

ENCLITIC PRONOUNS IN THE ANBARĀNI DIALECT OF TALYSHI*

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Abstract

Enclitic pronouns are used in most of New West Iranian languages. They are mainly used for marking the possessor, as well as objects, besides, those Iranian languages and dialects, which show ergative patterns, make use of enclitic pronouns for marking the agent in ergative constructions. This paper deals with the enclitic pronouns and their functions in Anbarāni, one of the Northern Talyshi dialects, spoken in the Islamic Republic of Iran. Where it is possible the features of Anbarāni enclitics will be compared with some other West Iranian languages.

Keywords: Talyshi, Anbarāni, West Iranian, enclitics, pronouns, dialectology, Iranian languages, Iranian linguistics.

1. Introduction

Talyshi, classified as belonging to the Northwestern Iranian group of languages, includes a wide range of dialects, which, based on phonological, grammatical and lexical factors, are traditionally divided into three main clusters: Northern, Central and Southern [1, 14, 18]. Anbarāni is a Northern Talyshi dialect spoken in the Anbarān district (baxš) of Namin sub-provincial district (*šahrestān*) (Ardabil province) of Iran, in the city of Anbaran and adjacent villages. This paper is based on the fieldwork carried out in Aminjān (now a part of Anbarān city [2]) and aims to analyze the functions of the enclitic pronouns in Anbarāni.

The enclitic pronouns in Anbarāni are as follows: -əm, -e/-ə, -əš, -əmun, -en, -əšun (see Table 1). The forms of 1S and 3S, like the New Persian enclitic pronouns (-am, -aš, resp.), derive from Old Iranian genitive/dative pronominal clitics *-mai, *-šai [6: 161-162]. The origin of the form for 2S is unclear [7: 115]. The plural enclitics are formed from the singular forms by adding the plural suffix -un (=Az.Tal. -on, NP. -ān) < OIr. Genitive pl. ending *-ānām [19: 103].

Table 1. *Enclitic pronouns in the Anbarāni dialect of the Talyshi language*

	Sg.	Pl.
1 st	-əm	-əmun
2 nd	-e/-ə	-en
3 rd	-əš	-əšun

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Although in the Talyshi dialect of Anbarān (and generally in Northern Talyshi) and in New Persian these enclitic pronouns generally have common origin, they are completely different from each other in their functions. While in the Persian language, especially in colloquial speech, pronominal enclitics have a very broad usage [11], in Anbarāni their use is quite limited.

2. Expression of Possession

The expression of possession is one of the main functions of the Persian enclitic pronouns. In the language data collected during my fieldwork, such a function of the Anbarāni enclitics is not found. Still, the use of pronominal enclitics in possessive function rarely occurs in Anbarāni, and D. Paul calls it “an innovation borrowed from Persian”:

čaš-əš ba vača hamu-anda a-gini.
 eye-3sg. to kid goat field-LOC. PVB.-fell.3sg.
 ‘His eye fell on a kid goat in the field’ (Paul 2011: 80)

For expressing the relation between a noun and who possesses it, in Anbarāni special possessive pronouns are used¹.

Thus, in the Talyshi dialect of Anbarān, enclitic pronouns have two main functions: expressing ownership (predicative expression of possession) and marking the agent in constructions.

3. Predicative expression of possession, ownership (‘to have’)

In Anbarāni, there is no verb ‘to have’ and the state of having, owning, controlling something is expressed by the enclitic pronouns, combining with the existential verb *heste* - ‘to exist, there is’

<i>ila</i>	<i>yul-a</i>	<i>boγ-əmun</i>	<i>heste</i>
A	big-LNK.	garden-enc.1pl.	exist

‘We have a big garden’

<i>avun</i>	<i>arbob-in</i>	<i>Iyan</i>	<i>māhbub-a</i>	<i>ka-šun²</i>	<i>heste.</i>
they	rich-COP.3pl.	And	beautiful-LNK.	house-Enc.3pl.	exist

¹ The possessive pronouns in Anbarāni are as follows: 1S *čəmān* ‘my’, 2S *əštə* ‘your’, 3S *čavə* ‘his/her’, 1P *čama* ‘our’, 2P *šama* ‘your’, 3P *čavun* ‘their’. These pronouns are analytical forms consisting of the preposition *čə* (<OIr *hačā-) and oblique forms of personal pronouns (in Northern Talyshi only 1st and 3rd person singular personal pronouns have oblique forms, in Anbarāni these are *mān(ə)* and *avə*, respectively). As for 2S and 2P forms, according to Boris Miller, these pronouns also consist of the preposition *čə*, and in the 2P form the consonant *č* ceased to be pronounced because of its articulating similarity with *š* [7: 115].

² When the enclitic pronouns attach to a word ending in a vowel, they lose their initial vowel (except of 2S which only consists of the vowel ‘e’).

‘They are rich and they have a beautiful house’

In all probability this structure is a result of Turkic influence on the Talyshi language³: in ‘Türki Azari’, spoken in East Azerbaijan, West Azerbaijan, Ardabil, Zanjan and in some other regions in Iran, the meaning of the verb to have is also expressed by means of possessive suffixes and the adjective *var* ‘existent, there is/there are’, e.g. *iki qardaš#n var* ‘I have two brothers’ [5: 37].

Along with this Turkic form in Anbarāni the ownership can also be expressed by a structure, including the postposition *ro*⁴ (cf. NP. *rā* < OIr. **radi*) and the verb *heste*, which is typical for a number of Iranian languages⁵:

šəma-ro čān gəla hoa heste?

You.PL-for how many CL. sister exist

How many sisters do you have?

Ahmadə-ro yul-a māhbub-a čaš-un heste.

Ahmad.OB.-for big-LNK. beautiful-LNK. eye-pl. exist

Ahmad has big beautiful eyes.

The third way for expressing the meaning of the verb ‘to have’ is the combination of two above-mentioned constructions, when both the postposition *ro* and enclitic pronouns are used:

<i>aštə</i>	<i>žen-ə=ro</i>	<i>čān</i>	<i>gəla=š</i>	<i>hoa</i>	<i>hest=e?</i>
your	wife-OBL=for	how many	CL=ENC.3S	sister	exist=COP.3S

How many sisters does your wife have?

4. Marking the agent of ergative constructions

Talyshi has what has been called split ergativity [see 3] or Tense-Sensitive Alignment [see 4]: the ergative pattern appears only in the clauses in which the predicate is a transitive verb used either in past simple, present perfect or past perfect tenses.

³ Such a construction with enclitic pronouns for expressing the meaning of the verb ‘to have’ is not typical for West Iranian languages. The semantic extension of *dār/dāšt* ‘to keep, hold’ to ‘to have’, as found in Persian, is considered as an innovation, while the majority of the dialects mark possession by the copula preceded by the indirect object [17: 259].

⁴ The postposition *ro* in Anbarāni expresses the meaning of benefactive case where English would use ‘for’. Unlike Modern Persian, where now the postposition *rā* marks the direct object if the latter is definite, Anbarāni *ro* preserves the meaning of Old Iranian **radi*- (cf. OP. *rādiy* ‘on account of’), as it was in Middle Persian, see [13: 210, 10: 126]

⁵ The meaning of the verb ‘to have’ was expressed through an identical construction in Middle Persian (*Pāpak rāđ pus-ē hast* ‘Pāpak has a son’ [10: 127], as well as in Early New Persian (*ō-rā du pīsar būd-and* ‘he had two sons’ [17: 259]). Such a structure can also be found in other new West Iranian languages, for example, in Zazaki, *ji-rē lāžek b-en-o* ‘she has a boy’ [9: 570].

In Anbarāni Talyshi ergative constructions, the logical subject (i.e. agent) is in oblique case⁶ and marked by enclitic pronouns, while the object (patient) is in direct case:

*manə*⁷ *zina* *aštə* *dust* *maktab=anda*
I.OBL yesterday your friend school-LOC

*vind=əm=e*⁸.

see.PST=ENC.1S=COP.3S

‘Yesterday I saw your friend in the school’

*merd-ə səγ=anda*⁹=š *penja arəšta bə*.
man-OBL stone=LOC=3S window break-PP be.SPT

‘The man had broken the window with a stone’

The placement of enclitic pronouns in Anbarāni displays great variety¹⁰, it can be attached to any component part of a sentence except the agent itself (if it is not

⁶ There are two cases in Anbarāni: oblique and direct. Singular nouns in the direct case do not take any markers, while nouns in the oblique case are marked with the suffix *-ə*. Besides marking the agent in ergative constructions, one of the main functions of this suffix is the expression of possession, e.g. *ženə ka* ‘the woman’s house’, *Ahmadə dust* ‘Ahmad’s friend’ etc. The Anbarāni oblique case marker *-ə* corresponds to Az.Tal. *-i*. Boris Miller claims that it derives from Old Persian demonstrative particle *hya* [7: 79], while according to Wolfgang Schulze [12: 17] it corresponds to Old Persian *-ahyā* (genitive singular of *a*-stems), which in its turn goes back to Old Iranian case ending **-ahya* [16: 29]. It should be noted that in Anbarāni the morphological distinction between singular nouns in oblique and direct cases disappears when a word ends in a vowel, since they do not take the oblique case marker *-ə*, e.g. *kina čaš* ‘the girl’s eye’, *zoa māšin* ‘the boy’s car’ (in ergative constructions as well agents ending with a vowel are not marked by the suffix *-ə*, e.g. *kina aštān dust-əš vində* ‘the girl saw her friend’).

As for the plural nouns, in Anbarāni (as well as in other Northern Talyshi dialects), there is no distinction between direct and oblique cases: all the plural nouns end in *-un* (*-n*), e.g. *ženun olatun* ‘women’s dresses’, *merdun ba ka omen* ‘men came home’ (nominative construction), *merdun dəšmunun-əšun kəšte* ‘men killed the enemies’ (ergative construction). This is most likely due to the extension of the Western Middle Iranian plural oblique *-ān* to the plural direct [see 4: 135-138].

⁷ The first-person singular personal pronoun *āz* has two oblique forms, *mān* and *mānə*, first of which is used for the object (patient) in ergative constructions, the second is used for the agent in ergative constructions, as well as for the direct object in nominative alignment.

⁸ B. Miller [7: 168], comparing this marker with NP. *ast*, states that it should be considered as copula. D. Stilo [15: 374] defines it as the 3rd person singular enclitic form of the auxiliary verb, while D. Paul [8: 137] calls it transitivity marker.

⁹ The postposition *anda* (> OIr. **antar-*, cf. NP. *dar*) in Anbarāni have two functions, besides serving as a general locative marker, it also functions for expressing comitative and instrumental meanings (unlike its Az.Tal. equivalent *ada* which is only locative).

¹⁰ In ergative constructions the enclitic pronouns usually are inserted between the verb stem and the ergativity marker *-e*, but since the 2S enclitic pronoun coincides with that marker, for avoiding the hiatus *ee* (*əe*), it always detaches from the verb and attaches to another component of the sentence,

omitted). Thus, the above-mentioned examples can also have the following structures: 1. *mānə zīnam əštə dust maktabanda vinde, mānə zīna əštəm dust maktabanda vinde, mānə zīna əštə dustəm maktabanda vinde* etc., 2. *merdə səyanda penjaš arəšta bə* or *merdə səyanda penja arəštaš bə*.

It should be noted that in ergative constructions sometimes in clauses with completely clear context the enclitic pronouns can be omitted:

mallo vot=e: əm čəmān zoa=y¹¹.
Mullah say.PST=COP.3S this my son=COP.3S
‘Mullah said: this is my son’

List of Abbreviations

1pl. - the first-person plural	LNK. - linking vowel
1sg. - the first-person singular	LOC. - locative
2pl. - the second-person plural	NP. - New Persian
2sg. - the second-person singular	OBL. - oblique case
3pl. - the third-person plural	OIr. - Old Iranian
3sg. - the third-person singular	OP. - Old Persian
Az.Tal. - Talyshi dialects spoken in the Republic of Azerbaijan	Pl. - plural
CL. – classifier	PP. - past participle
COP. – copula	PST. - past stem
DIR. - direct case	PVB. - preverb
Enc. – enclitic	SPT. - simple past tense

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e.g. *tə a lazatina nun-e hārde?* ‘Did you eat that tasty bread?’. But if the clause consists of only the agent and the predicate, the enclitic pronoun is omitted, e.g. *tə vote: ogār!* ‘you said: come back!’.

¹¹ -y is the 3S enclitic copula form of the verb ‘to be’ attaching to the words ending with a vowel. When the words end with a consonant the form is -e, as shown in examples.

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ԿՑԱԿԱՆ ԴԵՐԱՆՈՒՆՆԵՐԸ ԹԱԼԻՇԵՐԵՆԻ ԱՆԲԱՐԱՆԻ ԲԱՐԲԱՌՈՒՄ

Հակոբ Ավչյան

Բանալի բառեր՝ թալիշերեն, Անբարանի բարբառ, արևմտաիրանական լեզուներ, կցական դերանուններ, բարբառագիտություն, իրանական լեզուներ, իրանական լեզվաբանություն:

Կցական դերանունները գործածվում են ժամանակակից արևմտաիրանական լեզուների մեծ մասում: Դրանք հիմնականում կիրառվում են մատնանշելու համար հատկացուցչին, ինչպես նաև ուղիղ խնդիրը: Բացի այդ՝ այն իրանական

լեզուներում, որոնք ունեն էրգատիվ համակարգ, կցական դերանունները ցույց են տալիս էրգատիվ նախադասությունների ենթակայի դեմքն ու թիվը:

Այս հոդվածում քննարկվում են Իրանի Իսլամական Հանրապետության տարածքում խոսվող հյուսիսային թալիշերենի Անբարանի բարբառի կցական դերանուններն ու դրանց գործառույթները:

Ի տարբերություն պարսկերենի՝ Անբարանի բարբառում կցական դերանունները գրեթե ցույց չեն տալիս պատկանելություն, այդ տեսանկյունից դրանք լուսանցքային կիրառություն ունեն: Այս բարբառում կցական դերանունների երկու հիմնական գործառույթներն են՝

1. կիրառվելով *heste* կա բայի հետ՝ արտահայտում են *ունենալ* բայի իմաստը, օրինակ՝ *ila yul-a boy-əmun heste* - *մենք մի մեծ այգի ունենք*:

2. էրգատիվ նախադասություններում (երբ նախադասության ստորոգյալը անցյալ կատարյալ, վաղակատար ներկա կամ վաղակատար անցյալ ժամանակաձևերով դրված անցողական բայ է) ցույց են տալիս ենթակայի դեմքն ու թիվը, օրինակ՝ *merdə səy-anda-š penja arəšta bə* - *տղամարդը քարով կոտրել էր պատուհանը*: