-š-am [AsVP]
without-POSSP.3s NEG.IMP-go-1p
‘Let’s not go without him.’

(963) av be-püll uma [AnNP]
3s without-money came.3s
‘He came without the money.’

(964) az=ani bi-əštan gəla cai dumla əi-m [AsNP]
1s-also without-self CL POSS.3s after went-1s
‘I too went after him without mine.’

nā-xuš ‘not well, i.e. sick’ and nā-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 no-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 no-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:
Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns are anaphoric, indicating that the object is coreferential with the subject:

(969) ama aštan 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) aštan a-i dozdī-ā = 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 am 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

aštan sava = š cai āxor-i = kā pe-nu = a [AsNP]

self basket=3s POSS.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 belaxora rec ā-kard-ə = š = a,

POSS.1s daughter DEMP-OB finally heal PVB-caused-PTC=3s=TR

az pi-ger-əm əm-i bo-da-m. ger-ə da

1s PVB-take-1s DEMP-OB SBJ-give-1s take-3s give.3s
‘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 bo-š-u â-kar-∅, nâ-â-kar-∅. [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) to i meğdâr kârvar m∅ â-dai,
2S a bit worker 1S.0B PVB-give!
si cel gola šotur [MCB]
30 40 CL camel

‘You give me some workers, (and) 30-40 camels.’

(976) raqe = am aštân žen-i = na âma;
friend=1S self wife-0B=with came.3S
az = ani aštân gola = 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/kā 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 dər şərə dər-i=ku cək=a [Yarshater 1996, p.90]

P OSS.1s tree POSS.2s tree-OB=LOC good=COP.3s

'\'My tree is better than your tree.\'

\[(978)\] şərə bar çəmə bar-i-şi sər=a [MaNP]

POSS.2s door POSS.1s door-OB-CMPR red=COP.3s

'Your door is red like mine.'

\[(979)\] cimi=kə sovəi de şəma=rə=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 gola=n pe-gat=e [AnNP]

3s-08 three CL=also PVB-picked.up=TR

b. a-i se gla=ni pe-gat=a [AsNP] OR…

3s-08 three CL=also PVB-picked.up=TR

c. a-i diar se gla=ni pe-gat=a [AsNP]

3s-08 other three CL=also PVB-picked.up=TR

d. a se gola digar pi-get=əş=a [MaNP]

3s three CL other PVB-picked.up=3s=TR

'He picked up three more.'

Taleshi uses Persian harci (hārci in Anbarani) to form free relative clauses such as those shown in the following examples:
However much there was, we took it with us.'

In Talesh, whatever is Talesh is theirs.'

'However much of this stew stuff there was, they ate it.'

'However much you want, that much I'll do.'

'Whatever was in reach, he picked.'

Finally, example (986) demonstrates an equative construction involving juxtaposition of the two entities concerned:

'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 paroste ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taleshi</th>
<th>Default Meaning</th>
<th>Taleshi</th>
<th>Default Meaning</th>
<th>Taleshi</th>
<th>Default Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baste</td>
<td>close</td>
<td>garde</td>
<td>turn</td>
<td>našte</td>
<td>sit</td>
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<tr>
<td>be</td>
<td>be</td>
<td>gate</td>
<td>get</td>
<td>rase</td>
<td>arrive</td>
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<td>birde</td>
<td>cut</td>
<td>gonie</td>
<td>fall</td>
<td>še</td>
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<td>cinde</td>
<td>pick</td>
<td>karde</td>
<td>do</td>
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<td>due</td>
<td>give</td>
<td>mande</td>
<td>stand</td>
<td>xate</td>
<td>lie</td>
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<tr>
<td>fande</td>
<td>throw</td>
<td>nue</td>
<td>put</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Five preverbs may commonly be prefixed to these verbs: *pe-, vi-, da-, â- and ji*.

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:

1. **(987)**  
   
   \[\text{še} \quad \text{‘go’} \quad \text{peše} \quad \text{‘go up’}\]

2. **(988)**  
   
   \[\text{pe-š!} \quad [\text{ASM}]\]
   
   PV8.IMP-go.up.2s
   
   ‘Go upstairs!’

3. **(989)**  
   
   \[\text{dār-i=kū} \quad \text{pe-š-a} \quad [\text{MPS9}]\]
   
   tree-OB=LOC PV8-went.up-3s
   
   ‘He went up the tree.’

4. **(990)**  
   
   \[\text{nue} \quad \text{‘put’} \quad \text{penue} \quad \text{‘put up, set up, build up’}\]

5. **(991)**  
   
   \[\text{tandur-i=kā=šun} \quad āš \quad \text{pe-nu=a} \quad [\text{ASA}]\]
   
   oven-OB=LOC=3P stew PV8-put.on=TR
   
   ‘They put the stew upon the stove.’

6. **(992)**  
   
   \[\text{kəlā=š} \quad \text{pe-nu=a=b-a} \quad \text{sar-i=kā} \quad [\text{ASP10}]\]
   
   hat=3s PV8-put=TR=AUX-3s head-OB=LOC
   
   ‘He’d put a hat upon his head.’

7. **(993)**  
   
   \[\text{om} \quad \text{i} \quad \text{dafiā} \quad \text{ātāš} \quad \text{pe-na} \quad \text{talāš-i} \quad \text{pe-kar-ə} \quad [\text{MBB}]\]
   
   DEMP one time fire PV8-set.up.3s chip-OB PV8-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.
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: penošte ‘mount’ (a horse, lit. up-sit’), pesarnosté ‘tear up’, pelake ‘pounce upon’ (pe+ ‘fall’) and pecinde ‘select, hand-pick’ (pe+ pluck’).
(2000, p.22) and Miller (1953, p.136) relate the Northern Talysh equivalent ə- to Avestan adairi ‘down, under’, while Miller (ibid.) further notes the Middle Persian ər.

The preverb fi- in Gilaki appears to be an equivalent element. Rastorgueva (1971) gives the examples fukudon ‘drop, throw down, pour’ (cf. kudon ‘make’, and compare Taleshi vikarde ‘to pour’); fubostən/ fuvostən ‘come out, fall (of hair)’ (cf. boston ‘become’ and compare Taleshi vibe ‘to be spilt’); and futurkəstən ‘fall’ (compare Taleshi viganaste ‘to fall’).

Taleshi examples include:

(1000) še ‘go’ aše ‘go down’

(1001) tå haši a-š-ü [ANR33]
until sun PVB-SBJ-go.down-3s
‘... until the sun would set.’

(1002) ume ‘come’ virme ‘come down, dismount’

(1003) där-i=kå 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) gate ‘get’ vigate ‘take, extract; buy’

(1006) lala šm-i=ku vi-gər-ə [MBB]
flute him-OB=LOC PVB-take-3P
‘He takes the flute off him.’

(1007) nana=kå=š rəsti 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’

\((1010)\) āv cəmon 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), vigenəstə/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: do- (also sometimes dua-/də-). 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** **āxar-i=kā** **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, *dagārde* ‘crash (lit. into-go)’.

(1015) **našte** ‘sit’ **danošte** ‘sit astride’

(1016) **žen** **uveyna** **nā=nda** **našt-e** [AnNP]

woman mirror front=LOC sat-3s

‘The woman sat in front of the mirror.’

(1017) **asb-i** **da-našt-a** [AsNP]

horse-OB PVB-sat.astride-3s

‘He sat astride the horse.’

(1018) **lake/gənje** ‘fall’ **dalake/dagənje** ‘set off, pass’

(1019) **rā** **da-gənəst-a** [ASP13]

road PVB-set.off-3s

‘He set off.’

(1020) **se** **cār** **ruz** **da-lak-ən** [MBB]

3 4 day PVB-pass-3P

‘Three or four days pass.’

(1021) **əştan** **amu** **kəla=rā** **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 \textit{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’ 
\[\text{daše ‘go into, enter’}\]

(1023) šu da-šu am cət-ə xəl-i=ku [MCB]
\[\text{go.3s PVB-go.in.3s DEMP rock-LNK hole-OB=LOC}\]

‘He goes on into the cave.’

(1024) am kinali da-šu am bər-i bəni=ku [MSS10]
\[\text{DEMP little.girl PVB-go.in.3s DEMP thorn.bush-OB under=LOC}\]

‘This little girl goes in under the thorn bush.’

(1025) nue ‘put’
\[\text{danue ‘put in, incorporate’}\]

(1026) pul-i aštan kešə=ku da-na [MAS]
\[\text{money-OB self drawer=LOC PVB-put.in.3s}\]

‘He puts the money in his drawer.’

(1027) am ašpa mağz-i ger-ə u da-na nun-i=dila [MCB]
\[\text{this dog brain-OB get-3s and PVB-put.in.3s bread-OB=inside}\]

‘This guy takes the dog brains and incorporates them in the bread (dough).’

(1028) karde ‘do, make’
\[\text{dakarde ‘transfer, pour’}\]

(1029) barja da-ka! [MSG]
\[\text{window PVB.IMP-close!}\]

‘Close the window!’

(1030) a aštan xalā-un kərə da-kaɾ-ə [MaVP]
\[\text{3s self clothes-OB.P PROG PVB-take.off-3s}\]

‘He is taking his clothes off.’

(1031) se man namek da-kaɾ-ə [MSG]
\[\text{3 gallon salt PVB-pour-3s}\]
‘He pours in three gallons of salt.’

(1032) *mande* ‘stand’ *damande* ‘stay in’

(1033) *da-mun-u* [MSS90]
- PV8-stay.in-3s

‘She stays in (the house).’

### 7.2.4 ʌ-/(_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 ʌ, 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’  \(\ddot{a}be\) ‘change state (inanimate subject)’

(1035) *lafund-i*  \(\text{angol} \ a-b-a\) [AsVP]
- rope-OB knot PV8-came.undone-3s

‘The rope knot came undone.’

\(^{140}\) Rastorgueva (1971) lists the following senses for the preverb ʌ- in Gilaki:

a) movement back or backwards: *vagordstan* ‘to return’ (cf. *gordstan* ‘revolve, go’ and compare Taleshi *ãgardoste* ‘to return’);

b) the repetition of the action: *vamoxton* ‘search’, *vokaflon* ‘stick’;

c) movement to one side away: *vakudon* ‘open’ (cf. *kudon* ‘get’ and compare Taleshi *ãkarde* ‘to open’), *vaterkarston* ‘tear, be torn off’. 
(1036) sava gord 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 –iŋga 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) aštə kələ 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’ əbərde ‘sever’

(1042) ama sar â-bôrd =a [MBB]
1P head PVB-severed=TR

Similarly, Schultze-Berndt (2000, p.320) notes how Jaminjung -ina(ŋga)’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 ábərdə ‘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) gardəstə ‘go’  āgardəstə ‘go back, return’

(1044) kardə ‘do, make’  ākardə ‘open, lose, finish, undo’

(1045) boz-i  lāfənd = āš  ā-kərd = a  [AsVP]

goat-OB  rope=3S  PVB-opened=TR

‘He undid the goat’s leash.’

(1046) av-ə  boz-ə  žia  u-kā  [AnVP]

3S-OB  goat-OB  rope  PVB-opened.TR

‘He undid the goat’s leash.’

(1047) a  miva  pust  nā-ā-kərd = āš = a  [MaVP]

3S  fruit  skin  NEG- PVB-opened=3S=TR

‘He did not peel the fruit.’

(1048) sabad = āš  hata  rāst  ā-kərd = a  [ASP12]

basket-3S  there  upright  PVB-opened=TR

‘He set the basket upright just there.’

(1049) tāza = m  sif-un  ci-e  tamun  ā-kərd = a  [AsVP]

afresh=1S  apple-OB.P  pluck-INF  finish  PVB-opened=TR

‘I’ve just finished apple picking.’

(1050) am  gover-i = kā  saxt  ā-kər-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!)
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 *jixəte* 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) *aštan* šovär-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) *ašč* šovär-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 *jii* rather than previous *vi*. The only other instance of this verb (*jinue*) in the corpus is in a Shandermani142 text when the protagonist kills a snake and discretely slips its unclean body under the carpet. The use of *jii* in such a context could be explained by both the discreteness of the action and the uncleanness of the snake:

(1053) *ğǎli=š ḥrąst à-kard=a, ji-nu=š=a cǐmī ḥon-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) *dār-i* ḥon-i=kâ jì-xəs-ə [SDD]

tree-OB beneath-OB=LOC PVB-lie.in.wait-3S

142 This dialect is spoken immediately to the north of Masali.
'He lies in wait beneath the tree.'

(1056) *gate* ‘get’ versus *figate* ‘grab, steal’

(1057) *cama servat-un ji-gat-a=š=a [MCB]*

POSS.1P wealth-OBJ.P PVB-stole-PTC=3S=TR

'He has stolen our riches.'

(1058) *xâ-i kə oštan ming-i ji-ger-ə [STS]*

want-IMPF.3S COMP self nail-OBJ PVB-get-3S

'He’d been wanting to cut his toenails.'

(1059) *še ‘go’ versus jiše ‘impale; go to one’s doom’*

(1060) *askəl ji-š-u xərs-i toma=ku [MSG]*

stake impale-3S bear-OBJ stomach=LOC

'The stake sinks through the bear’s stomach.'

(1061) *am 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 jižerəzə (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 å- and ji-. In some cases this means that the verb’s path specification is bleached (e.g. xate ‘lie’, daxate ‘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 åše ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pe- ‘up’</th>
<th>vi- ‘down’</th>
<th>da- ‘in’</th>
<th>å- ‘back’</th>
<th>ji- ‘down/nasty’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>be ‘be’¹⁴³</td>
<td>get up, awake</td>
<td>spill</td>
<td>coincide</td>
<td>become</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karde ‘do’</td>
<td>sprinkle</td>
<td>pour</td>
<td>put into</td>
<td>open, let go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lake ‘fall’</td>
<td>fall upon</td>
<td>fall down, flow</td>
<td>set off; occur</td>
<td>change fast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>åše ‘go’</td>
<td>go up</td>
<td>plunge</td>
<td>go in</td>
<td>go away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ume ‘come’</td>
<td>grow, rise</td>
<td>climb down</td>
<td>enter</td>
<td>infect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gate ‘get’</td>
<td>pick up</td>
<td>buy</td>
<td>throw</td>
<td>steal; grab</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) \textit{i} \ rüz \ i-la \ buğavan \ aštan \ du \ sa=ku \ be-š-a=bo \ \textit{[ANP2]}
\textit{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 \ 
\textit{merd} \ gol=əš \ bəz-ə \ noxta \ gat-a=bo \ \textit{[ANP8]}
\textit{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) \textit{a} \ xaj-i \ ki \ vi-ɡənəst-a=b-a \ \textit{zamin}
\textit{DEMD pear-RCH REL PVB-fell-PTC=AUX-3S ground}
\textit{a-i} \ taniz \ ār-a-ka \ \textit{[ASP7]}
\textit{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) \textit{long}=əš \ udiž \ uma, \ \textit{cūn} \ dəzdi=š=bə \ kārd-a \ \textit{[ANP30]}
\textit{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) \texttt{pis = \$ \bard = a \ i-la \ \vi\$a \ dela = k\$a}.
\begin{align*}
\text{baldy}=3s \quad \text{took}=\text{TR} \quad \text{a-CL} \quad \text{forest} \quad \text{in}=\text{LOC} \\
\text{kisa} \quad \text{sar} = \text{\$} \quad \text{da-bast-a} = b-a.
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{bag} \quad \text{top}=3s=\text{also} \quad \text{PVB-closed-PTC=AUX-3s} \\
\text{n\$a = \$} \quad \text{\$} \quad \text{dela} = \text{k\$a} \quad \text{[ASB48]} \\
\text{put}=3s=\text{TR} \quad \text{forest} \quad \text{in}=\text{LOC} \\
\end{align*}

'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),\textsuperscript{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) \texttt{am \ ko \ d\$ar \ pe-\$-a \ se \ c\$ar \ gola \ zambil = am} \\
\begin{align*}
\text{DEMP} \quad \text{COMP} \quad \text{tree} \quad \text{PVB-went.up-3s} \quad \text{three} \quad \text{four} \quad \text{CL} \quad \text{basket=also} \\
\text{cind-a = \$} \quad \text{\$} \quad \text{u} \quad \text{ate} \quad \text{nu-a = \$} \quad \text{\$} \quad \text{harjur} \quad \text{[MPS10]} \\
\text{picked-PTC=3s=AUX.3s} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{there put-PTC=3s=AUX.3s} \quad \text{anyhow}
\end{align*}

‘Before he went up the tree, he had picked three or four basketfuls and put them there any which way.’

(1072) \texttt{ha \ merdak-a \ ate \ ku \ ce \ gol\$ibi \ am \ zua} \\
\begin{align*}
\text{SAMED} \quad \text{man-DISC} \quad \text{there COMP} \quad \text{POSSD.3s} \quad \text{pear} \quad \text{DEMP} \quad \text{boy}
\end{align*}

\textsuperscript{145} Roberts writes this in a description of the past perfect in Modern Persian, but it applies equally well to Taleshi.
dozdi = à  [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). 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 òm 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 âgâ šôma cêmân golâbi dozdi-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) cêmân yud = anda = y aštân 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.
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) ōm zua har jōgā ki a-š-i
DEMP boy any place AUG-go-IMPF.3S
a əštan amu var-i=kâ daivārd-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) \( \text{ānbu} = bə \) \( \text{coni} = na \) [ANP3]
    pear=AUX.3s pick=LOC
    ‘He was picking pears.’ The weather was good ...

(1079) i-la \( \text{gada} \) \( \text{zua} \) \( \text{davârdi} = na = bə \) \( \text{dïcarx} = anda \) [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 \( \text{gola} \) \( \text{cavə} \) \( \text{hamrun} = u \) \( \text{nava} = na = b-in. \)
    three CL POSSD.3S companion=LOC pass.by=LOC=AUX-3P
    aštàn dâst = anda gada táxt = 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 \( \text{gola} \) \( \text{ši} = na = b-in \) \( \text{âmbu} \) \( \text{hârd-e} \) \( \text{hârd-e} \) [ANP34]
    three CL go=LOC=AUX-3P pear eat-INF eat-INF
    ‘The three were going along, eating pears.’ The gardener came down ...

(1082) \( \text{am} \) se \( \text{nafar} \) \( \text{âmbu} = b-in \) 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 \( \text{merd} = \text{ani} \) i-la \( \text{boz-i} \) sar-i = kâ […] lâfond = aš
    a-CL man=also a-CL goat-OB head-OB=LOC rope=3S
    da-kard-a kâ = b-a a-i darâkunost-e [ASP9]
    PVB-throw-PTC PROG=AUX-3S 3S-OB lead-INF

279
‘(At this moment,) a man, having thrown a rope round the head of a goat, was leading it.’

(1084) \( \text{vind} = \text{aš} = a \quad \text{i-la} \quad \text{kola} \quad \text{xanom = i} \quad \text{da-nəšt-a} \quad \text{ducaxa}, \)

\( \text{saw = 3S = TR} \quad \text{a-CL} \quad \text{girl} \quad \text{lady = IND} \quad \text{PVB - sat - PTC} \quad \text{bicycle} \)

\( \text{rubaru = kâ} \quad \text{kâr = a} \quad \text{âm-e} \quad \text{[ASP13]} \)

\( \text{face.to.face = LOC} \quad \text{PROG = 3S} \quad \text{come - INF} \)

‘He saw that a young lady sat on a bicycle was coming opposite.’

(1085) \( \text{dumla} = \text{kâ} \quad \text{do} \quad \text{se} \quad \text{nafar} \quad \text{ca} \quad \text{rafiğ-e} \)

\( \text{after = LOC} \quad \text{two} \quad \text{three} \quad \text{person} \quad \text{POSSD.3S} \quad \text{friend - P} \)

\( \text{a} \quad \text{var-i = kâ} \quad \text{kâ = b-in} \quad \text{âm-e} \quad \text{[ASP17]} \)

\( \text{DEMD} \quad \text{way - OB = LOC} \quad \text{PROG = AUX - 3P} \quad \text{come - INF} \)

‘Later, two or three of his friends were coming from that direction.’

(1086) \( \text{kâ} = \text{b-in} \quad \text{ha} \quad \text{xəj-i} \quad \text{hard-e} \quad \text{hard-e} \quad \text{âm-e} \quad \text{[ASP24]} \)

\( \text{PROG = AUX - 3P} \quad \text{SAMED} \quad \text{pear - OB = eat - INF} \quad \text{eat - INF} \quad \text{come - INF} \)

‘They were eating those same pears as they came along.’

(1087) \( \text{deišt} = a \quad \text{vind} = \text{aš} = a \quad \text{do} \quad \text{se} \quad \text{gəla} \quad \text{xərən} \quad \text{kâ = n} \)

\( \text{looked = TR} \quad \text{saw = 3S = TR} \quad \text{two} \quad \text{three} \quad \text{CL} \quad \text{child} \quad \text{PROG = 3P} \)

\( \text{əm} \quad \text{xəj-un = kâ} \quad \text{hard-e} \quad \text{kâ = n} \quad \text{âm-e} \quad \text{daivar-un} \quad \text{[ASP26]} \)

\( \text{DEMP} \quad \text{pear - P = LOC} \quad \text{eat - INF} \quad \text{PROG = 3P} \quad \text{come - INF} \quad \text{SBJ - pass - by - 3P} \)

‘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:

\(^{147}\) 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.
"We were going along (when) we saw that…"

We saw that [PROG]:

(1089) \textit{vind} = a \textit{omun} = a \textit{merdak-a} \textit{kar} \textit{golabi} \textit{cin-o} [MPS3]

\textit{saw=1P=TR} \textit{man-DISC} \textit{PROG} \textit{pear} \textit{pick-3S}

We saw that this man is picking pears.’

IMPERFECTIVE: Independent episode describing the activity of pear-picking:

(1090) \textit{i-la} \textit{dasmal} = \textit{am} \textit{dari-ste}

\textit{a-CL} \textit{cloth=} \textit{also} \textit{had-IMPF.3S}

\textit{golabi-un} \textit{kar} \textit{zamin} \textit{balak-en} \textit{a-vun} \textit{pak} \textit{akariste}.

\textit{pear-OB.P} \textit{REL} \textit{ground} \textit{fall-3P} \textit{3-OB.P} \textit{clean} \textit{PVB-cause.do-IMPF.3S}

\textit{bad} \textit{golabi} \textit{astan} \textit{dumla} = \textit{ku} \textit{da-kar-i,}

\textit{then} \textit{pear} \textit{self} \textit{apron=LOC} \textit{PVB-pour-IMPF.3S}

\textit{vuvar-i} \textit{a} \textit{zambil-i} = \textit{ku} \textit{dana-kar-iste} [MPS4-5]

\textit{bring-IMPF.3S} \textit{DEMD} \textit{basket-OB=LOC} \textit{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) \textit{am} \textit{xardan-a} \textit{uma} \textit{u} \textit{am} \textit{merdak-a} \textit{ne-vind} = \textit{as=a}

\textit{DEMP} \textit{child-DISC} \textit{came.3S} \textit{and} \textit{DEMP} \textit{man-DISC} \textit{NEG-saw=3S=TR}

\textit{kar} \textit{golabi} \textit{cin-iste} [MPS12]

\textit{PROG} \textit{pear} \textit{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) \textit{merdak-a=ni} \textit{a-i} \textit{ne-vin-iste} [MPS18]

\textit{man-DISC=also} \textit{3S-OB} \textit{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 bâr bund 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 = aš = a kə i kila-te = ni carx-i = na kərâ ā-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 oštan masîr-ı = ku. oštan ka = râ xâ-i**

went-3s self direction-OB=LOC self house=for want-IMPF.3s

**bo-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) **am xordan-en a golâvi-a cîn-i taraf-i = na kərâ**

DEMP child-P DEMD pear-LNK picker-OB direction-OB=with PROG

š-istine ha merdak-ə ate ku ce golâbi am zua
go-IMPF.3P SAMED man-DISC there COMP POSSD.3S pear DEMP boy

dəzdî = ā [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) **cîr pin nafar xordan kərâ a sar = dore ke ā-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=dore  ke  â-istine  vāt=aš=a
3-P  PROG  DEMP  direction=SRCE  COMP  come-IMPF.3P  said=3s=TR
xob  âm-en  de  cə  da-fars-om?  [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) çəni=š=e  çəni=š=e  a-kâ=š=e  ba  ašțan  diumanə  [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  şu  u  şu  u  şu  u  şu  [MBB]
ram-əB  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  bo-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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause</th>
<th>Pre-Core Slot</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-7</td>
<td>gardener’s location and general activities</td>
<td>8-15 detailed pear-picking activity step by step</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-33</td>
<td>dar am beyn at this moment</td>
<td>description of passers-by and arrival of boy</td>
<td>34-48 the theft and escape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49-54</td>
<td>dar ha beyni ko at that moment</td>
<td>description of girl passing by</td>
<td>55-62 the crash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63-71</td>
<td>dar ham beyni ko at that moment</td>
<td>description of crash scene</td>
<td>72-114 the rescue, exchange of pears and departure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115-116</td>
<td>dar ham beyni ko at that moment</td>
<td>description of gardener’s confusion</td>
<td>117-129 the suspected thieves run the gauntlet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 kəlā piget=əs=a
DEMP girl-DIM hat took=3s=TR

kina-te kəlā piget=əs=a

DEMP girl-DIM hat took=3s=TR
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause</th>
<th>1. Introduction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4a, 6b</td>
<td>VILLAGE baldy GO -&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2. Thieves Tricked: River</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18d,19c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3. Uncle Tricked: Village and Town</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22d,24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4. Shepherd Tricked: Forest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33a,34a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42b,c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**5. Uncle Tricked Again: Village and Sea**

The uncle invites boldy to **COME**, take him to the forest and leave him in a sack so he can marry the princess. Boldy seizes him, but takes him to the sea. The uncle **GOES** into the sea and dies.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>48a</th>
<th><strong>VILLAGE/UNCLE</strong></th>
<th>&lt;- <strong>COME</strong> boldy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>51a</td>
<td>boldy/uncle <strong>TAKE</strong> -&gt;</td>
<td><strong>SEA</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52a</td>
<td>uncle <strong>GO</strong> -&gt;</td>
<td><strong>SEA</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**6. Baldy’s Happy Ending**

Baldy **COMES** to the village and marries his uncle’s daughter.

| 53a | **VILLAGE** | <- **COME** boldy |

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 boldy to **COME** with them (presumably to their village, cl.13a). Boldy 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 ‘boldy’ is topical, every occurrence of these verbs anchors him to the deictic centre in one of two ways: either as the verbal subject, 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 – ‘boldy’ 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

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td>the gardener had gone up a tree</td>
<td>tree-base →</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7a/b</td>
<td>a man came</td>
<td>→ tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15b/c</td>
<td>(the boy) went, went</td>
<td>→ tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22a</td>
<td>(the boy's friends) came</td>
<td>→ crash site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25a</td>
<td>they went a little further</td>
<td>crash site →</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28a</td>
<td>they came (back)</td>
<td>→ crash site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28b</td>
<td>they went</td>
<td>crash site →</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29a</td>
<td>the three were going</td>
<td>crash site →</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32a</td>
<td>since they were coming from over there</td>
<td>→ tree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 54: Use of ‘come’ and ‘go’ in the Anbarane Mahalle Pear Story

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3a</td>
<td>(the gardener) went up a tree</td>
<td>tree-base →</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3b</td>
<td>a child had come</td>
<td>→ tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4a</td>
<td>he came</td>
<td>→ tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5a</td>
<td>he went</td>
<td>tree →</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5d</td>
<td>some children came</td>
<td>→ crash site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7d</td>
<td>eating they came</td>
<td>→ tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8a</td>
<td>the gardener came down</td>
<td>→ tree-base</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9a</td>
<td>the children came</td>
<td>→ tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11b</td>
<td>they went in that direction</td>
<td>tree →</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 55: Use of ‘come’ and ‘go’ in the Anbarani Nostalgia Story

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4a</td>
<td>we came from Kulash to Talesh</td>
<td>→ Talesh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6b</td>
<td>I used to go with my granddad to the desert</td>
<td>Kulash home →</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14b</td>
<td>I used to go into small caves</td>
<td>granddad →</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18a</td>
<td>I would go and fetch water</td>
<td>granddad →</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20a</td>
<td>until the sun went down</td>
<td>sky →</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21a</td>
<td>when we arrived home</td>
<td>→ Kulash home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30a</td>
<td>in those days when we came to Talesh</td>
<td>→ Talesh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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). 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 ə-b-a.  *dumlakâ* do se nafar ca
basket all empty PVB-became-3s next two three person POSSD.3s

*rafığ-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) *əştan* gurave sar bo sar jir kard=əš=a u fəlān.
self sock head to head down did=3s=TR and so.on

*badan* do se nafar a sar=dore ... um-inə [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 hamrā bəb. *dumlakâ* əm tele-mun
2s=also 1P.IO=with companion be! later DEMP gold-OB.P

*yandə=na* baxš ə-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 əšu.
bride PVB-take-3s flee-3s go.3s

*badaz, xaili* rā əšu vin-ə såz=i sedā kar-ə [MBB]
later much way go.3s see-3s instrument=IND noise make-3s

149 In Anbarani, the Anbarani Pear Story uses the phrase *i-tka mänd-e a-little stayed-3s ‘A little time went by’ in this function. Other dialects (including Anbaran Mahalle, Vizne, Jokandan and Asalemi) also used *amsatâ* (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. This phenomenon is common in Taleshi texts, and can be illustrated with two pairs of examples from the Anbarani Pear Story:

\[(1108) \text{əmbu} = \text{ba} \quad \text{coni} = \text{na} \quad [\text{ANP3,6}]\]

\[\text{pear}=\text{AUX.3s} \quad \text{pick}=\text{LOC}\]

‘He was picking pears.’

[Three clauses of background information follow, describing the weather.]

\[(1109) \text{coni} = \text{š}=\text{e} \quad \text{coni} = \text{š}=\text{e}\]

\[\text{picked}=\text{3s}=\text{TR} \quad \text{picked}=\text{3s}=\text{TR}\]

‘He carried on picking.’

And the second example:

\[(1110) \text{š-en} \quad \text{ba-štān} \quad \text{ru} \quad [\text{ANP34,37}]\]

\[\text{went}=\text{3p} \quad \text{to-self} \quad \text{way}\]

\[\text{av}=\text{an} \quad \text{da-goni} \quad \text{ba-štān} \quad \text{ru}\]

\[\text{3s}=\text{also} \quad \text{PVB-fell.3s} \quad \text{to-self} \quad \text{way}\]

\[\text{se} \quad \text{gola} \quad \text{š}=\text{ima}=\text{b-in} \quad \text{âmbu} \quad \text{hārd-e} \quad \text{hārd-e}\]

\[\text{three} \quad \text{CL} \quad \text{went}=\text{LOC}=\text{AUX-3p} \quad \text{pear} \quad \text{eat-INF} \quad \text{eat-INF}\]

‘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.]

\[(1111) \text{am} \quad \text{se} \quad \text{nafar} \quad \text{âmbu}=\text{b-in} \quad \text{hā}=\text{na}\]

\[\text{DEMP} \quad \text{three} \quad \text{person} \quad \text{pear}=\text{AUX-3p} \quad \text{eat}=\text{LOC}\]

\[\text{Speece based his findings on data from Angave, a Papuan language. However, his observation regarding the function of non-adjacent repetition fits the Taleshi data well.}\]
‘These three people were eating pears.’

8.6 Coordinating Conjunctions =an(i) and ham

In addition to the role of =an (Anbarani) / =an(i) (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.\(^\text{151}\)

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 baštân ru, av =an da-goni baštân ru [ANP34]
came-3P went-3P to-self way 3s=also PBV-fell.3s to-self way

‘They came (and) went on their way; he too set off on his way.’

(1113) baż 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.’

\(^{151}\) Barjasteh-Delfrooz (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.
292

(1114) tele = m da-kard-a = ya om kisa-mun dela = kâ.
gold = 1s PVB-poured-PTC = TR DEMP sack-OB.P in = LOC

asb-i = m ž = a jógâ = i = kâ = m dɔzdî = 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 = ošun = a valla ama = ni dɔzd = imun ama = ni hânta om bâr-e-i
said = 3P = TR by.God 1P = also thief = 1P 1P = also like.that DEMP load-PTC = RCH
ki ž-a = mun = a am-e = ni tele = n [ASB20-21]
REL hit-PTC = 1P = TR DEMP-PTC = 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 gol = oš boz-ə nəxta gat-a = bo.
a-CL man CL = 3s goat-OB leash got-PTC = AUX.3S
ca šux = oš = an i dâst = anda gat-a = bo [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 no-bɔ [AnNP]
a-CL tree = also burnt-PTC NEG = was.3S
b.  i-la  dār=ani  sut-a  na-b-a  [AsNP]
    a-CL  tree=also  burnt-PTC  NEG-was-3S

c.  i-la  dār  ham  sist-a  ni=ā  [MaNP]
    a-CL  tree  also  burnt-PTC  NEG=COP.PST.3S

‘Not (even) one tree was burnt.’

(1119)  av  i-tka=n  voi=y  hā=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)  cōmān  dada  ciman=anda  ālaf  dargaz  a-ţan-i,
       POSS.1s  father  meadow=LOC  grass  sickle  AUG-hit-IMPF.3s
      āţ=an  bav=a=ru  ālaf=anda  bāndan  tūmū  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  māst  sāz-ə.  šu-n  piš=e  məllā.
       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  gula  merd  b-a,  num=əš  adi  b-a.
     a  CL  man  was-3S  name=3S  Adi  was-3S
      źen-i  num=ani  gudi  b-a  [ASA]
     woman-08  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 PȘ-know
cimi = kâ sovái de šama = râ = ni ne-m-a-must [ASA]
POSS.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) am 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 = ni i-la javân-a zua = i da-nošt-a [ASP9-10]
DEMD side-OB=LOC=also a-CL young-LNK boy=IND PVβ-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 gola lira hom cot-a xol-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 ə3
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 mağrebî 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 ə3-a daryâ boni = 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 xordan na-bram-u bai ə3=ani ni-ə3-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. 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.

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.

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).
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).\textsuperscript{153}

Table 56: Default participant reference strategies in all three dialects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st dialect</th>
<th>2nd dialect</th>
<th>3rd dialect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3</td>
<td>zero (full NP in Masali)</td>
<td>Pro/NP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S4</td>
<td>NP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N2</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>N3</td>
<td>Pro/NP</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>N4</td>
<td>NP</td>
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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 sab\=a\ 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 \textit{uri} “today” and \textit{sab\=a} “tomorrow” and the pronoun \textit{ama} are deictic expressions: the adverbs are anchored

\textsuperscript{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.
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) ḏāğā 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=kā  [ASB15-17]  
gold=1s PV8-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) sāxsari … 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 āina du=a  [ASM]  
POSS.1S mother head-OB DEMP disastergave=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 rüz-ün comân yud= u hic ba-ši = na ni = n [ANR35]
DEM DEMP day-P POSS.1S memory=LOC no FUT-go=LOC NEG=3P

‘Those days will never go from my memory.’

(1137) am rüz-ün … aštân hordan-un = anda fursi = n
DEM 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 (am) and distal (a) Taleshi demonstratives may be used in this sense:

(1138) … ha = ni am var-i = kâ = ni pe-nu = šun = a [ASA]
SAME=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]
DEM 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 am 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) \text{damand} = a \text{əštan} a \text{zua} \text{nava} = râ \text{lailai} \text{vât-e.}

\text{PROG}=3\text{S} \text{self} \text{DEMD} \text{boy} \text{grandson}=\text{for} \text{lullaby} \text{say-INF}

‘She was singing a lullaby for that grandson of hers.’

\text{əm} \text{zua} \text{iâ} \text{mand-a} \ldots \text{guş} \text{ā-kard} = a \text{[ASM]}

\text{DEMP} \text{boy} \text{here} \text{stayed-3S} \text{ear} \text{PVB-opened}=\text{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 \text{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) \text{motavajeye} \text{kola} \text{xânun} \text{ki} \text{b-a,} \text{ā-gardast-a}

\text{noticing} \text{girl} \text{woman} \text{COMP} \text{was-3S} \text{PVB-turned.back-3S}

\text{a} \text{tarâ} \text{[ASP14]}

\text{DEMD} \text{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 oštan amu kola=râ
   a-CL baldy=IND exist was-3S REL self uncle girl=for
da-gonast-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  am  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  mål-un = na  a-š-in.

DEMD  cattle-OB.P=with  AUG-go-IMPF.3P

‘They were going with those cattle.’

[...]

(1149) am  vayu = ni  co  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 am “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  xɔj-un  kâr=a  ci-e
DEMP  pear-OBJ  PROG=3s  pick-PRT

‘He is picking these pears. …’

[...]

(1151) ɨ-la  əm  xɔj-un=kâ  vi-gonost-a  hatâ  rona  dela=kâ
one-CL  DEMP  pear-OBJ=LOC  PVB-fell=3s  thus  straw  in=LOC

‘One of these pears had fallen in the straw. …’

[...]

(1152) a  xɔj-i  ki  vi-gonost-a=b-a  [ASP4,5,7]
DEMD  pear-REAL  REL  PVB-fall-PRT=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  deišiti=mun=a  əm  ravâyat  b-a  ki… [ASP1]
story-REAL  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

xasorg-i=š  vât=a  …  [ASM]
mother.in.law-PRT=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 vauxt-un am kāsa-e hest b-in [ASM]

DEM time-OB.P DEMP bowl-P exist was-3P

‘In those days there were these bowls.’

(1157) nana sar=aš pe-gat=a, vi-xāšt=aš=a am gol év-i=kā [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 discourse 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) amsafar šama 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 āšmāš-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 co kār =i b-a ṭo kard =a? [ASB44]
DEMP what? deed=IND was-3S 2S did=TR
‘What kind of deed was that which you did?!’

(1161) əm cicī =a iā? [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) əm sâ 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:
‘Those friends picked up that stone which had fallen there. ... They were coming along’

[...]  

‘when that pear picker came down from the tree ... and saw’

‘these (boys) have not yet arrived at this pear tree.’

[...]  

‘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.
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 bo-koš-ə ce kalla mağz-i pi-gər-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 košt-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) am var-i muša gola xumâr. liðâs 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) \[ az \quad n = imâ \quad cimîn \quad bêvarazâ = yâ, \]
\[ 1S \quad \text{NEG=COP.1S.PST} \quad \text{POSS.1S brother-in-law=COP.3S.PST} \]
\[ xodâ \quad ce \quad ka \quad xârâba \quad bî-kar-\text{u} \quad \text{[MCB]} \]
\[ \text{God} \quad \text{POSS.3S house} \quad \text{destroyed} \quad \text{SBJ-do-3S} \]

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

In the following three examples, proximate \( \text{cimi} \) is used instead of distal \( \text{ce} \). 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 \( \text{am} \) is then referred to with \( \text{cimi} \) shortly afterwards:

(1170) \[ vaxt-i \quad ko \quad oštân \quad ka = ku \quad ā-ras-\text{a}, \]
\[ \text{when-RCH REL self house=LOC PVB-arrive-3S} \]
\[ \text{cimi} \quad \text{amu} \quad \text{vin-\text{a}} \quad \text{[MCB]} \]
\[ \text{POSS.3S uncle see-3S} \]

‘When he arrives at his own house, his uncle sees.’

(1171) \[ \text{am} \quad \text{pisakula} \quad az \quad \text{gir} \quad \text{bu-war-\text{am … }} \]
\[ \text{DEMP baldy 1S involve SBJ-bring-1S} \]
\[ az = ni \quad bo-šu\text{-m} \quad \text{cimi} \quad \text{dumla} \quad \text{[MCB]} \]
\[ 1S=\text{also} \quad \text{SBJ-go-1S} \quad \text{POSS.3S after} \]

‘I should get hold of this baldy … and also go after him.’\(^{155}\)

(1172) \[ vâ \quad \text{om-i} \quad \text{ger-\text{en … }} \quad \text{muš} \quad \text{cimi} \quad i-\text{la} \quad \text{cem = i} \]
\[ \text{say.3S DEMP-OB IMP.get-2P mouse POSS.3S a-CL eye=IND} \]
\[ \text{kan-\text{a}} \quad \text{[MCB]} \]
\[ \text{dig-3S} \]

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

In a couple of instances in Masali texts, \( \text{cimi} \) and \( \text{ce} \) 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) \[ \text{cimi} \quad izom-i \quad bar-\text{a} \quad ce \quad xâl-i \quad \text{bar-\text{a}} \quad \text{[MSS57]} \]
\[ \text{POSS.3S timber-OB take-3S POSS.3S branch-OB take-3S} \]

\(^{155}\) 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) ōm-e damand= in negahbâni du-e ki dəzd-e nā-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) ōm pis-i aštan kis-e īā nā = n
DEMP baldy-OB self sack-P here put=TR.P

cumun kis-e=yəš ə = in aštan 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?
To investigate the sociolinguistic attitudes of Taleshi speakers.

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?

To understand language use patterns of Taleshi within the community.

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 Auditechnica 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”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dialect Area</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>Anbarane Bala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aminjan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anbaran Mahalle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern/Central</td>
<td>Vizne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>Jokandan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Khaleh Sara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alladeh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern</td>
<td>Taskuh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Masule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Tati</td>
<td>Kolur</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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); 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anbaran-e Ardabil</th>
<th>Hashtpar</th>
<th>Allahdeh</th>
<th>Rezvanshahr</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hashtpar</td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allahdeh</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>89</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rezvanshahr</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masal</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>86 87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (Catban) 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. 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.

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 split. 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)


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

Phonological 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 āb), and âftâv for ‘sun’ (Persian âftâb). On the other hand, the [ø] 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 Suprasegmental 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 āš-pej-giri stew-cook-taking ‘cooking’, but in Masali the Persian āš-pazi is used. However, other cases exist in which all dialects follow the Persian root. In Anbarani and Asalemi ‘flower’ is vol, but in Masali and Persian it is gul. All three dialects add dān to the Persian form to give gul-dān ‘flower vase’ (and the South Azerbaijani form is güldan).

Another feature of Persian word-building is similitive reduplication, found colloquially in words such as ciz-miz ‘things’ and qāti-pāti ‘mishmash’ from ciz ‘thing’ and qāti ‘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 tā); 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). In combination with i/i-la (i-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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We note also that the use of discourse marker -ə (mirroring Persian -č) 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 Talysh) – see §§3.3 and 3.8.1. Haig further notes that some languages have (presumably) innovated a Direct Plural suffix -č, 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. mən (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 Talysh) 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 koš/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 əba ‘open became’ in parallel with the Persian equivalent bâz šod ‘open became’:

(1176) a. žia əngəl u-b-ə                   [AnVP]
    rope knot   PVB-opened-3S

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.
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-râfî-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 bû 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 = ș 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 tâlāqoli 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 = ń ka hest = e [AnNP]
   1s.OB=for a-CL=also house exist=COP.3s
   b. mo = râ diar ka = ni hest = a [AsNP]
   1s.OB=for other house=also exist=COP.3s
   c. az i-la ka = ni dâr-öm [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 bišt). 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 Talysh: its conjunctions and particles include va/va ‘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

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.  

In Persian the preposition \textit{be} is commonly used to introduce indirect objects and destinations. This use is common in Anbarani (where the word is \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{hama} in Masali acts like \textit{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 \textit{gard} is preferred (cf. §5.4.2).

Persian subordinating \textit{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 \textit{ham} (=\textit{an}, =\textit{ani} and =\textit{am} in the three dialects respectively) have developed the same semantic and discourse-pragmatic properties as \textit{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 \textit{balke} occurs twice in direct elicitation responses to \textit{balke} in the Persian prompt, and \textit{barâye} ‘for, on behalf of’ three times. Further, \textit{piš} is used for ‘before, earlier’ where Anbarani and Asalemi have \textit{banâ} and \textit{bana} respectively (§5.1.1.3). Conversely, Anbarani and Asalemi omit \textit{balke} in favour of an intonational break, and favour \textit{cō=ru} \textit{3s.o=for} ‘for him’ et cetera over \textit{barâye}. The use of the Persian conjunction \textit{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).
10 Bibliography


De Caro, G., Forthcoming. *Upper Southern Taleshi*.


Maps


### 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.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Accent</th>
<th>Ref</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Length</th>
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<td>ANP</td>
<td>Anbaran Sofle</td>
<td>Pear Film</td>
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<td>Kulash</td>
<td>Recollection</td>
<td>60s</td>
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<td>Anbaran Mahalle</td>
<td>Pear Film</td>
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<td>Pear Film</td>
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<td>KhalehSara</td>
<td>Traffic Accident</td>
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<td>Markieh</td>
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<td>Ghul and Pond</td>
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<td>Shanderman</td>
<td>Three Sons</td>
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<td>Shanderman</td>
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Appendix B – Interlinearized Texts

B1. ANP: Pear Story, Anbaran Ardebil

1 ilei hes bo , ilei nabo .
   i -le = i hes bo i -le = i nɔ- bo
   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 rüz ila buğavin əştən ânbua du saku sərdanda
   i rüz i -la buğavin əştən ânbu -a du sa = ku sərd = anda
   a day a Cl gardener self pear Lnk tree head = Loc ladder = Loc
   peşəbo
   pe- ş -a = bo
   Pvb went.up Ptc = Aux.3S

One day, a gardener had gone up a ladder into a pear tree.

3 ânbubə cənəna .
   ânbu bo cəni = na
   pear was.3S picked = Loc

He was picking pears.

4 havu xuš bo , üsmün əbi bo .
   havu xuš bo üsmün əbi bo
   weather good was.3S sky blue was.3S

The weather was good, the sky was blue.

5 livân ba əxəxəx bin .
   liv -ən ba əxəxəx b -in
   leaf P to rustle was 3P

The leaves were rustling.
He picked and picked, then poured into his apron.

His apron full, he went down and poured into a basket.

After a while, a man with a goat on a lead,

came and passed by the pears.
The goat wanted to pick up a pear from the basket there.

Its master wouldn’t let it.

He dragged it off.

After a while, one basket was filled.

Another basket was half full.

The gardener was up the tree, his head was hot from pear picking.

The small boy passed by his bicycle.
A little boy was passing by on a bicycle.

He was aiming to take a pear.

He saw that the gardener is busy, and doesn't notice.

He picked up a whole basket, put it on the front of the bicycle, and headed off.

He went on, saw a girl, and his eyes lighted upon her.

He saw she was pretty.
The wind blew and carried away his hat, the big hat which was on his head.

His mind was thrown, and he went and collided with a big stone.

He fell, and the basket of pears was spilt.

Three of his friends were passing by.

Three folk were passing by.

They were playing a game, with a board, held in the hand.
They came to help in response to his cry, and gathered up the pears.

God showed him to us, how his leg hurt, because he had stolen.

They went on ahead a little, and saw he has forgotten his big hat.

One whistled to call him, and returned his hat. In exchange for his hat he gave them three pears.
They weren't to know that the pears were stolen.

They went off, and he also set out. The three were going along eating the pears.

The gardener came down the tree.

He counted: one, two... He saw that one basket wasn't there.
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 davārdin .
   da- vārd -in
      Pvb passed.by 3P

They went by.

39 om dāstānan uraxa .
   om dāstān = an uraxa
      DemP story = also finished.3S

That's the end.

**B2. ANR: Recollection, Anbaran Ardebil**

1 yula xōdu nūmanda .
   yul -a xōdu nūm = anda
      big Lnk God name = Loc

In the name of almighty God.

2 āz ila gadāla zua bīm .
   āz 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 bīm .
   nav sura b -im
      9 year was 1S

I was nine years old.

4 šāš golām bova heste , ila huā .
   šāš golā = m bova hest -e i -la huā
      6 Cl = 1S brother exist 3S.Pst a Cl sister

I had six brothers, and one sister.
My father couldn't make money, so things were hard for us.

We came from Kulash to Talesh.

Whatever we had, we brought with us.

In Kulash we'd had a garden, a yard, desert and fields... a lot of land.

I remember going into the desert with my grandfather.
I would take loads on the horse for him.

I would scythe the wheat.

I would pick the lentils.

What happy days they were!

My father would cut the grass in the meadow with a big sickle, and I would make ties out of the grass for him.

At lunchtime we used to make dugh out of yoghurt.

yogurt.eat drink Nec was.3S
The yoghurt was wonderful to drink.

What days passed by!

I would sit waiting for my father to find a partridge nest while he was scything.

My heart would tremble with joy at collecting its eggs.

My grandfather would tell me off.
"Before long they’ll bring forth chicks."

I spent a lot of time in the desert, running here and there.

I used to go into a small cave and look inside it.

The baby rabbits would run around, and I would chase after them.

In one place the woodpecker was pecking.
In another place, the chicks were chirping.

On the mountain peaks were grassy fields, and inside them the yellowest wheat.

I used to go to the pool to bring cold water for my father and grandfather.

At sunset it was time to go to the house.
33 âšbò bu žanabùmùn, tâ hašî
âšb -ơ bu ža =na =b -ùmùn tâ hašî
horse Ob load hit =Loc =Aux 1P until sun
ašü , ru daagonîmùn.

34 ba ka ki arasîmùn uaganîmùn.
ba ka ki a- ras -ùmùn u- a- gani -mùn
to house Comp Aug reach Impf.1P Pvb Aug be.tired Impf.1P

When we got home we would be tired.

35 a rüžûn cømâñ yudu hic
a rüž -ùn cømâñ yud =u hic
DemD day P Poss.1S memory =Loc nothing
beşînanîn.
be- ѕ =ina -n =in
Fut go =Loc Neg =Cop.3P

No details of those days will ever leave my memory.

36 ġaisia buğun âmbûya duun cama ka nànda cøma
ġaisi -a buğ -un âmbu -ya du -un cama ka nànda cøma
apricot Lnk garden P pear Lnk tree P Poss.1P house in.front.of Poss.1P
su hâvza rângøşün bøkârda .
su hâvz -a râng =øšün bø- 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 ūdama caš damanabø ba duun hoże
ūdam -ơ caš da- ma =na =bø ba du -un hožu
human Ob eye Pvb came.upon =Loc =Aux.3S to tree P always
dia bøka .
dia bø- ka
looking Sbj do.3S
A man's eyes would never tire from looking at those trees.

38 âz caxta külašku bəvutum užonan kəm me
âz caxta külaš -ə = ku bə- vut -um užon = an kəm 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 aṣa ama tulɔšanda əštən bəvən kanuanda voi cuk
əsa ama tuləš = anda əštən bəv -ən kanu = anda voi cuk
now 1P Talesh = Loc self brother P next.to = Loc much good
davəna .
davə = na
pass.by = Loc

Now we live next to my brothers in Talesh, and life is very good.

40 tuləš cə hərci tuləše cəviune
Talesh Poss.3S whatever Talesh = Cop.3S Poss.3P = Cop.3S

Whatever is Talesh belongs to the Talesh.

41 əm rüzən tuləšanda udamun ki gord tuləšin əštən
əm rüz -ən tuləš = anda udam -ən ki gord tuləʃ = in əštən
DemP day P Talesh = Loc human P Rel all Talesh = Cop.3P self
hordənunanda fursin gap ža .
hordən -un = anda fursi = n gap žə = 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 əštən nana zovünc yudişun bekərdəy
əštən nana zovün -ə yud = ušun be- kərd -ə = y
self mother language Ob memory = 3P Pst did Ptc = Cop.3S

They have forgotten their own mother tongue.
They are ashamed to speak their own language amongst themselves.

In those days when we came to Talesh, I always spoke our mother tongue with my father and mother.

However long I live, I'll speak my own (language) Anbarani.

So long as my root is not torn up.

That was one recollection which God had allotted to me.
I told it for you.

Always be healthy.

B3. AMP: Pear Story, Anbaran Mahalle

One day I saw a man go up some trees to pick pears.

He picked two baskets' worth of pears.

He brought them down to the ground.
The third time he went up the tree, a child came along.

He had a hat on his head too.

He came quickly and stole one of the baskets to take it and carry it off.

As he went and wobbled along, the wind blew and he fell.
Some children came and cleared up; to each one he gave one of his pears.

9 labadarəš yud baršabe , ōmsafa , hordanen
    labadar =əš yud bar- ŕ -a =b -e ōmsafa hordan -en
    hat =3S memory Pvb gone.out Ptc = Aux 3S then child P
    dümlada labadar vind helešun bedu ca
    dümla =da labadar vind =e hele =šun bɔ - du ca
    after =Loc hat saw =Tr call =3P Pst gave.Tr PossD.3S
    labadarəšun bedu .
    labadar =šun bɔ - 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 , bašmardəšə
cə du -un =ku vi- uma b- ašmard =əš =e
    Poss.3S tree Ob.P =Loc Pvb came.down.3S Pst count =3S =Tr
    vindašə do gola ōmsafa heste bape məru se gola
    vind =əš =e do gola ōmsafa hest -e bape mə =ru se gola
    saw =3S =Tr two Cl then exist 3S should 1S.Ob = for three Cl
    safə abi  
    safə 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 ōm hardanenin xəjə harda hardain umen
    ōm hordan -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 , ōm merdə de tasavār nəkarde ki
    daivard -in ōm merd -ə de tasavār nə- kard =e ki
    passed.by 3P DemP man Ob anyhow imagination Neg do =Tr Comp
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.

The children passed by and went in that direction; still the man stayed under the tree.

He was left next to his baskets.

This was the story.

B4. VIP: Pear Story, Vizne
The sound of a cockerel was coming, it was in our yard.

2 suka sasbe uma eda.

suk -a sas =b -e uma =d =Loc

The sound of a cockerel was coming.

3 bad ca taraf ila merdi duku nardebân

bad ca taraf i -la merd =i du =ku nardebân

Later PossD.3S direction a Cl man =Ind tree =Loc ladder

nuabe , sordaš nuabe , xèbo

nu -a =b -e sord =aš nu -a =b -e xèc =b =Loc

Put Ptc =Aux 3S ladder =3S put Ptc =Aux 3S pear =Aux.3S

conda .

Cond =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 taraf ila merd uma edabe i gola

ca taraf i -la merd uma =d =b -e i gola

PossD.3S direction a Cl man came Inf =Loc =Aux 3S a Cl

bəzina , uma ce daivarde še ba taraf

bəz -i =na uma ce daivard -e š -e b -a taraf

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 xèc nuabe .

də si jab =aš xèc nu -a =b -e

Two three container =3S pear put Ptc =Aux 3S

He had put down two or three containers of pears.
Again he returned, came down, and picked up one of his boxes of pears.

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.

She was coming on a bicycle from that direction.

She was coming on a bicycle from that direction.
The boy took a look at her, and his bicycle fell over.

The bicycle fell over, then three friends were coming from that direction. When they came, they helped him there.

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.

They were three people, he gave them three pears.
Next, that man there was picking pears. He looked and saw that "Three of my baskets are there."

He counted, and saw that one is not there.

They have taken one of mine, and two of them are left there.

The children came, too, and passed by him.
They passed by and went, so he couldn't say anything to them.

B5. JOP: Pear Story, Jokandan

1 bâğbâni ayêda peşabe do , sorðaš
   bâğbân = i ayêda pe- š -a = b -e do sorð = aš
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 bôno bônda .
   vedra = š bɔ- no bôn = da
basket = 3S Pst put.Tr beneath = Loc

He put a basket underneath.

3 aval sukə bôhande , bad a bâğbân boše
   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 xɔcaš hes be .
   pe- š -e ba do -i miva do -i kɔ xɔc = aš 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 sorðaš bôno peše ayâ .
   sorð = aš bɔ- 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 göla vedraš bōnda bōno, bəciše

3 Cl basket =3S beneath =Loc Pst put.Tr Pst picked =3S =Tr
əštən domanada buwardašə.
əštən domana =da buward =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 vikardašə ba ila vedrada pešə hani
vi- kard =əš =e ba i -la vedra =da pe- əš -e hani
Pvb poured =3S =Tr to a Cl basket =Loc Pvb went.up 3S again
bəcəno əštən domanada ·
bə- con -ə əštən 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 göla vedraš ciabe, pešə hani
bad də göla vedra =əš ci -ə =b -e pe- əš -e hani
later two Cl basket =3S pick Ptc =Aux 3S Pvb went.up 3S again
ilani bəcəno vika ·
i -la =ni bə- con -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.
A boy came from that direction on a bicycle, a big hat on his head. He came on a bicycle.

He saw that the gardener was busy in the tree picking pears.

Again he looked there for a bit, saw he was busy.

He lowered his bicycle and dismounted.

One of those baskets was full of pears; he picked one of them up.
14 bənoše aštan vedrasa.
  bə- no =š = e aštan vedra = sa
  Pst put = 3S = Tr self basket = on.top

He put it in his own basket.

15 ašə bəbardoşe.
  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 şedabe
  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 kā
  i -la kela a va = na ducarxa = na a- u -i kā
  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 əmanı ducarxana bəgonie ayəda , a xəc
  əm = ani ducarxa = 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.
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.

They set it upright, set off and went in this direction; he went with his bicycle in that direction.
They went and noticed on that way that his hat had fallen down.

Pst give

"After all, they helped me, and brought me back my hat."

DemP child Ob.P anyhow Neg know 3S Comp DemP pear =3S
DemP Ob stole Ptc =Aux 3S or self =3S =Cop.3S
These children, of course, didn't know whether these pears were stolen or belonged to him.

26 hardane bašin om vasa.

hardan -e bo- š -in om va = sa

child 3P Pst went 3P DemP direction = top

The children go in this direction.

27 om merd viuma, bovinde kə cimi

om merd vi- uma bo- vind =e kə cimi

DemP man Pvb came.down.3S Pst saw = Tr Comp PossP.3S

vedrânda ila xoč vika, bindše cimi

vedr -ån =da i -la xoč vi- ka bind =aš =e cimi

basket Ob.P = Loc a Cl pear Pvb.Sbj pour.3S saw = 3S = Tr PossP.3S

vedra do gola, bape hoye gola abi.

vedra do gola bape hoye gola 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 om vedra ila cici åbe?

om vedra i -la cici å- b -e

DemP basket a Cl what? Pvb became 3S

What happened to the one basket?

29 oma vi yâda fikrš šabe

oma vi yâ =da fikr =iš š -a =b -e

came.3S down here = Loc thought = 3S go Ptc = Aux 3S

bindše kə a vana hoye gola hardan omada ,

bind =aš =e kə a va =na hoye gola hardan oma = da

saw = 3S = Tr Comp DemD direction = with 3 Cl child come = Loc xoč harda hardain .

xoč 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.
He got confused: well, this basket went from here, his group of baskets is no more.

Those three are eating pears.

He didn't dare say: "Where have you brought those pears from?"

He himself was here, they were coming from over there, and eating pears as they reached the tree.
In the end, he couldn't bring himself to ask them, "Where have you brought the pears from, was it over there?"

His thoughts went like this, and they passed by and went off.

B6. ASP: Pear Story, Asalem

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.

8 hani  peraş   dārikā.
   hani  per-a-š  dār -i =kā
   thus  Pvb  Aug  go.up  tree  Ob = Loc

So he goes up into the tree.

9 əm  heynikā  ila  merdani  ila  bozi
   əm  heyn  -i =kā  i  -la  merd =ani  i  -la  boz  -i
   DemP  situation  Ob = Loc  a  Cl  man  = also  a  Cl  goat  Ob
   sarikā  guna  boz  ba  lāfondāš  dakarda
   sar  -i =kā  gun  -a  boz  b  -a  lāfond =oš  da- kard  -a
   head  Ob = Loc  pregnant  Lnk  goat  be  Pst.3S  rope =3S  Pvb  thrown  Ptc
   kāba  ai  darākunost  āma  daivarda .
   kā =b  -a  a  -i  darākunost  -e  āma  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 əm  varikāni  ila  javāna  zuai
   əm  var  -i =kā  =ni  i  -la  javān  -a  zua  = i
   DemD  direction  Ob = Loc  = also  a  Cl  young  Lnk  boy  = Ind
   danstā  ba  ila  ducarxa  kōlāš  penuaba
   da- nošt  -a  ba  i  -la  ducarxa  kōlā =š  pe- nu  -a  =b  -a
   Pvb  sat.astride  Ptc  to  a  Cl  bicycle  hat =3S  Pvb  put  Ptc = Aux  3S
   sarikā  āma  dārī  bōnina  daivaru .
   sar  -i =kā  āma  dār  -i  bōni  = 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  xajunkāš  vinda  ,  tamaš  manda
   əm  xaj  -un =kā  =š  vind =a  tama  =š  mand  -a
   DemP  pear  Ob.P = Loc  = 3S  saw  = Tr  envy  = 3S  remained  Pst.3S
   virma  ,  ilaš  bumunkā  pegata  ki
   vir- ma  i  -la =š  bumun =kā  pe- gat  = a  ki
   Pvb  came.down.3S  one  Cl = 3S  3P.1OP = Loc  Pvb  picked.up  = Tr  Comp
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 the bicycle for him.
His leg had been hurt too.

20 cairåsun fiuza ža , manda ,
cai =râ =šun fiuza ž =a manda -a
PossD.3S =for =3P whistle hit =Tr remained 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

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.
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 counted, and saw that one 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 they have not yet 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.

I'll you the story of a bald man.
In the old days there was a baldy who had fallen for his own uncle's daughter.

He wanted to carry her off, but his uncle didn't want to give his daughter to him.

Wherever this boy was going became an excuse to pass by that uncle of his.

He would say: "Uncle, I want your daughter!" and so on.

Later but PossP.3S uncle against be Pst.3S Comp self girl Sbj give 3S IOD.3S
Later... but his uncle was opposed to giving his daughter to him.

He didn't want to give his daughter to him.

This baldy, however he schemed to go and take his uncle's daughter, he wasn't able to.

Finally one day, having got hold of this baldy, the uncle set fire to his house.

The uncle set fire to the baldy's house.

The baldy took off the rubble of his house to throw away.
He had thrown it into a bag, put it on the back of a horse and made the load secure.

He was taking it away by horse to some place where he could throw away his rubble.

He went, and saw that some thieves are coming, all loaded up.

These thieves turned back and said: "Mister, what's this?"
16 vâtaša telešma žaya iâ .

vât =sš =a tele =om =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 om kisamun delakâ .
tele =m dakard -a =ya om kïsa -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 jögâikâm dozdia .
asb -i =m ž =a jögâ -i =kâ =m dozd =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 vâtašuna valla amani dozdimun .
vât =sšun =a valla ama =ni dozd =imun
say =3P =Tr by.God! 1P =also thief =Cop.1P

They said: "By God, we're thieves too!"

21 amani hânta om bârei ki žamuna
ama =ni hânta om bâr -e -i ki ža =mun =a
1P =also like.this DemP load P Rch Rel hit =1P =Tr
ömneni telen .
öm -e =ni tele =n
DemP P =also gold =Cop.3P

The baggage we've loaded up is gold too.
22 isya be âgonam yando šavirâ iâ isya be âgon -am yando 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 òm var a var šimun saxsari ba har hâl òm var a var š -imun tomorrow in.any.case DemP direction DemD direction go 1P jëgâikâ amani batkâ mørâgebat bakardimun . jëgâ -i =kâ ama =ni batô =kâ mørâgebat 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 bab . tə =ni bama =na hamrâ bə- b 2S = also 1P.IO = with companion Imper be

You also join up with us!

25 dumlakâ òm telemun yandâna baxš dumla =kâ òm tele -mun yandâ =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 òme iâ mandin a šavirâ ba har hâl gördi òm -e iâ mand -in a šav -i =râ ba har hâl görd -i DemP P here remained Pst.3P DemD night Ob = for in.any.case all Ob xştin dara ġorağikâ röbäri ġorağikâ . xşt -in dara ġorağ -i =kâ röbär -i ġorağ -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.

One by one they were keeping guard, so no thief would come and take away their sacks.

One by one the baldy slept; and they slept.

The last one who had to keep watch was this baldy.
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

kayāra

kayār =a

where? =Cop.3S

Of course, they didn't know where his house was.

33 oma malakā bale vātsa ki amu mən oštan ka
  oma mala =kā bale vāt =oš =a ki amu mən oštan ka

came.3S place =Loc yes say =3S =Tr Comp uncle Ob.1S self house

gilim barda šarikām xərata

gilim barda šarikām xərata

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 nafār hesta kārā ka gili barde avaz
  ua i nafār hest =a kār =a ka gili bard -e avaz

there a person exist =Cop.3S Prog =3S house clay carried Inf change

karde telenā

karde telenā

kard -e tele =na

do Inf gold =with

There's someone there who is taking rubble and exchanging it for gold.
The uncle also burnt down his house, and threw the remains in a bag.

He took it to town in order to go and get gold there in proportion.

His uncle was pretty greedy about becoming rich.

Yes, he went to town.
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.

"Mister, as if they'd buy rubble here!"

"As if people would buy this stuff here!"

Yes, the uncle came back angry with the baldy, saying: "You were the one who burnt my house!"

"What on earth were you doing!" and so on.
Yes, he got the baldy, and threw him into a sack.

He tied up the top of the sack.

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.

He took the baldy into a forest, the top of the sack tied up, and left him in the forest.

Some time passed, and a shepherd was coming along with his sheep.

Some time passed, and a shepherd was coming along with his sheep.
He was grazing his sheep there.

Then he came and saw that someone is in a sack, shaking about.

The sack is shaking about!

He went and struck the sack, saying: "Mister, who are you?"
He said, "By God, they want to give the king's daughter to me."

"But I didn't want to."

"For that reason they threw me into this sack, saying that by any means, you must come and marry the king's daughter."

"I keep saying that mister, I won't, they keep saying that you must."
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 tò mòn darafan cai delakâ , mòn bobarun az šâ kola
tò mòn darafan cai dela =kâ mòn bo- bar -un az šâ kola
2S Ob.1S throw.in PossD.3S in =Loc Ob.1S Sbj carry 3P 1S king girl
bobarun .
bo- 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 vátxa xob iškâliši nia .
vát =şš =a xob iškål =iš ni =a
say =3S =Tr good problem =Ind.3S Neg =Cop.3S

He said, "Fine, no problem."

64 be hata bobaram .
be hata bo- kar -am
come! like.this Sbj do.II Sbj.1P

"Come on, let's do it like that."

65 ōm šuna kisa sar âkarda dumlakâ ōm šuna
ōm šuna kisa sar â- kard =a dumla =kâ ōm šuna
DemP shepherd bag head Pvb opened =Tr after =Loc DemP shepherd
ōma daša ōm kisa dela .
ōma da- š -a ōm 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.
He took the sheep and came to his village.

His uncle saw him and said: "baldy, what are these things?"

"I'd thrown you into a sack so the wolves would eat you in the forest, child."
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."

"Mister, this is what someone did."

The uncle spoke again: "Well, now that's what you will do."

"You come, throw me in the sack, take me to the forest and leave me."

"Then they'll give me a flock too."

He said "Ok."
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.

Since the uncle was tied hand and foot in the sack, he went down to the bottom of the sea and died.

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.
Once upon a time (lit: there is a day, there is not an era, there is none but God),
we were going on our way, and noticed that a young cockerel crowed.

Of course we went on, and saw a man picking pears.

Once he had picked the pears, he used a handkerchief he had to clean the pears that had fallen on the ground.
Then he was pouring the pears into his apron, taking them to the basket and emptying them in.

Just there where he was pouring into the basket a young goat came along from that direction, and wanted to eat his pears.

The man got hold of his goat, grabbed its neck and dragged it in the other direction, so it would not eat the pears.
Later he came back and plucked more pears.

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.

Before going up the tree, he'd picked three or four basketfuls and left them there anyhow.

As he went up the tree, a boy came along on a bicycle.
This boy arrived, and the man didn't see, since he was picking pears.

He came alongside the tree, and got off his bicycle.

Then he let go of the bicycle and dropped it.

Then he went to steal a pear.

At first he picked up one pear.

He saw that no, there's no one around.
Since he couldn't see the man, the man couldn't see him, the owner of the pear orchard, the pear-picker.

This one came for the second time and picked up the basket of pears just there.

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.
He set off, went a little way, then saw in the middle of the way that a young girl was coming on a bicycle.

The little girl came up and this boy's concentration was thrown, the pear thief.

He went on. In short, the girl threw the boy's concentration, and as they passed each other, the girl took his hat.
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.

So he remained just there, pulled down the top of his sock, and sat there.

After a while two or three folk, children of his age, came along from that direction.
These children his age came along, went and helped him, and gathered up all the pears from the ground.

They poured them back into the basket.

Anyway, then he said goodbye to them and the children went on their way, while the other boy got onto his bicycle and left.

He wanted to go to his house.
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.

They said: "Your hat slipped your mind!"

He picked up his hat.

For the second time he headed off.
Before setting off, he gave one pear to each of the two or three of them.

36 om xordanen a golabia cini tarafina kara
om xordan -en a golabi -a cin -i taraf -i =na kara
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 golabi om zua
ha merdak -a ate ku ce golabi om zua
SameD man Disc there Comp PossD.3S pear DemP boy
dozdah .
dozdi =à
steal =Cop.Pst.3S

The same man over there whose pears this boy had stolen.

38 de a xordan ša .
de a xordan š -a
in.any.case DemD child went 3S

In any case, that boy went.

39 omenni šina .
om -en =ni š -ina
DemP P =also went 3P

They also went.

40 om merdaka , dariku virma vatoša
om merdak -a dar -i =ku vir- ma vât =aš =a
DemP man Disc tree Ob =Loc Pvb came.down.3S said =3S =Tr
au , comon golabi zambil nua nia .
au comon golabi 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.
So he's there thinking, what happened to the basket of pears?

"Oh dear," he said. Then four or five children come from that direction, each one eating a pear.

But then he is embarrassed to question them.

Well, after all there were pear orchards in both directions.
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!"

But since they were coming from over there, he said (to himself): "Well, they're coming; what can I ask?"

"It's possible they took someone else's pears, or bought them, or picked them from their own orchard."

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.
Once upon a time (lit: there is a day, there are no days, there is none but God)

there was a man who had seven daughters.

He really loved the smallest girl.

Those (other) girls said: "What shall we do? He loves that little girl more, how much does he love us?"

By God.
6 và i ruzi bondina a šaš kina bondina
và i ruz =i bondi =na a šaš kina bondi =na
say,3S a day = Ind each other = with DemD 6 girl each other = with
poxtusâze karan , và ama bošam jangal târa cini ,
poxtusâze kar -am và ama bo-š -am jangal târa cin -i

cunning plan do 3P say,3S 1P Sbj go 1P forest herb pluck Nom
əmini aštana bəbaram .
əm -i =ni ošta =na bo- 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 rái nedâram .
de rá =i ne- dâr -am
in any case way = Ind Neg have 1P

We have no other option.

9 homen i ruzi šun jangal târa cini , əm kina
hom -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 to jišon
ji-š -o a -i =na vâ -n to ji-š -ən
Pvb go down 3S 3S Ob = with say,3S 3P 2S Pvb.Imp go down Imp,2S
barakua kuniku târa daria , bocin .
barakua kun -i =ku târa dari = a bo- 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."
So the little girl goes in under a thornbush, and her hair gets twisted and held tight.

She calls her sisters, and says "Come and set me free, my hair is tangled."

She (the first sister to come) should go and free her, but she does not.

She puts in two or three knots.
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 om vinə kə râna i ci a sar kərâ ə.

badaz om vin -ə kə rə =na i ci a sar kərə ə

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 və xu xəlu jən me maxər me bərə jənə

badaz və xu -a xəlu jən me ma- xər me bərə jən -ə

later say.3S boar Lnk uncle dear 1S.Ob Phb eat 1S.Ob brother dear Voc

šəkərbunə gula boze.

šəkərbun -ə gula bo- ze

hunter Voc promise Imp hit

Then she says: "Dear uncle boar, don't eat me dear brother hunter, promise!"
He says: "Don't fear me, fear the next one!"

She sees a bear has come.

She says: "Dear uncle bear, don't eat me, my dear brother. O hunter, promise!"

He says: "Don't fear me, fear the next one!"

She sees a leopard is coming along.
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!"

The leopard says "Don't fear me, fear the next one!"

Next a ghoul comes along there.

An enormous ghoul.

She says to the ghoul: "Dear uncle ghoul, don't eat me, my dear brother, O hunter, promise right here!"
The ghoul says, "Don't fear me; fear the next one!"

So she sees a great big enormous terrifying monster is coming along! God forbid!

At his roar a man's heart would sink.

The girl says to the monster: "Dear uncle monster, don't eat me! Dear brother hunter, promise!"

The monster turns, sees her and says: "Ah, heh heh! Human, I've been searching the heavens for you."
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.

He says, "Very well."

The monster eats her, and doesn't see that one drop of blood is left just there.

So he eats her just there.
This one drop of blood becomes a beautiful tree.

And what a tree this tree is!

It was a plane tree.

One day a man sets out and comes along
to go for timber.

He comes beneath this tree, and sees it is a beautiful piece of timber.
He sits beneath it to relieve his fatigue.

47 do tabar om dāri žanə .

də tabar om dār -i žan -o

2 axe DemP tree Ob strike 3S

He strikes the tree twice with an axe.

48 və , a ca xâlu jân cer â mən davəri ?

və a c =a xâlu jân cer â 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 və lua karə , çə və ?

dâr və lua kar -o çə və

tree say.3S speaking do 3S what? say.3S

A tree speaking?! What is it saying?

51 belâxəra om dāri žanə , om dāri cəkənə .

belâxəra om dār -i žan -o om dār -i cəkən -o

finally DemP tree Ob strike 3S DemP tree Ob break 3S

In the end he strikes the tree and severs it.

52 əm dāri davərə , guš nâährə .

əm dār -i davər -u guš nâ- â- kar -o

DemP tree Ob chop.down 3S ear Neg Pvb open 3S

He chops the tree down, and does not listen.
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."

He says, "Very well."

This man chops the tree down.

He cuts it nicely into boards, and carries the timber away.
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  om  izom  trâ  busân .
pir -a nana vâ om izom -i trâ =râ bu- son
old Lnk mother say.3S DemP firewood Ob 2S =for Imp burn

He tells his grandmother: "Burn this firewood for yourself."

60 ani  ko  comân  lata .
a =ni ko comân lat =a
DemD =also Comp Poss.1S timber =Cop.3S

"And this is my timber."

61 om  pira  nanani  malaku  gardâ , ruz  şi
om pir -a nana =ni mala =ku gard -ş ruz ş -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 om  i  dafa  âtaş  pena , om  talâşi  pekarâ ,
om i dafa âtaş pe- na om talâš -i pe- kar -u
DemP a time fire Pvb set.up.3S DemP woodchip Ob Pvb heap.up 3S
om talâš ozgari nekarâ , ila ozgari vazâ
om talâš ozgar =i ne- kar -u i -la ozgar =i vaz -u
DemP woodchip spark =Ind Neg do 3S a Cl spark =Ind jump 3S
dalakâ  cimi  raxtxâbi  peštî .
da- lak -ş cimi raxtxâb -i peštî
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.

\[ 63 \text{ vá ko am cóma raxtəxāb sista , am šu} \]
\[ 63 \text{ vá ko am cóma raxtəxāb sist -a am šu} \]
\[ \text{say.3S Comp DemP Poss.1S bedclothes burn Pst.3S DemP go.3S} \]
\[ raxtəxābi harci pecinə , harci tağalā karə , \]
\[ raxtəxāb -i harci pe- cin -o harci tağalā kar -o \]
bedclothes Ob whatever Pvb.Sbj gather up 3S whatever exertion do 3S
\[ \text{vino de əzgara gəla mâğub ba , damarda} . \]
\[ \text{vin -o de əzgar -a gəla mâğub b -a damard -a} \]
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.

\[ 64 \text{ am əzgara gəla ābu eyne ha kina .} \]
\[ 64 \text{ am əzgar -a gəla ā- b -u eyne ha kina} \]
DemP spark Lnk Cl Pvb become 3S as if SameD girl

This one spark became the same girl again.

\[ 65 \text{ əzgara gəla ābu ha kina yā .} \]
\[ 65 \text{ əzgar -a gəla ā- b -u ha kina yā} \]
spark Lnk Cl Pvb become 3S SameD girl here

The spark became that same girl, right there.

\[ 66 \text{ belaxəra , am pira ženak kə šu , am barə , kina} \]
\[ 66 \text{ belaxəra am pı̞r -a ženak kə šu am barə kina} \]
finally DemP old Lnk woman Comp go.3S DemP come along.3S girl
\[ \text{barə , cimi ka daruʃu , ce gə airə} \]
\[ \text{barə cimi ka daruʃ -o ce gə a -i =rə} \]
come along.3S PossP.3S house sweep 3S PossD.3S cow 3S Ob for
\[ \text{dušu , airə polə pena .} \]
\[ \text{duš -o a -i =rə polə pe- na} \]
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.
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.

She sets out the teapot, sweeps the house, and goes back into hiding there.

The old woman comes, and sees wow! Her house is swept!

The rice is cooked!
Wow, the tea is brewed!

73 hama kārî murataba, hickas manda nia

hama kār = 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 , om kia borâ , conjura kia ?

vâ au om ki = a borâ conjura 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 , borâ , mašadi , nana , bâji ,

harci da- xun - o borâ mašadi nana bâji

whatever Pvb summon 3S brother Mashadi mother woman

kira ?

ki = ira

who? = Cop.2S

She says: "Wow, who is this? Brother, how did this happen? Who is it?"

76 to be məna pəlā bar !

to be mə = na pəlā b- ar

2S be 1S.Ob = with pilau Imp ate

"Come and eat rice with me!"

77 vinə sasi nia .

vin - o sas = i ni = a

see 3S voice = Ind Neg = Cop.3S

She sees that there is no answer.

78 om pəlā harə .

om pəlā har - o

DemP pilau eat 3S

She eats this rice.
She eats the rice, has it for lunch again, and goes her way.

She heads off, and on Friday she comes to the village at dusk and sees that eh! It's the same again!

The rice cooked, cow tied up, milk milked, tea brewed, everything ready.

The crockery is washed, and there's no one there.

The old lady eats all the rice and then goes off to sleep just there.
She goes off to sleep that night, gets up again, washes the dishes, sweeps the house, and in the morning sets off and milks the cows and boils the milk just there.

She puts everything ready just there, brews the tea, then goes off and hides.

The girl gets up and sees that eh! The cattle have been let out, the cows milked... Everything has been done!
In the morning the old woman knows what to do. She goes and hides there.

She goes and hides near the windowsill.

She sees that yes, a girl - a beautiful young girl - has come out from behind the pillow.

She stays there, the house is swept, the dishes washed.

She cooks the rice, then the old woman sneaks up and grabs her.
She says: "What's this? Dear mother, may I faint for you, may I die for you!"

"You must tell me why you are doing this for me!"

She replies: "By God, I'll tell you everything one by one."

She said: "How did the spark fit in?"

"What spark?"

She says: "It fell behind your pillow, and you went after it but couldn't find it."
"I am that very spark."

Then, this old lady says: "How can that be, sister?"

"Then how did it happen, who was it?"

Then they stayed and talked together for ever so long.

She says: "We were seven sisters, and in the end they took me to the forest and got me stuck there, then ran away."
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.

I said to him: "Don't chop me down."

"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."

In the end this old lady gives her son, she had a son.
She had a grandson, and she gives him, and they have a wedding and she stays there.

The black stone on their head, the mercy of God on our head.

B10. KOP: Pear Story, Kolur

A man had gone up a tree.

He was busy picking pears.

He was busy picking pears.
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?

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.

Later some pear P Rch Rel fall.down 3P of course
dároku kə cinise , sərdinšən
dár -ə =ku kə cin -ise sərdin =əš =in
tree Ob =Loc Comp pick Imp.3S ladder =3S =also
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.

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.

Some of the pears fell from his hand, and what did he have to do?
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.

I think he wanted to take them and sell them.

Since he was cleaning them, certainly he wanted to take them and sell them.

In this way he had filled up one basket.
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.

Suddenly he came, about to go, then was tempted to take one of them.

To take one of the pears and carry it off.

First he thought to take one, then he said "No, if I take one, it's possible he'll realize, that he'll notice."
"Better that I do it slowly."

He stood 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.

He took a whole basket of pears and laid them so he could get away with his bicycle without the man up there realizing.
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.

He ran off in the direction he was heading. Suddenly he saw a young girl was coming from the opposite direction.

A very pretty one!
He looked for a moment - his eyes fell on that girl.

At that same moment that the girl was passing by him at speed, as the girl reached him, his hat fell off.

Then when his hat fell off, he wasn't paying attention, and the hat distracted him in one direction.
In the other direction the girl distracted him - and on the front of the bicycle he'd put the pears.

He'd put the pears in their basket.

Just then and there where the bicycle came, a stone had been put in the road.

The stone and the bicycle collided, the pears fell, and the boy fell too.
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.

Having pulled down his sock, and just as he was touching his leg with his hand, suddenly he saw oh!

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.
One had a ping pong game in his hand, and was playing ping pong.

He looked at them, and they felt for him.

They said, "Come on, let's go and give him some help."

Then they came over to him and, in short, they put his pears in the basket one by one.

They didn't know that these pears were stolen, along with the basket.
They didn't know.

Anyway.

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.
He sat on this bicycle and went on his way.

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.

Where those three children were going, they saw oh!

A straw hat!
When they saw the straw hat, they whistled to him.

49 he, ošto zambila kolā!

he ošto zambila kolā
hey! Poss.2S wicker hat

"Hey! Your straw hat!"

50 bad ain ágardos, bəfamosəš kə
bad a =in á- gardos bə- famos =oš kə
later DemD = also Pvb turned.back.3S Pst understood =3S Comp
ca zambila kolaye
ca zambila kolā =ye
PossD.3S wicker hat = Cop.3S

Then he too turned back, and realized that it's his straw hat.

51 i nafar əm xərdiän zambila kolāšān pigat , bədā
i nafar əm xərdi -ān zambila kolā =šān pi- gat bə- dā
one person DemP child P wicker hat =3P Pvb picked.up Pst run.3S
bəše bəbardosə avəš ādā
bə- š -e bə- bard =oš a -v =oš ā- dā
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 ādā , avə inkə bində
a -v =oš ā- dā a -və inkə bind -e
DemD Ob =3S Pvb handed.over DemD Ob Compl saw 3S
ənjure , adabənə , əə gəlaš latanz pigat əmə
ənjur =e adabənə əə gəla =š latanz pi- gat əm -ə
like.this = Cop.3S politely 3 Cl =3S pear Pvb picked.up DemP Ob ādā
ə-
Pvb handed.over

He handed it over and when he saw how it was, he politely took three pears and gave them to him.
He said, "Mister, take and pass on one per person."

He took the pears, carried them and handed them over.

Having taken the pears, they were each busy eating them one by one.

Bit by bit they drew close to the pear farmer who had picked pears up that same tree.
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.

He was pouring them there, and having picked them and taken them he was looking at them one by one, and said oh!

One of the pear baskets is not there!

nothing
He counted and said, "My goodness, I had brought three baskets, why are there two?"

In such a state of confusion, he put his hand in his pocket. He rose and stood there looking at these pears. He saw, oh!
Two or three people were coming from that direction, pears in hand, and were eating.

66 hey fekrəš bəka kə āxə , xodiyā , əm latanzun
   hey fekr =əš bo- ka kə āxə xodiyā əm latanz -un
repeatedly thought =3S Pst did Comp after.all O.God! DemP pear P
əmān kāda davārde ?
əm -ān kā =da da- vārd =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 doziali manku āxə az ə
   əm -un dozi -a =i man =ku āxə az ə
   DemP P stole Ptc =Cop.3S 1S.Ob =Loc after.all 1S what?
   comānnan bājom ?
   comān =nan bāj -əm
Poss.3P = with Sbj.say 1S

Are they stolen from me? Oh what should I say to them?

68 əmunin kə ən varda ānd xāb agar latanz
   əm -un =in kə ən var =da ā -nd xāb 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 hāluhavā fekrku be kə ən bəkarə ,
   ce həm hāluhavā fekr =ku b -e kə ən bo- kar -ə
PossD.3S sameP confused thought =Loc be 3S Comp what? Sbj do 3S
   əmun oṣtan latanzān oṣtarā juninde , oṣtarā yavāš yavāš
   əm -un oṣtan latanz -ān oṣta =rā jun -inde oṣta =rā yavāš yavāš
   DemP P self pear P self =for chew Impf.3P self =for slow slow
   comə varənan bəšin .
   comə var =ə =nan bo- 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 hozənda bəvənda nozânise cə  
    bad mərdak -ə həzən = da bə- vənd -ə no- zən -ise cə

later man Disc like.this = Loc Pst stood 3S Neg know Impf.3S what?

fəkr bəkari  

fəkr 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 bəğabuni esə kə šə dərə  
    i bəğabun = i es = ā kə š = ā dər -e

a gardener = Ind exist = Cop.Pst.3S Rel go = Cop.Pst.3S tree Ob
sardere kara xoj cini  
    sar = dere kara xoj cin -i

head = Srce Prog pear pick Impf.3S

There was a gardener who had gone up a tree and was picking pears.
There was a red handkerchief hung round his neck.

And a white apron tied around his front, so that he could pour pears into it.

The gardener went up the tree.
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.

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.

The goat was trying to eat those pears, but its master wouldn't let it.
By force he pulled the goat along, and went past.

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.

For a moment he looks up, he looks up the tree, and sees the gardener is busy picking pears.
He puts his bicycle on the ground, and tries to take two pears.

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.

Two pears fall out on the way.
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 zu a tâ kela ven oša , šu ai dedesô , i dafâi
   zu a tâ kela ven = oš = a šu ai dedes -ô i dafâ = i
   boy until girl see = 3S = Tr go.3S 3Sg.Ob look 3S a moment = Ind
   ce kôlâ balakô .
   ce kôlâ balak -ô
   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 oštan kôlâ dedesô , i dafâi ke docarxa ila
   šu oštan kôlâ dedes -ô i dafâ = i ke docarxa i -la
   go.3S self hat look 3S a moment = Ind Comp bicycle a Cl
   sangekâ gir karô valakô .
   sang -e = kâ gir kar -ô va- lak -ô
   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 xôjen hama vebun zamine .
   xôj -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 kô zu a zamine lakâ va ce
   dar ham beyn -i kô zu a zamin -e lak = â va ce
   in same midst Rch Rel boy ground Ob fall = Cop.Pst.3S and Poss.3S
   xôjen vebenâ , oštan pâ kara dedesi kô ce pâ
   xôj -en ve- b -enâ oštan pâ kara dedes -i kô ce pâ
   pear P Pvb spilt 3Pl.Pst self leg Prog look Impf.3S Comp Poss.3S leg
   zahn âba yâ ne , oštan guraveš vuardâ jer
   zahn â- b -a yâ ne oštan gurave = š vuard = â jer
   wound Pvb became 3S or not self sock = 3S brought = Cop.Pst.3S down
At the same moment that the boy had fallen to the ground, his pears had spilled 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.

They come and help him, collect his pears together, and pour them into the basket.

And then, when they pour them in the basket,
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.

Those three boys pass him and go on a little way, then see that his hat has fallen down there.

They look and realize that this hat belongs to this boy.

They whistle for him again. That boy stops.

This boy runs over and reaches him.
The one who had the pears, he takes his hat; the other gives it to him.

He, in order to say thank you, takes three pears and hands them over.

When he hands over the three pears, they clean them with their shirts and begin to eat them.

And with one hand they keep playing the game.
At the same moment the gardener up the tree comes down, and sees: Eh!

32 kə xu i sabade sevāmi , zambileye sevāmi pār
   kə xu  -i sabad -e sevāmi zambile -ye sevāmi pār
Comp    want    Impf.3S    basket    Ob    third    Ob    third    full
ākari ,    venə    kə    e !
ā-    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 gələ zamila
   də gələ zamila   =ya
 two    Cl    woven.basket   =Cop.3S

There are two baskets!

34 hey    išmärə    išmärə    venə    də    gələ zamilaya
   hey    išmär    -o    išmär    -o    ven    -ə    də    gələ 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    duā    be    sərd ,
   dar    həm    beyn    -i    kə    takia    =š    du    =ā    be    sərd
in    same    midst    Rch    Rel    leaning    =3S    gave    =Cop.Pst.3S    to    ladder
venəša    iə    se    gələ xərde    iə    barān    kara    məzə
ven    =š    =a    iə    se    gələ xərd    -e    iə    barā    -n    kara    məzə
see    =3S    =Tr    here    three    Cl    child    P    here    come.along    3P    Prog    game
karin .
kər    -in
do    Impf.3P

Just as he leant on the ladder, he saw that three children are coming along here, playing a game.
With one hand they're also eating pears!

He looks at them for a while: they are three boys, both with a game and with some pears, eating, walking along and going.

This was our story.
Appendix C – Participant Charts

Anbarani Pear Film


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conn</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Non-Subject</th>
<th>Free</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a gardener 1</td>
<td>gardener 1 a gardener</td>
<td>pear 2</td>
<td>INTR was picking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--1</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>--2</td>
<td>N1 was picking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--1</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>--2</td>
<td>N1 was picking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--1</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>--2</td>
<td>N1 was pouring into his apron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his apron</td>
<td>went full</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--1</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td></td>
<td>went down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--1</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>--2</td>
<td>N1 poured into basket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a man 3</td>
<td>gardener 1</td>
<td>a goat 4</td>
<td>INTR had got</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--3</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>its horns</td>
<td>had got</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--3</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>came</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--3</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>came</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--3</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>pears 2</td>
<td>N4 passed</td>
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<td>goat 4</td>
<td>gardener 1</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>wanted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--4</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>pears 2</td>
<td>N1 take</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goat master 3</td>
<td>gardener 1</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>didn’t want</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--3</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>--4</td>
<td>N3 dragged in that direction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gardener 1</td>
<td>gardener 1</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>was up tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his head</td>
<td>went down</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a small boy 5</td>
<td>gardener 1</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>was hot</td>
</tr>
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<td>--5</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td>was passing by bike</td>
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<tr>
<td>--5</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>a pear 2</td>
<td>N4 take</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--5</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>saw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gardener 1</td>
<td>gardener 1</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>is busy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--1</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>(--5)</td>
<td>(N3) doesn’t see</td>
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<td>--5</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>a basket 2</td>
<td>N4 took</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--5</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>--2</td>
<td>N1 puts on bicycle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--5</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td>sets off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--5</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>went</td>
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<tr>
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<td>S1</td>
<td>went</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--5</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>a girl 6</td>
<td>INTR saw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his eyes</td>
<td></td>
<td>fall on girl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--5</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>saw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she 6</td>
<td>gardener 1</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>is beautiful</td>
</tr>
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<td>wind 7</td>
<td>wind 7</td>
<td>INTR</td>
<td>blew</td>
</tr>
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<td>--7</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>hat 8</td>
<td>INTR carried</td>
</tr>
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<td>big hat 8</td>
<td>gardener 1</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>INTR was on his head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his concentration</td>
<td>gardener 1</td>
<td></td>
<td>was thrown</td>
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<td>--5</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>went</td>
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<td>--5</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>a stone</td>
<td>hit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--5</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>fell</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>basket 2</td>
<td>gardener 1</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>split</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 of his friends 9</td>
<td>gardener 1</td>
<td>INTR</td>
<td>were passing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3 strangers 9 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 his hat 8 N4 called
--9 S4 went a little further
--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
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


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conn</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Non-Subject</th>
<th>Free</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>a man 1 INTR</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>goes up a pear tree</td>
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<td>--1 S1</td>
<td>pears 2 INTR</td>
<td>is picking</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>--1 S1</td>
<td>pears 2 N1</td>
<td>picks</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>--1 S1</td>
<td>one by one 2 N1</td>
<td>throws into his apron</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>--1 S1</td>
<td>a cloth</td>
<td>has tied round his neck</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--1 S1</td>
<td>pears 2 N1</td>
<td>is picking</td>
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<tr>
<td>--1 S1 --2 N1</td>
<td>is bringing</td>
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<td>--1 S1 --2 N1</td>
<td>is throwing</td>
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<tr>
<td>--1 S1 one basket (2) (N1)</td>
<td>put on ground</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>--1 S1 --2 N1</td>
<td>is throwing</td>
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<tr>
<td>at time --1 S1 --2 N1</td>
<td>is bringing</td>
<td></td>
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459
<table>
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<tr>
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<th>S1</th>
<th></th>
<th>N1</th>
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<td>--1</td>
<td>S1</td>
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<td>N1</td>
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<td></td>
<td>pours into basket</td>
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<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td>N1</td>
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<td></td>
<td>he comes</td>
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<td>so as to</td>
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<td>empty</td>
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<td>N1</td>
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<td>his cloth</td>
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<td>opens</td>
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<td>that pear (2)</td>
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<td>S1</td>
<td>it 2</td>
<td>N3</td>
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<td>S1</td>
<td>all 2</td>
<td>(N1)</td>
<td>throws into basket</td>
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<td>S1</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>a man 3</td>
<td>INTR</td>
<td>rope</td>
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<td>pregnant goat 4</td>
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<td>was</td>
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<td>--3</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>it 4</td>
<td>N3</td>
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<td>S1</td>
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<td>N3</td>
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<td>S1</td>
<td>hat 6</td>
<td>INTR</td>
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<td>(N4)</td>
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<td>had put on head</td>
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<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td>N3</td>
<td></td>
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<td>came</td>
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<td>S1</td>
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<td>N3</td>
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<td>to pass under the tree</td>
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<td>--5</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>(some of) these pears 2</td>
<td>N4</td>
<td>saw</td>
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<td>--5</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td>N3</td>
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<td>S1</td>
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<td>S1</td>
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<td>N3</td>
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<td>to take with him</td>
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<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td>N4</td>
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<td>saw that</td>
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<td>friend 1</td>
<td>S4</td>
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<td>N3</td>
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<td>doesn’t notice</td>
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<td>S1/3</td>
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<td>N1</td>
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<td>S1</td>
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<td>N4</td>
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<td>N3</td>
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</tr>
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<td>a girl 7</td>
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<td>--7</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>is coming opposite him</td>
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<td>S3</td>
<td>girl 7</td>
<td>N3</td>
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<td>turned in that direction</td>
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<td>N3</td>
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<td>fell off his head</td>
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<td>--5</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>girl 7</td>
<td>N3</td>
<td>he was focussed upon</td>
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<td>bicycle</td>
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<td></td>
<td>collided with a stone 8</td>
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<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td>N3</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fell</td>
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<td>basket 2</td>
<td>S4</td>
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<td>basket 2</td>
<td>S1</td>
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<td>emptied completely</td>
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<td>then</td>
<td>2/3 friends 9</td>
<td>INTR</td>
<td></td>
<td>were coming from yonder</td>
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<td>they 9</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td>N3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>came</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>--9</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>basket 2</td>
<td>N4</td>
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<td>--9</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td>N3</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>poured into same basket 2</td>
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-9  S1  pears 2  (N3)  they put onto his bicycle  
-5  S3  his leg  was wounded  
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


<table>
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<th>Conn</th>
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<th>Non-Subject</th>
<th>Free</th>
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<td>then</td>
<td>--1 S1</td>
<td>pear 2</td>
<td>N1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>INTR</td>
<td>picked and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--1 S1</td>
<td>a handkerchief</td>
<td>also had</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pears 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>which fell to the ground</td>
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</table>
then --1 S1 them 2 N3 was cleaning

--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.goose 3 INTR was over there
goose 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

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 pears 1 INTR (right-dislocated)

he 5 S3 came second time

--5 S1 this basket of N4 picked up just there
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<td>S1</td>
<td>--2</td>
<td>N1</td>
<td>brought and</td>
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<tr>
<td>--5</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>bicycle 6</td>
<td>N4</td>
<td>set upright</td>
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<td>a basket</td>
<td>N4</td>
<td>had at the front</td>
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<td>S1</td>
<td>--2</td>
<td>N1</td>
<td>loaded on its front</td>
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<td>--5</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>bicycle 6</td>
<td>N3</td>
<td>sat on</td>
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<td>--5</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>set off</td>
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<td>--5</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>went</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>--5</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>went</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>then</td>
<td>--5</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>saw in road</td>
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<td>a girl 7</td>
<td>INTR</td>
<td>is coming on a bicycle</td>
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<td>this girl 7</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>came and</td>
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<td>this child 5</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>was confused</td>
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<td>S3</td>
<td>(right-dislocated)</td>
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<td>this 7</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>went</td>
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<td>--7</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>something</td>
<td>did to this child’s mind</td>
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<td>--5&amp;7</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>went</td>
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<td>--5&amp;7</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>each other</td>
<td>N3</td>
<td>passed</td>
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<td>his hat 8</td>
<td>N4</td>
<td>took</td>
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<td>hat 8</td>
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<td>fell to the ground</td>
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<td>S4</td>
<td>all spilt</td>
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<td>like.this</td>
<td>--5</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>remained there</td>
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<td>S1</td>
<td>his sock</td>
<td>brought down and so on</td>
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<td>2 or 3 people 9</td>
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<td>who</td>
<td>children 9</td>
<td>INTR</td>
<td>same age came</td>
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<td>his peers 9</td>
<td>INTR</td>
<td>came and</td>
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<td>S1</td>
<td>went to him</td>
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<td>--9</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>(--5)</td>
<td>N3</td>
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<td>S1</td>
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<td>S1</td>
<td>--2</td>
<td>N1</td>
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<td>S3</td>
<td>said goodbye to them</td>
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<td>S3</td>
<td>went on their way</td>
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<td>S3</td>
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<td>S1</td>
<td>went on his way</td>
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<td>--5</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>wanted to go home</td>
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<td>but</td>
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<td>S4</td>
<td>had slipped his mind</td>
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<td>hat8</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>that slipped his mind,</td>
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<tr>
<td>--5</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>went</td>
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<td>--5</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>went a bit that way</td>
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<td>S1</td>
<td>him 5</td>
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<td>S1</td>
<td>said that</td>
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<td>S1</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>S5</td>
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<td>your hat 8</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>has slipped your mind</td>
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<td>he 5</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>his hat 8</td>
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<td>S1</td>
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<td>S1</td>
<td>went</td>
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<td>S1</td>
<td>set off</td>
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<td>--5</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>(a pear 2)</td>
<td>gave to each one</td>
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<td>S4</td>
<td>were approaching that man</td>
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<td>that same man 1</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>from whom</td>
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<td>had stolen</td>
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<td>anyway that boy 5</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>went</td>
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<td>they too 9</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>went</td>
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<td>this man 1</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>came down from tree</td>
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<td>--1</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>said oh!</td>
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<td>my basket (2)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>is not</td>
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<td>there --1</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>thinks</td>
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<td>my basket (2)</td>
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<td>what happened?</td>
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<td>--1</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>said oh!</td>
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<td>four/five kids 9</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>are coming from that way</td>
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<td>each one 9</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>a pear 2</td>
<td>N4</td>
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<td>he 1 also</td>
<td>S3</td>
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<td>S1</td>
<td>them 9</td>
<td>N3</td>
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<td>the same?1</td>
<td>pear orchards</td>
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<td>they 9</td>
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<td>S1</td>
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<td>S1</td>
<td>my pears 2</td>
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<td>--1</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>said</td>
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<td>well</td>
<td>--9</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>came</td>
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<td>--1</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>what?</td>
<td>ask</td>
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<td>they 9</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>someone else’s pears</td>
<td>perhaps took</td>
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<td>or</td>
<td>--9</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>have bought</td>
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<td>or</td>
<td>--9</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>took from their own orchard</td>
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<td>man 1</td>
<td>S4</td>
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<td>these pears 2</td>
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<td>S1</td>
<td>passed in front of him</td>
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<td>--9</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>went</td>
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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?