



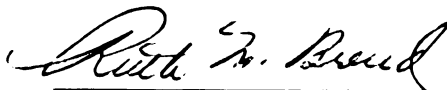
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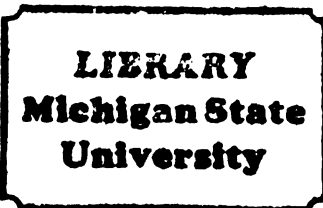
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A FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS OF THE CLAUSE STRUCTURE OF DARI

By

Linda Stump Rashidi

A DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

A FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS OF THE CLAUSE STRUCTURE OF DARI

by

Linda Stump Rashidi

While individual languages pattern differently, all languages share some central core of universal features. One area that holds promise in a search for a universal base is the analysis of functional relations. Systemic linguistics, which bases its framework on functional relations, is an ideal theory from which to work. Though many systemicists have been exploring these relations in English, little research has been done on other languages. This research investigates the functional structure of spoken Dari (Afghan Persian). The major text studied is an historical narrative told by a native speaker. The analytical focus is on the realization of meaning within context. The purpose of the study is threefold: 1) to explore universal notions, 2) to test the assumptions of systemic linguistics, and 3) to describe the structure of Dari.

The data are analyzed from three perspectives: grammatical, functional, and thematic. The grammatical analysis reveals four clause types for Dari: relational, existential, transitive, and intransitive. The functional analysis, following M.A.K. Halliday, shows six distinct process types for Dari: material, mental, verbal, identifying, attributive, and existential. The use of Halliday's conceptualization of ergativity gives insight into the notion of agent. The analysis of Theme/Rheme structure points to the importance of Rheme as the core of the message, with Theme as the

more secondary component.

This analysis reveals areas of both similarity and difference between English and Dari. As such, the study suggests some possible areas where assumptions of universals, in general, and systemics, in particular, might be re-evaluated.

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I wish to express my appreciation to a number of people who have been instrumental in various stages of this research from its conception to preparation of the final manuscript. First of all, I am grateful to M. Mehdi Aram whose narrative this is and who has so wonderfully entertained us with his poetic storytelling. Then I would like to thank Jan Firbas, whose lucid explication of Theme and Rheme has greatly influenced my own thinking, for his insights into the message structure of an earlier Dari text.

I am most appreciative of the guidance and true interest in my work of my dissertation committee: Mutsuko Simon for her willingness to absorb yet another theory and another language; Carolyn Harford for her probing questions and insights from generative theories; David Lockwood for his phonological assistance and his astute contributions from the point of view of a stratificationalist. Finally I would like to thank Ruth Brend, my dissertation chairperson and constant supporter, who first encouraged me to reach beyond my English confines and explore another language and whose editorial skills are without match.

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KEY TO SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

(Dari citations in bold face)

Glosses:

- E = ezafe marker
- BE = imperative, subjunctive, optative marker
- ME = imperfective, durative marker
- NEG = negative
- PF = perfective, completive marker
- PL = specific plural marker
- RA = definite direct object marker
- 1s = first person singular
- 2s = second person singular
- 3s = third person singular
- 1p = first person plural
- 2p = second person plural
- 3p = third person plural

Grammatical Symbols:

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------------|
| Ad = Adjunct | act = action verb |
| AP = adjective phrase | b = budan |
| C = Complement | goft = goftan |
| MP = modal particle | me = mental process |
| NP = noun phrase | v = verbal process |
| O = Object | s = sudan |
| OA = Object Appositive | |

P = Predicate
 PP = prepositional phrase
 S = Subject
 SA = Subject Appositive
 VP = verb phrase

Functional Symbols :

A = Actor	Id = Identified
Ac = Accompaniment	Ir = Identifier
Ag = Agent	Lc = Location
Ar = Attribute	Ma = material process
At = attributive process	Md = Medium
Bn = Beneficiary	Me = mental process
Ca = Carrier	Mn = Manner
Cr = Circumstance	Ph = Phenomenon
En = Extent	R = Range
Et = Existent	Se = Sensor
Ex = existential process	Sy = Sayer
G = Goal	Tm = Time
I = identifying process	V = verbal process
	Vb = Verbiage

Other Symbols:

Gv = Given
 Nw = New
 Th = Theme
 Rh = Rheme

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The question of the universality of linguistic structures is one that has long occupied many linguists in most linguistic theories. While it is generally agreed that languages pattern differently, in the final analysis theorists and practitioners recognize that languages are more alike than they are different. As a result, linguists are constantly searching for the commonality that comprises the central core of language. Noam Chomsky, and the diverse generativists whose theories have evolved out of his, focuses his search on common grammatical structures that underlie the different surface features of various languages. Sydney Lamb, and the small but still active group of stratificationists, has set about to construct a cognitive model of linguistic structure. Kenneth Pike, and the numerous practitioners of his tagmemic theory, built a model of language based on a unified theory of behavior. Michael Halliday, following in the tradition of J.R. Firth and the Prague School, has developed a sociolinguistic, systemic model of language, where surface structures are viewed as realizations of underlying systems.

One area that holds promise in this search for the common core of language is that of the analysis of the logical relations of various

constituents to each other. Most theories of linguistic behavior have explored, in one form or another, these more semantically-based relationships. It is now generally acknowledged that syntactic relations can only be fully understood within a framework of logical relations. While along one parameter, clauses have subjects and predicates, along another parameter, clauses also have such constituents as agents and affected participants. These latter relationships are often referred to as functional relationships because they deal with how various constituent structures function semantically in relation to each other and to the unit of language as a whole.

While most linguistic theories today *recognize* the importance of functional relations, systemic theory *bases* its very framework in a notion of such logical relationships. These functional relations have been, and are being, extensively explored for English. Halliday's own work is rooted in English, and while he insists that he is making no universal claims, he seems to be, nonetheless, propounding a theory of language. If this theory is ultimately to have validity, it must be broadened beyond its English boundaries.

This research investigates the functional structure of Dari, or Afghan Persian. Though no universal claims are made here, the exploration of the structure of language beyond English and within a functional framework should broaden our understanding of how language in general conveys meaning. The focus of this research is on the nature of functional relations as being central to the realization of meaning potential. Our particular interest is in how various functional structures interrelate and influence each other.

While Dari is an Indo-European language, it is different enough from English to make it an interesting testing ground for an exploration of functional notions.

Methodology

Language is not a set of sentences; it is a system of meaning. As a result, an attempt to truly understand language and how it functions must consider language as it occurs in context. For this reason, the data used for this analysis come from natural connected speech. We are not looking for idealized sentence structure or grammar, but for what real people say in real conversation. And since Dari is essentially an oral dialect of Persian, the text is spoken colloquial Dari.

The major text is a thirty minute taped narrative by a single informant. Though he now resides in the United States, he speaks little English; he spent the first fifty years of his life in Afghanistan, and his daily life is still conducted in his native tongue. While this is not the perfect linguistic situation for analysis of a language, there appears to be little English (or other language) interference. The ideal informant, of course, would be an Afghan villager who had never left Afghanistan or been exposed to other languages, but the political situation in Afghanistan makes this kind of data virtually impossible to obtain at present.

Afghans love to tell stories, and, in order to elicit as much complete clause structure as possible, the informant was encouraged to relate incidents or narrate events. The main text is a rather rambling account of the history of Islam told within a casual

family setting. (For an English translation of the narrative, see Appendix C.) These parameters, of course, affect the nature of the language elicited. The casual setting helps to produce natural, colloquial speech, but the informant was actively aware that he was being recorded. In fact, Afghans take on a distinct performance speech style under these conditions. It is this genre of speech that is analyzed here.

The use of a single coherent text for this analysis was deliberate. Though the data base has the disadvantage of being *one* narrative by *one* speaker, it has the advantage of being consistent and contextually-bound. In fact, the speaker himself was deliberately chosen because he is considered by other native speakers to be a particularly effective and fluent story teller. His narrative is analyzed not as an isolated speech event, however, but against the background of previous work on the texts of other speakers (Rashidi 1987; 1988a; 1988b; 1988c; 1989a; 1989b; in press) and with the intuitive input of native speakers and my own non-native feeling for the language obtained while living for three years in Afghanistan. Data from texts other than the narrative under consideration have been used for confirmation of generalizations about Dari.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND ON PERSIAN

1. Previous Persian studies

Little work has been done on the clause structure of Persian, and none, it appears, on that of Dari specifically. The major study being done today on Persian (at least in the West) is that of Gernot Windfuhr and Gilbert Lazard. Windfuhr's Persian Grammar (1979) is still definitive. In this work, Windfuhr describes and discusses the basic grammatical structure of Persian, in general, but with emphasis on the Persian of Iran and, more specifically, on standard Tehranian Persian, the prestige dialect of the middle class educated speaker. He gives us an overview of how various structures function grammatically, his emphasis being clause structure and his model being traditional structural linguistics. This work is an excellent generalized base from which to work in exploring specific varieties of Persian, as it probes most of the complex and puzzling features of Persian grammar positing possible explanations for variation in usage.

A more recent publication is Windfuhr's chapter on Persian in Bernard Comrie's The World's Major Languages (1987). In this work, Windfuhr points out major problem areas (genericity and plurality, definiteness, tense vs aspect, relative clauses, to name a few), discusses the influence of Arabic, and distinguishes the three major dialects (Iranian, Dari, and Tajik). The one major shift from his

Persian Grammar is the refinement of his discussion of the verb phrase. In the more recent work, tense and aspect are seen as equally basic categorical vectors. Here Windfuhr posits three verb stems: present, perfect and aorist, reinstituting the aorist as a distinct category. Windfuhr discusses this model for tense, aspect and mood in detail in a 1985 Folia Linguistica article. At present, he is working on ergativity in Iranian dialects and diachronic typology (personal communication, March 1990). His longitudinal and intensive study of literary Iranian Persian makes an insightful foundation for the study of spoken, colloquial Dari.

Gilbert Lazard works mainly on particular problems of Persian grammar. His most recent known area of investigation is the morpheme **-ra** (1982), usually designated as an object marker. Lazard's hierarchy of conditions for the presence of **-ra** tells us much about its complex usage as well as giving insight into the underlying complexity that is beneath Persian's surface simplicity. In addition, Lazard has briefly investigated Tajik (1970), the other Eastern dialect besides Dari.

2. Functional Studies of Persian

Only two investigations of the functional grammar of Persian appear to exist. Both are Ph.D. dissertations done by native Iranian speakers: Ali Asghar Aghbar (1981) and Seyed-Ali Miremadi (1981). Both are based on Walter Cook's case grammar matrix model (1979), and both draw their data from literary texts and 'made-up' examples, relying heavily on the authors' native intuitions (and, therefore, competence) concerning the structure of Persian. Miremadi's

dissertation is basically an apologia for Cook's model. Aghbar's dissertation, while also using Persian to support Cook's model, gives an indepth look at the Persian verb system. Both are useful for their native insights into Persian.

3. Previous Dari studies

Work on Dari itself is sparse and confined to practical guides of Dari grammar for second language users. The most thorough of these guides is M. Ehsan Entezar's Farsi Reference Manual produced in 1964 as a manual for Peace Corps volunteers. Its very pragmatic origins belie its firm linguistic underpinnings. Entezar's background in linguistics is manifestly apparent in the structural orientation of the manual. Though this is not an empirical investigation of Dari, the contents illustrate and concisely comment on the structural patterns of the language. This manual is a significant contribution to our understanding of Dari.

The bulk of the work on Dari being done today is in Russian, but even this seems to be of a pragmatic bent. There appear to be no major analytical investigations of Dari, specifically, being undertaken at present.

CHAPTER III

THE HALLIDAYAN MODEL OF LANGUAGE

1. Introduction

Because this research investigates the functional structure of Dari, mainly from the viewpoint of systemic theory, an initial look at the basic tenets of that theory is appropriate. Systemic linguistics is not well known outside of Great Britain. In recent years, however, systemic philosophy has spread to some degree to other European countries and Australia, and to a lesser degree to North America. The basic tenets of the theory are socioculturally-oriented, making the theory of particular importance to applied fields. Less extensive work has been done on a purely theoretical level. Nonetheless, systemics offers a fresh alternative to generative theories which are cognitively based.

Systemic linguistics is functional in approach. It views language holistically and within context. While there is a specific semological stratum, there is no attempt to separate semantics from the other levels, particularly the grammatical level. Halliday, in particular, has been much criticized for this 'fuzziness', but the entire theory is, in fact, grounded on the infusion of meaning at every level. Halliday states in his Introduction to Functional Grammar: "there is no clear line between semantics and grammar, and a functional grammar is one that is pushed in the direction of the semantics" (1985:xix). Any attempt to view pieces of language

in isolation inevitably distorts because language can only be understood as a whole system.

In systemic theory, following Hjelmslev, language is seen as a process, not as a thing or a product. Language is a system of meaning which is realized through form. Thus, a text is fundamentally a semantic unit rather than a grammatical unit. Systemic linguistics is a relational theory where the relationship between semantics and grammar is one of realization.

Systemics is also a top down theory that starts from the general and works down to the specific (known as degrees of delicacy). Halliday sees the sentence as a "significant border post" (1985: xxi). Above the sentence, non-constructional forms of organization take over (i.e. grammar has little functional role). Below the sentence, relationships are constructional ones (i.e. grammar carries a significant meaning load).

Michael Gregory, a systemic linguist who has been specifically analyzing the structure of discourse, distinguishes between discourse structure and grammatical structure in this way: Discourse structure is not rule-based. It is dependent on *culture* rather than being *language* specific. This is in contrast to grammar at the sentence level and below which is rule-based and language specific. Gregory's model of discourse structure, which he calls phasal structure, deals with the structure of large units, but this is not hierarchically parallel to the grammar of smaller units. Phases involve realization directly, as opposed to sentence-level grammar which is realization of an underlying system (Gregory 1967 and 1985).

2. Halliday's three meta-functions

While the sentence is the upper boundary of grammar (or syntax), "the fundamental unit of organization is the clause" (Halliday 1985: xxi). Systemic-functional grammar is anchored by the clause, because, as Halliday puts it, it is at the clause level that we have the most material with which to crack the code (which is the goal of grammar). The clause can be viewed from a variety of perspectives. It is not only organized tri-stratally (semology, morphosyntax, phonology/graphology) but also tri-functionally. Functionally, Halliday sees the clause as a unit of language "in which meanings of three different kinds are combined" (1985: 38). These are Halliday's three meta-functions of language: the textual, the interpersonal, and the ideational. He contrasts these meta-functions by use of the late nineteenth century concepts of psychological subject, grammatical subject, and logical subject, stating that while usually the three notions are conflated into a single element, they are semantically distinct. He illustrates their distinctness in the following example:

(1) this teapot my aunt was given by the duke

The first kind of semantic organization, the textual component, is thematic structure or the clause as message. From a Hallidayan point of view, the Theme (psychological subject) of the clause is what the clause is going to be about, the starting point of the message, and is realized in English in clause-initial position. What is left over after Theme is identified is Rheme. In the example above, **this teapot** is the Theme and the rest of the clause is the Rheme.

The second kind of semantic organization of the clause, the interpersonal component, is meaning as exchange, an interactive event between speaker or writer and audience. This is the propositional structure of a clause. The Subject (or grammatical subject in traditional terms) is "the element that is held responsible" (1985: 37), or more traditionally 'that of which something is predicated'. The Subject combined with the Finite element (the verbal operator expressing tense or modality) forms a single constituent which Halliday calls Mood. The remainder of the clause is termed the Residue. In (1), the Subject is **my aunt**, the element about whom the statement's validity rests.

The third aspect of clausal meaning, the ideational component, is clause as representation. This is meaning in the sense of content; and it is here that Halliday fully develops his notion of clause as process. A process consists of potentially three components: 1) the process itself, 2) participants in the process, and 3) circumstances associated with the process but not 'essential' to the clause. In (1), **was given** is the process; **the duke** is the 'logical' or functional subject, in this case, what Halliday terms the Actor; **the teapot** is the Goal; and **my aunt** is the Recipient.

And so, while in English clauses, all three of these 'subjects' are often mapped onto the same constituent, the notions Theme, Subject and Actor represent different kinds of meaning: Theme is a function of the clause as message; Subject is a function of the clause as exchange; and Actor is a function of the clause as representation (1985: 37). In the 'teapot' clause, the three functions are manifested by separate elements.

this teapot / my aunt / was given / by the duke

Theme	Subject	Actor
(psychological)	(grammatical)	(logical)

3. Clause as process: transitive view

Halliday characterizes the clause in its ideational function as a transitive interpretation of the clause. From this point of view, clauses are distinguished by process type. Associated with and defined by the process are the various participants. In addition to the central participants in the process, there may be circumstances associated with the process. These three components, process, participant, and circumstantial element, provide the frame of reference for interpreting our experience of what goes on (Halliday 1985: 101). Halliday goes on to state: "The concepts of process, participant and circumstance are semantic categories which explain in the most general way how phenomena of the real world are represented as linguistic structures" (1985: 102). Each language, of course, represents reality in a different way, but there is certainly some universal core to this representation.

Halliday, as he has refined his notion of process, has organized and reorganized both the number and categorization of English process types. In his Introduction to Functional Grammar, which has become the reference manual for most systemicists, Halliday puts forth three major types and three minor types. The three principal types are: 1) material, 2) mental, and 3) relational. In addition, he recognizes the subsidiary types: 1) behavioral, 2) verbal, and 3) existential.

Probably the major way that language structures experience is through some kind of action process. This Halliday terms a material process, a process of doing. We generally think of 'doings' as concrete, physical events like running, hitting or throwing, but they may also be more abstract doings and happenings like resigning from office or dissolving a committee. In any event, every material process involves an Actor, the participant that is the 'logical' subject or the doer of the action. The Actor of the process need not be the Agent. Halliday reserves the term agent for another use. From a transitive point of view, the Actor could be a participant such as **the boat** in **the boat sailed** or **Jack** in **Jack fell down**, where agency is, at best, ambiguous. In addition to an Actor, some material processes contain a second participant, a Goal. The Goal is the participant toward which the action is directed. In (1), the **teapot** is the Goal. If there is a third participant, it will be the Recipient, as **my aunt** is in **this teapot my aunt was given by the duke**. The notion of material process seems fairly universal, though the participants in the process may be more language specific and certainly their particular realization will be.

As a process becomes more abstract, the distinction between Actor and Goal begins to blur, the Actor becomes more involuntary, and the process is less a doing than a happening. To better account for this kind of process, Halliday has posited a subsidiary process called behavioral. These are processes of physiological and psychological behavior like coughing, laughing or watching. The Behavior, the obligatory participant, is typically a conscious being. Generally, these are one-participant processes, but occasionally

there will be an explicit Behavior such as **a sigh of relief** in **he heaved a sigh of relief**.

The second major process is that of mental, the process of sensing. As Halliday points out, most of the time we do not talk about such active, concrete processes as hitting or falling (1985:105). We talk about our feelings, likes and dislikes, what is good or bad; these kinds of processes are more abstract and require a different functional interpretation. Mental processes are, in fact, not only semantically different from material processes but are also grammatically distinct. Halliday gives five criteria for a mental process: 1) one participant is human (or imbued with humanlike perceptions); 2) the second participant may be a 'thing' (as in material processes) or a 'fact' such as **something had happened** in **he sensed something had happened**; 3) in English the unmarked present tense in a mental process is simple present, e.g. **she likes the gift**, while in a material process it is present progressive, e.g. **I'm going home**; 4) mental processes are two-way processes, i.e. either the Sensor or the Phenomenon can be the Subject of semantically equivalent active clauses (e.g. **she likes it**; **it pleases her**); 5) mental processes are not processes of doing and, therefore, cannot be probed by *do* ; one cannot ask the question **what did John do** and get the answer **he knew the material**.

The third major process type is relational, the process of being. "The central meaning of the clause is that something is" (1985: 112).

(2) **John is tall.**

(3) **Sarah is the leader.**

Halliday delineates various ways of expressing being in English, grouping them into two modes: attributive and identifying. Both modes require two participants. In the attributive mode, one participant is the Attribute, the other is the Carrier. In (2), **John** is the Carrier while **tall** is the Attribute. In this mode, an attribute or quality is ascribed to an entity. In the identifying mode, an entity is used to identify another entity; these functions are labelled Identifier and Identified, respectively. In (3), **Sarah** is the Identified, **the leader** is the Identifier. Identifying processes are reversible, whereas attributive processes are not. Thus, in (3), **the leader** can become the Identified by putting **the leader** in subject position: **the leader is Sarah**. The same is not true for (2).

This reversibility may be peculiar to English where word order carries a heavy semantic load and grammatical agreement is limited. Also, identifying clauses have passive counterparts, while attributive clauses do not. Again, it is not so apparent that this distinction will carry over into other languages.

In addition to behavioral processes, Halliday proposes two other minor process types: verbal and existential. Verbal processes are processes of saying. Halliday interprets 'saying' in a broad sense, including such symbolic 'sayings' as **the clock says half past nine**. The Sayer, then, need not be human. Besides the Sayer, there is the verbalization itself which Halliday terms the Verbiage. The Verbiage can be either a thing or a proposition.

(4) **he told a story** (thing)

(5) **he said it was Tuesday** (proposition)

In addition, there may be a Recipient: e.g. **he told me a story.**

Existential processes are one-participant processes, the meaning of which is that something exists or happens. The Existent may be a thing, e.g. **there's a problem**, or a phenomenon such as an event, e.g. **there's a party going on or it's raining**. In English, these clauses typically begin with a dummy 'there' or 'it' followed by the copula and then a noun phrase expressing the Existent. Existential processes may be particularly variable among languages, in part because the necessity to fill the subject slot is not a language universal. Dari does not, for example, have dummy subjects.

Permeating all of the process types are two additional participant functions: Beneficiary and Range. The Beneficiary is, as its name implies, the participant for whom the process is taking place. In material processes, the Beneficiary is the Recipient or the Client. In verbal processes, the Beneficiary is the one being addressed, the Receiver. Beneficiaries sometimes occur in attributive processes as well, the typical example being: **she made him a good wife.**

Range specifies the scope of the process. Typical examples are:

- (6) **play tennis**
- (7) **give a look**
- (8) **sing a song**
- (9) **climb a mountain**

Range is either an entity that exists independently of the process but defines the domain of the process, e.g. **a mountain**, or expresses the process itself, e.g. **tennis, a look, a song**. English is fond of shifting the action to the noun phrase and making the verb contentless as in **give a look**. Other languages may or may not use this device to the same extent or at all. Range may occur in material, behavioral, verbal or mental processes. In mental processes, however, Range conflates with the Phenomenon and, therefore, does not have a unique function.

In addition to direct participants, clauses may contain various circumstantial elements. These elements are peripheral grammatically in that they are not necessary for the completion of the proposition. In English, they are typically realized as adverbials or prepositional phrases. Circumstantials may express: extent or location in time or space, manner, cause, accompaniment, matter or role.

Extent or Location in time or space

(10) **he traveled five miles**

(11) **we soon arrived**

Manner (how, with what)

(12) **he beat the dog with a stick**

Cause (why, how, for what, for whom)

(13) **he died of starvation**

Accompaniment (with what/whom)

(14) **he came with John**

Matter (what about)

(15) **I'm worried about the exam**

Role (what as)

(16) I say this as a friend

Halliday sets up this model specifically for English, but the underlying concepts, if not the realizations, seem to have universal implications. Other languages will certainly embody the same types of functions in different ways, distribute them differently, and may even have different basic process types. As Dari is a language far removed from English both socio-culturally and in terms of origin and structure, it will most certainly show some variation from Halliday's description of the transitivity system of English. But Dari is also an Indo-European language and shares a common base with English even beyond any universal linguistic claims.

PROCESS	PARTICIPANTS
Material:	Actor; Goal; Beneficiary; Range
Behavioral:	Behaver; Behavior
Mental:	Senser; Phenomenon
Verbal:	Sayer; Receiver (Beneficiary); Verbiage
Attributive:	Carrier; Attributor; Attribute; Beneficiary
Identifying:	Identified; Identifier
Existential:	Existent

Figure 1
Halliday's English Process Types

4. Clause as process: ergative view

Though traditional Western linguistics has divided languages into transitive and ergative, Halliday sees the transitive/ergative distinction as one of point of view. He argues rather persuasively that English is more profitably viewed from an ergative perspective; that is, the distinction in English clauses is not one of transitive/intransitive contrast where the variable is one of extension, but ergative/non-ergative where the variable is one of causation. For example, the pair **the tourist hunted/the tourist hunted the lion** forms an intransitive/transitive contrast; in both the tourist is the agent, but in the second clause the process has been extended to a second participant, the undergoer of the action, the lion. In the pair **the tourist woke/the lion woke the tourist**, the contrast is an ergative one; in both cases the tourist stops sleeping. The variable is that which brought the process about; the essential key element in the process, the tourist, is the same in both clauses. Halliday claims that an examination of the lexicon of English shows that the majority of high frequency verbs yields pairs of clauses where the contrast is an ergative one rather than a transitive one (1985:145).

Looked at from an ergative point of view, all processes are alike; that is, they have the same functional roles. Every process has associated with it a key participant which Halliday terms the Medium. This is the participant without which the process would not exist, the essential element. The Process and the Medium, then, come together to form the core of the clause. In English, the Medium is the only element that always participates directly in the process,

and, therefore, can never be introduced by means of a preposition (Halliday 1985:147).

Halliday represents the ergative point of view visually as a nucleus encircled by an inner ring as well as an outer ring (1985:147). The nucleus is 'Process + Medium'; the inner ring consists of additional participants; the outer ring is composed of more peripheral circumstances. While the Medium is the core participant, three other participant functions may be involved in the process (the inner ring). The most crucial of these is an external causer which Halliday labels Agent. This notion of Agent transcends all transitive process types.

(17) the lion **awoke** the tourist (material)

(18) the dust **choked** Mary (behavioral)

(19) his argument **convinced** me (mental)

(20) the wind **dried** the clothes (relational)

This interpretation allows a clear and unified system of voice to be set up (Halliday 1985:151):

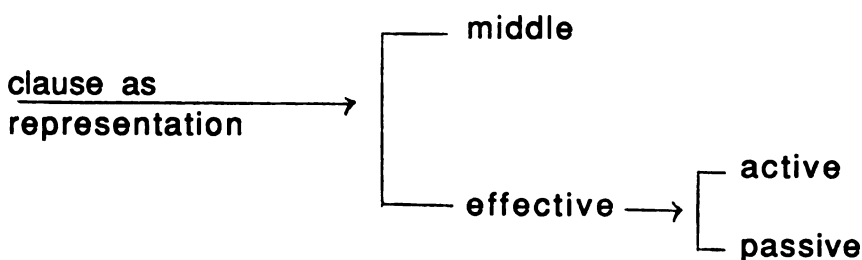


Figure 2

Halliday's System of Voice

A clause with no feature of 'agency' is middle voice. A clause with agency is effective voice; active if the Subject is Agent, passive if the Subject is Medium. One needs to note that the middle/effective distinction is one based on agency and not, strictly speaking, \pm Agent. In English, it is possible to have clauses that involve agency but lack the specification of an overt Agent. Halliday uses the following example:

- (21) **the glass broke** (middle)
- (22) **the cat broke the glass** (effective: active)
- (23) **the glass was broken** (effective: passive)

The other two participants in the inner ring are Beneficiary and Range. We have already described their functions in transitive terms and they are similar from an ergative point of view: Beneficiary is the one for whom a process is being carried out; Range is the scope or domain. Agent, Beneficiary and Range may participate in the process directly as noun phrases or indirectly in prepositional phrases. Other elements in the clause are more clearly circumstantial, and these form the outer ring. They are expressions of extent, location, manner, accompaniment, matter, cause, or role.

Probably the greatest advantage of an ergative interpretation is its ability to involve the separate feature of agency. Among other insights, it provides for a secondary Agent:

- (24) **we let the wind dry our bodies**
- (25) **I got John to boil the rice**
- (26) **they call him Beau**

This broad extension of Agent allows for indepth analysis of otherwise troublesome constructions in English.

CHAPTER IV

DARI: GRAMMATICAL ANALYSIS

1. Dari as a distinct dialect

The main classification of Persian dialects is by general agreement into a western and an eastern group (e.g. Lazard 1970). The various dialects of Iranian Persian comprise the western group; Tajik and Dari comprise the eastern group. Though all these dialects are mutually understandable, to quote from Ehsan Entezar's Farsi Reference Manual, "the dialect variations between Afghan Persian and Iranian Persian and the concomitant cultural implications are such that one may not be substituted for the other" (1964:x). Literary Persian derives from the educated spoken language of Tehran which is now contemporary standard Persian, the accepted standard in all but Tajikistan which, because of Soviet influence, has developed its own literary language written in Cyrillic script (Windfuhr 1987).

In Afghanistan the distinction between the written and spoken language is still a wide one. Dari is essentially a spoken dialect of Persian. While the influence of colloquial Dari is perceivable to some extent in the literary language of Afghanistan (Lazard 1970:70), the written language is standard Tehranian Persian, not Dari. For example, the Dari word for 'water' is **au** and is used in all spoken Dari, even formal. The written word is **ab**. The word **au** is

never written (indeed, one would not know how to do it) and in Afghanistan **ab** is never spoken, except when reciting a written text. This separation of written and spoken language is maintained at least in part because Afghanistan is basically a non-literate society; few Afghans read or write. Those people that are literate are more often literate in Arabic than in Persian because of the pervasive influence of Islam. The language of this investigation is spoken colloquial Dari, not literary Persian.

2. Basic typology

Dari is what Joseph Greenberg (1963) has termed a rigid verb-final language; its basic clause typology is subject-object-verb (SOV). Johanna Nichols calls Persian a 'split-order' language (1986): head-first at the phrase level, head-last at the clause level. This is only partially true for Dari; while the noun phrase has mostly (though not exclusively) post modifiers (Rashidi 1989a), the adjective phrase and the adverbial phrase have preposed modifiers. In addition, Dari is a prepositional language.

3. Grammatical properties of Dari clause structure

Following Halliday, the clause, and not the sentence, will be viewed as the basic grammatical unit of organization. This has functional implications that will be apparent, especially in the discussion of Theme. A clause will be viewed functionally, following Halliday, as a process along with both the direct participants in the process and the circumstantial elements associated with the process. A process is loosely defined as a 'going-

on'; a doing, happening, feeling, or being (Halliday 1985:101), which may be realized in a variety of ways in a language. For our purposes, any process, whether dependent or independent, embedded or 'main', will be defined as a clause.

In Dari, a clause is typically realized grammatically as a Predicate (P), its only obligatory element, preceded by either a Complement (C) or an Object (O), which is in turn preceded by a Subject (S). In addition, there may be various Adjuncts (Ad) of Location (Lc), Time (Tm), Manner (Mn), Range (R), Beneficiary (Bn), Extent (Et), or Accompaniment (Ac). Predicates are realized as verb phrases (VP); Subjects as noun phrases (NP); Objects and Complements as noun phrases, adjective phrases (AP), or prepositional phrases (PP); Adjuncts as noun phrases, adjective phrases, prepositional phrases, or **ke**, 'that', clauses. Two other clausal elements were found in the data under investigation: 1) the modal particle (MP) **bayad**, 'must', and 2) appositives, both subject (SA) and object (OA).

The word 'typical' is being used here in the psychological sense of that which the native speaker feels is the normal way of saying things. Unless there is some particular reason for doing otherwise, a structure will be realized in a typical manner. This may or may not be numerically significant. Halliday uses the term 'congruent'; most grammars refer to 'unmarked' structures. The less technical term 'typical' is preferred here to avoid any indication of formalism. In this light, the typical constituent order for Dari is (Subject)-Object/Complement-Predicate. Adjuncts are very mobile but typically appear immediately preceding the verb, with the exception

of **ke** clauses which typically appear following the verb. This typical order holds for all clauses. Modal particles are also mobile, but their most common position is clause-initial. Appositives appear immediately following the constituents to which they are appositive.

4. Noun phrase

There are no grammatical case markings as such in Dari. Case (subject versus object generally) is distinguished by context, word order or affixation of **-ra**. Nouns are generally not marked for number and never marked for gender. Two morphological markers, however, do occur with regularity in Dari: 1) **-ra**, often referred to as the definite direct object marker, and 2) **-haa**, the specific plural marker. Neither of these morphological markers has an equivalent in English.

4.1 **-ra**

The most thoroughly investigated but still the most elusive morphological marker in Persian is **-ra** (glossed RA). Gilbert Lazard has conducted, perhaps, the most intensive research on this morpheme. In general he found that **-ra** accompanies some direct objects but not others. Its presence is conditional on a complex number of factors including: degree of definiteness, degree of humanness, degree of amplification of the process, semantic distance of the object and the verb, relative weight of the syntactic group, and the aim of the communication (Lazard 1982). **-ra** most often occurs when the object needs to be distinguished without

ambiguity from the subject, but there is an assortment of diverse exceptions, and grammarians have not yet found a satisfactory solution of infallible criteria for determining when **-ra** is used. What is readily apparent is that the use of this morpheme depends on complex semantic and grammatical conditions; a better understanding of its nature will take into account both paradigmatic and syntagmatic factors.

Windfuhr indicates that the fact that **-ra** is elusive to grammatical analysis suggests that it is at least partially conditioned by rules that transcend clause boundaries, in particular rules of reference and specificity (1979:53). Underlying all of these conditions appears to be speaker intentionality and point of view; the encoder marks what s/he views as a unique referent within the context of the utterance. Thematic emphasis seems to play a role, and topicalization is definitely a factor.

Entezar only briefly mentions the use of **-ra** in his Farsi Reference Manual (1964). He indicates that **-ra** marks some direct and indirect objects. His main criteria for use are specificity and verb type. His first criterion is well-substantiated; his second seems more questionable. The following examples show the contrast of a specific versus a non-specific object:

(1) **qalam me-xaay-om** 'I want a pen'
 pen ME-want-1s

(2) **qalam-a me-xaay-om** 'I want the (a particular) pen'
 pen-RA ME-want-1s

The use of **-ra** with indirect objects, as well as direct objects, in Dari is confirmed by the data under analysis in this study. For example:

- (3) C100b¹ **arab-aa-ra** **goft** 'he told the Arabs'
 arab-PL-RA said

4.2 **-haa**

The second morphological marker that occurs regularly in Dari is **-haa** (glossed PL), usually realized as **-aa** in the data.² The basic function of this morpheme is one of amplification (Windfuhr 1979:32). Though **-haa** is usually referred to as a plural marker, the category of grammatical plural does not exist as such for noun phrases in Dari. The marker is not obligatory when more than one item is indicated, only when the speaker wants to specify one-plus. As with **-ra**, specificity plays a role here. Note examples (4) - (6) and their English translations:

- (4) **malim** **ist** 'he is a teacher'
 teacher is
- (5) **malim** **ist-an** 'they are teachers'
 teacher is-3p
- (6) **malim-haa** **ist-an** 'they are the teachers'
 teacher-PL is-3p

In addition, subject agreement with the verb, which *is* marked for a singular/plural distinction, is vague. Noun phrases modified by a number are never marked with **-haa**.

- (7) **se malim ist-an** 'there are three teachers'
 three teacher is-3p

-haa often seems equivalent to such concepts as 'plenty of', 'many', or 'all kinds of'. Even 'mass nouns' may be marked with **-haa**.

- (8) **šir-haa** 'plenty of milk'
 milk-PL

- (9) **nan-haa** 'all kinds of bread'
 bread-PL

4.3 The *ezafe*

A third morpheme (though not strictly a morphological marker) that plays an important role in the noun phrase is the clitic **-e**. In contrast to the clause, the noun phrase in Dari has a relatively rigid word order (Rashidi 1989a). Noun phrases are head-first with the modifiers connected to the head (or the preceding modifier) by the clitic **-e** (glossed E), referred to as the *ezafe* or *izafet* in literature on Persian and Arabic. This particle is phonologically attached to the head or the preceding element but is semantically part of the post-modifier.

- (10)C99 **mardum-e waši**
 people-E uncivilized
 'uncivilized people'

The *ezafe* is realized in several ways, [e], [i], Ø, all phonologically predictable. The presence or absence of **-e**, however, is not difficult to distinguish even in casual oral data such as the text under investigation. The psychological reality of this connector is readily and consistently apparent to native speakers; seldom is

there ambiguity on this score. When the *ezafe* is not realized as a separate phonological entity, e.g. (11), it has been coded parenthetically as (e). Otherwise, it has been coded consistently as -e.

- (11) **poi-(e) xub-e-š**
 leg-E good-E-he
 'his good leg'

At times the *ezafe* can be translated 'of' as in (12), but, for the most part, -e simply serves to attach a modifier to a preceding element. Greenberg notes that the distinction between genitives and adjectives in Persian is fuzzy because both "are marked by exactly the same formal means" (1963:100). This is an accurate description of Dari. There are no separate possessive forms for pronouns (11), nor are there separate morphological markers for possessive nouns as in English (13); any modifier is simply attached to the head in a string, each element connected to the previous one by the *ezafe* .

- (12)A7 **yak qismat-e šar**
 one section-E city
 'one section of the city'

- (13)B84 **pičambar-e xoda**
 prophet-E god
 'prophet of God'

Because of the *ezafe* connectors, noun phrases are easily distinguished as single clausal constituents (14) as opposed to, say, a subject noun plus an adjective complement (15).

- (14) **kitab-e kalon ist** 'it is a big book'
 book-E large is

- (15) **kitab kalon ist** 'the book is big'
 book large is

The *ezafe* connector is strictly a property of the noun phrase, which is head-first. Adjective and adverb phrases are head-last and do not have *ezafe* connectors (16).

- (16) **besior kawi**
 very powerful

4.4 **ke**

A final aspect of noun phrases in particular, but also Dari clauses in general, is the use of the relativizer **ke**, glossed 'that'. This morpheme introduces both restrictive and non-restrictive clauses at all levels of grammar. (In fact, the narrator in this text uses **ke** as a general connector of clauses, giving the narrative at times the flavor of one long run-on sentence.) Windfuhr says that **ke** is a surface particle and not a pronoun, a 'dummy' word, as it were (1979:69). This seems accurate. Though **ke** is not an empty word in any real sense, the 'meaning' of **ke** is highly grammatical and often difficult to render into English. Entezar lists the main functions of **ke** in Dari:

1. After the main verb, **ke** introduces a clause that answers the question 'what'.

- (17) **me-fam-om ke ŝuma az kabul ist-in**
 ME-know-1s that you from Kabul are-2p
 'I know that you are from Kabul'

2. After a noun, **ke** introduces a modifier.

- (18) **bače ke erat raft**
 boy that Herat went
 'the boy that went to Herat'

3. **ke** introduces clauses that are circumstances of cause or reason

- (19) **amad-om ke šuma-ra be-ben-om**
 came-1s that you-RA BE-see-1s
 'I came in order to see you'

4. **ke** introduces dependent time clauses

- (20) **ke amad-om šuma raft-a bud-in**
 that came-1s you went-PF was-2p
 'when I came you had gone'

5. **ke** introduces indirect reports

- (21) **šuma goft-in ke awaa xub ist**
 you said-2p that weather good is
 'you said that the weather was nice'

- (22) **golam-a bo-go ke sabr ko**
 Ghulam-RA BE-say that wait (BE)-do
 'tell Ghulam to wait'

(Entezar 1964:198)

A further function of **ke** is as an emphatic. Sometimes the best translation seems to be 'but', e.g. (23); at other times **ke** follows a topicalized element, further highlighting the 'focused' status of that element, e.g. (24); or **ke** may serve to simply emphasize a noun phrase or entire clause [see text B18; B41]. The

position of emphatic **ke** appears to be mobile, though this particle often is a part of fixed idiomatic expressions as in (25) and (26).

(23)B70 **tana kason-e ke qabul kard**
 only people-E that accept did
 'only some people accepted'

(24)B63 **i but-e ke xud-e-tan . . .taiar me-kon-in**
 this idol-E that self-E-you . . . construct ME-do-2p
 'these idols you yourselves construct with your own hands'

(25)B16 **mohamad wafat ke yaft-a bud**
 Mohammed death that found-PF was
 'Mohammed died'

(26)B54a **i ke kalon šud**
 he that large became
 'he grew up'

5. Verb phrase

The verb system in Dari seems easily describable but is underlaid with a subtle complexity. Tense and aspect are so intricately intertwined as to make classification difficult at best. Modality seems more formally separate (see discussion of the modal particle **bayad** below) but is, in fact, also infused into the verb phrase itself (see discussion of **be-** below). In his latest analysis of tense, aspect and modality in Persian (1987), Windfuhr fully develops a model that he first presented in 1985. Proposed in reference to Persian, this is a universal model where aspect is as basic a categorical vector as tense. From this perspective, Persian verb forms are based on three stems: present, aorist, and perfect. This is a highly involved model beyond the scope of this study.

Suffice it to say that it does pointedly show the difficulties involved in trying to untangle the Persian verb system. A simpler, though less delicate and insightful, analysis will be presented here.

5.1 Tense and aspect

Dari has two formal tenses: present and past. Each has a separate, often phonologically disparate, stem form. For example:

<u>gloss</u>	<u>present</u>	<u>past</u>
see	ben	did
be	i s t	bud

Entezar notes that many past tense stems end in [t] or [d] (1964:128), but the present and past stems must be learned as separate entities. Future is not a tense, but at best a modality (see discussion of **me-** below).

The major distinguishing feature of the Persian verb system is probably aspect rather than tense (Windfuhr 1979:86). There are two main aspect markers in Dari, **me-** (glossed ME) and **be-** (glossed BE). These markers have been glossed simply ME and BE rather than descriptively in this analysis because their core meanings are still a topic of much discussion.

5.2 **me-**

me- is most often described as an imperfective aspect marker, but it has also been variously identified as durative, habitual action, progressive action, and future action. Windfuhr

(1979:87) states that **me-** "appears to express the absence of any limitation of an event in terms of its beginning or end, be it temporal or factual." It is used with both the present and the past tense. Entezar lists three meanings for **me-** in Dari with the present stem and three with the past stem. Time expressions are often needed to disambiguate meaning. The following are retranscribed illustrations from Entezar's Farsi Reference Manual:

Present:

1. continuation of an action over a period of time

(27) **šuma aali farsi me-xan-in**
 you now Farsi ME-study-2p
 'you are now studying Farsi'

2. habitual action

(28) **ma ar roz farsi me-xan-om**
 I every day Farsi ME-study-1s
 'I study Farsi every day'

3. future action

(29) **sabaa farsi me-xan-a**
 tomorrow Farsi ME-study-3s
 'tomorrow he will study Farsi'

(Entezar 1964:36)

Past:

1. wishful thinking

(30) **kaške ma-m me-raft-om**
 wish I-also ME-went-1s
 'I wish I had gone also'

2. continuation of an action in the past

- (31) **diroz pišin radyo goš me-kard-om**
 yesterday afternoon radio hear ME-did-1s
 'yesterday afternoon I was listening to the radio'

3. habitual action in the past

- (32) **parsal ar roz sinemaa me-raft-om**
 used to every day cinema ME-went-1s
 'I used to go to the movies every day'

(Entezar 1964:165)

5.3 **be-**

Modern Persian does not really have a perfective counterpart to **me-**. In general, the absence of **me-** indicates action seen as punctual or highly circumscribed. The prefix **be-** (glossed BE) has been described as the perfective marker, but in modern Persian it has disappeared from all forms except imperative (33) and (34), optative (35), and subjunctive (36), (37) and (38). Except for the copula, BE does not appear in the negative (37). In Dari, not all verbs actually have the prefix **be-**. For example, the verb **kardan**, 'to do', a common compounder, does not take the prefix **be-** but simply uses the present stem, or more familiarly, the abbreviated **ko** in the imperative (34).

- (33) **gap be-zan-in**
 speak BE-hit-2p
 'speak!'

- (34) **kor kon-in** OR **kor ko**
 work do-2p
 'work!'

- (35)C123 **dar maǰid bur-in**
 in mosque go-2p
 'you should go to the mosque'
- (36)B58 **bayad šuma ma-ra parasteš kon-in**
 must you I-RA worship do-2p
 'you must worship me'
- (37)C117 **bayad doktor-aa-tan-a na-kuš-in**
 must daughter-pl-your-RA NEG kill-2P
 'you must not kill your daughters'

5.4 Perfect

A third aspect marker appears in Dari, the suffix **-a** (glossed PF). Entezar (1964:164) calls this morpheme the perfect tense marker. Its meaning is probably closer to completive. Though referred to as the perfect marker, **-a** is not the perfective counterpart to **me-**, as a verb can be (though rarely is) marked with both (cf. Windfuhr 1979:90). For the past perfect, **-a** is suffixed to the main verb which is followed by the past form of the copula inflected for person and number.

- (38) **raft-a bud-in**
 went-PF was-2p
 'you had gone'

The present perfect uses **-a** only for the third person singular, as present perfect is basically formed by stressing and/or lengthening the final person-number suffix. In effect, present perfect forms remain indistinguishable from simple past forms, except for the first person singular which takes on the plural marker

(phonologically a nasal is added) and the third person singular (Ø) which becomes a stressed [a]. Context is important for disambiguation in all but the third person singular, but a slightly heavier final stress does occur in the present perfect (Entezar 1964:164).

	<u>simple past</u>	<u>present perfect</u>
1 s	did-om	did-im
1 p	did-im	did-im
2 s	did-i	did-i
2 p	did-in	did-in
3 s	did	did-a
3 p	did-an	did-an

The following illustrations are verb phrases from the text:

(39)A8	fatha kard conquer did	'he conquered' (past; 3s)
(40)C131	hast kard-a create did-PF	'he has created' (non-past; PF; 3s)
(41)B28b	aftad-a bud-an fall-PF was-3p	'they had fallen' (past; PF; 3p)
(42)B62	parasteš me-kon-an worship ME-do-3p	'they are worshipping' (ME; non-past; 3p)
(43)B69	qabul na kard-an accept NEG did-3p	'they did not accept' (NEG; past; 3p)
(44)C95	be-rason-an BE-deliver-3p	'they should deliver' (BE; non-past; 3p)
(45)C124	ebadat kon-in pray (BE)-do-2p	'you should pray' (BE; non-past; 2p)

(46)C100 **na kušt-in**
 NEG kill-2p

'you should not kill'
 (NEG; BE; non-past; 2p)

The following is a system network of the verb phrase in Dari:

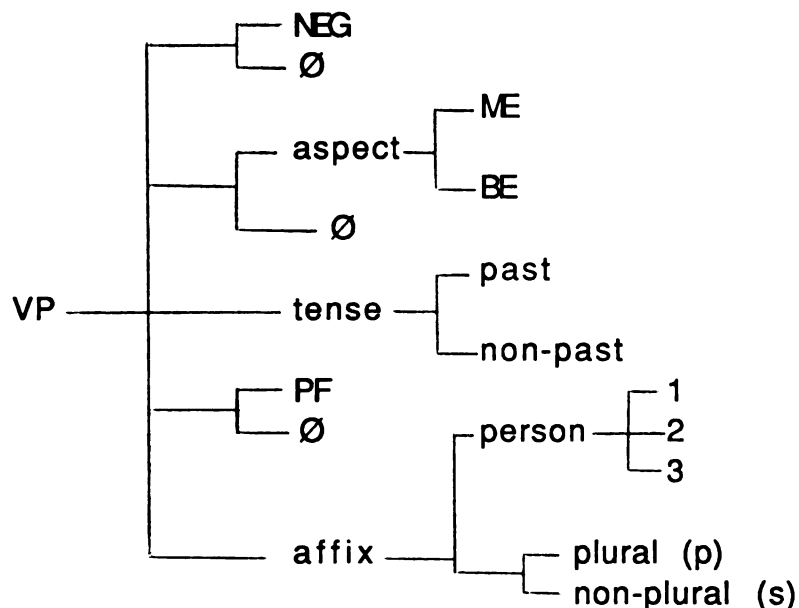


Figure 3

Dari Verb Phrase

6. Compound verbs

Most verbs in Dari are phrasal verbs, or more commonly stated, compound verbs. Windfuhr indicates that diachronically Persian is becoming increasingly 'synthetic' with the expansion of compound verbs, "virtually the only source of verbal innovation for many centuries" (1979:113). Surely, in Dari the use of compound verbs as a tool of invention is prominent. It is not uncommon for the entire semantic loading of a clause to lie in the verb phrase.

Dari has basically two types of phrasal verbs. The first type is similar to phrasal verbs in English, consisting of a verb plus a closely-linked adverb.

- (47)A23 **pas amad**
 again came
 'returned'
- (48)B82 **payan andox**
 down dropped
 'threw down'

But it is the second type of compound verb that is so common in Dari and of particular interest here. This verb phrase is best termed a complex verb to distinguish it from an object plus a verb. A complex verb is composed of a content word followed by a 'dummy' auxiliary verb. It is the auxiliary that receives the inflection. Though there are various unusual auxiliaries, the vast majority of complex verbs are formed from one of three verbs: **sudan** 'to become', **kardan** 'to do', or **dardan** 'to have'. Some examples:

- (49) **xau me-š-om** 'I sleep'
 sleep ME-become-1s
- (50) **kor me-kard** 'he worked'
 work ME-did
- (51) **qalam kor dar-om** 'I need a pen'
 pen work have-1s
- (52)B34c **ziarat me-kard-an** 'they paid religious respect'
 respect ME-did-3p

Some complex verbs are quite transparent (49) and (50), but others have become opaque and native speakers generally cannot deconstruct them (51) and (52). Some complex verbs are transitive (51) and, therefore, take direct objects, but others are intransitive (49). In other words, complex verbs behave as any other verb phrase would. The line between a complex verb and an object-plus-verb is a fuzzy one, however. In analyzing the data, several criteria were used in establishing a verb's status as a complex verb:

1. The content noun or adjective is not movable.
2. Transitive verbs can take direct objects of their own.
3. Functionally, the constituents have a better semantic fit if the process is viewed as a complex verb rather than a process-plus-goal.
4. The verb as a unit is relatively non-transparent.
5. The auxiliary is semantically 'empty'.

7. Clause types

In Dari, all clauses have the same basic syntactic format regardless of semantic function: statement, question or command. Thus, there are not separate declarative, interrogative, or imperative clause structures. Questions are indicated by intonation; imperatives use the **be-** prefix on the verb. In light of this, clause classification is relatively simple. The following clausal typology was based on the text under investigation. The transcribed oral narrative was divided into grammatical clauses, yielding approximately 150 separate clauses. Each clause was then analyzed grammatically, identifying the basic clausal constituents:

Predicate, Subject, Object/Complement, and Adjunct. This analysis yielded four separate major clause types, based solely on grammatical criteria but with functional and semantic correlations. Each major clause type (except existential) was further distinguished into subtypes.

7.1 Relational clauses

RelCl = \pm S +C +P

Relational clauses are all middle voice, that is, minus agency. There is an obligatory, overt Complement plus a Subject, which is optionally overt but always in the underlying structure; that is, the verb is marked for this subject and it can also be retrieved from the context. Verbs comprising the Predicate are of two types: 1) **budan**, 'to be' and 2) **šudan**, 'to become'. The Complement can be a noun phrase (RelA), an adjective phrase (RelB), or a prepositional phrase (RelC). No relational clauses in the data contained Adjuncts, only Margins of Time.

RelC clauses are prominent in Dari, occurring where English would express the same idea as a possessive phrase.

(53)A4 **kabul / da roi čand bazar-aa-e Bezug / bud**
 Kabul in way many bazaar-pl-E big was
 'Kabul had many big bazaars'

(54)B51 **kli-š / da tasaruf-e az i / bud**
 key-its in possession-E from he was
 'he had its key'

Relational clauses are functionally either identifying or attributive. Variation in basic word order was almost non-existent

in the data; just one clause, A13, had a Complement-Subject order. Twenty-three of the thirty-six relational clauses had overtly expressed subject-slot fillers. Formulas for and illustrations of the three types are as follows:

RelA = \pm S:NP +C:NP +P:V_{b/s} (b=budan, \check{s} =šudan)

	S:NP	C:NP	P:V _b
(55)B55	ma / piqambar-e xoda / -st-om		
	I prophet-E god		is-1s
	'I am the prophet of God'		

	C:NP	P:V _{\check{s}}
(56)B38	but parast / šud-an	
	idol worshipper became-3p	
	'they become idol worshippers'	

RelB = \pm S:NP +C:AP +P:V_{b/ \check{s}}

	S:NP	C:AP	P:V _b
(57)B57	i but-aa / qabil-e parasteš / n-est		
	this idol-PL worthy-E worship		NEG-is
	'these idols are not worthy of worship'		

	S:NP	C:AP	P:V _{\check{s}}
(58)C93	akwam-e xud / bira / šud-a bud-an		
	tribes-E self lost		become-PF was-3p
	'the tribes themselves had become religiously lost'		

RelC = \pm S:NP +C:PP +P:V_b³

	C:PP	P:V _b
(59)A12	da roi čor darwaza / bud	
	in way 4 door	was
	'it had four doors'	

7.2 Existential clauses

ExCl = +S +P

Purely existential clauses are quite common in Dari. Where English would use a 'dummy' subject construction (e.g. 'there's a small hotel'), Dari uses simply a Subject plus the copula (in essence, 'a small hotel is'). Dari also uses existential clauses extensively for ideas expressed in English by a Subject plus a Complement, e.g. 'the dog is big'; in Dari, the phrase would be the equivalent of 'a big dog is', 'big dog' being realized as a single clausal constituent [see (14)]. Though the adjective can be expressed as a separate clausal constituent (without the *ezafe*) [see (15)], the construction is unusual.

Existential clauses are all middle voice. In fact, there is only one participant in the process. This participant is realized as an obligatory Subject (NP). There may be, in addition, various circumstantial elements of Time or Location. The verb is either a form of the **budan** or **šudan**. The process type is always existential, thus, the single participant is the Existent. Since there are only two clausal elements, both obligatory and one the Predicate, there is no variation in element order. These clauses cannot be further differentiated into subtypes. The detailed formula is:

ExCl = +S:NP +P:V_{b/š}

The following are examples of existential clauses in the data:

S:NP P:V_ξ

(60)C135 **amr-e namaz / šud**
 edict-E prayer became
 'the edict of prayer came into being'

S:NP P:V_b

(61)C88 **čor kitab-e asman / -ist**
 4 book-E heaven is
 'there are the four books of heaven'

7.3 Transitive clauses

TrCl = \pm S +O +P

Transitive clauses contain an obligatory Object, usually, but not always, marked by the definite object marker **-ra**. Verbs are all action verbs, most complex. As in relational clauses, there is an underlying subject which may or may not be overtly realized.

Process types include: material, mental, identifying and attributive. These are effective/active voice clauses with agency in subject position.

Transitive clauses have been differentiated into two subtypes. Type A clauses are by far the most common; they are the typical transitive clauses following the basic formula. A detailed formula and examples follow:

TrA = \pm S:NP +O:NP +P:V_{act}

O:NP P:V_{act}

(62)B21 **besior mamlakat-haa-ra / graft-an**
 very country-PL-RA took-3p
 'they took many countries'

- (63)C115 O:NP S:NP P:V_{act}
 i kul-e čis-aa-ra / xoda / mana kard-a
 this all-E thing-PL-RA god prohibit did-PF
 'all of these things God has prohibited'

- (64)B61 S:NP O:NP P:V_{act}
 ma / šuma-ra / hast kard-im
 I you-RA create did-1p
 'I created you'

Type C clauses are a restricted subset; the predicate is the verb **goftan**, 'to say' or 'to call', and there is an obligatory object appositive that is essential to the completion of the proposition.

TrC = \pm S:NP +O:NP +OA:NP +P:V_{goft}

- (65)B27c O:NP OA:NP P:V_{goft}
 u-ra / ajarl aswad / me-g-an
 that-RA [Arabic for 'black rock'] ME-say-3p
 'they call that Ajarl Aswad'

Transitive clauses show a good deal of variation in element order. They most commonly are minus an overtly expressed Subject (34 out of 51 clauses). The Object is often fronted, and when it is, it is always marked with **-ra**. This marked Object precedes even the modal particle, **bayad**.

- (66)B47c O MP S P
 i-ra / bayad/ maa / parasteš kon-im
 this-RA must we worship do-1p
 'we must worship it'

All Adjuncts immediately precede the Predicate. These may be Adjuncts of Location, Manner, Beneficiary, or Time, e.g. (63).

- | | | | | | |
|----------|---|--------------|-------------------|---------------------|---|
| | O | | Ad/Mn | | P |
| (67)C104 | doktar-aa-e | xud-a | / da qimor | / me-baxt-an | |
| | daughter-PL-E | self-RA | in gambling | ME-lost-3p | |
| | 'they lost their daughters in gambling' | | | | |

An expanded transitive clause formula is as follows (element order is tentative as no one clause contains all elements):

TrCl= \pm MP \pm S \pm SA +O \pm OA \pm Ad +P

Some examples are:

- | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|---|---------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------|--|---|
| | O | S | | Ad/Lc | | Ad/Lc | | P |
| (68)B31b | i-ra | / xoda | / az asman | / ba zamin | / andox-t-a | | | |
| | this-RA | god | from heaven | to earth | dropped-PF | | | |
| | 'this God dropped from heaven to earth' | | | | | | | |

- | | | | | | |
|--------|--|-------------------------|---------------------|--|---|
| | O | | OA | | P |
| (69)A6 | yak-e-ša | / darwaz-e lauri | / me-goft-an | | |
| | one-E-this | door-E bazaar | ME-said-3p | | |
| | 'one of these they called the Door Bazaar' | | | | |

The text contains one exceptional element order clause, (70). This is formally a **ke** clause, but is, in fact, an independent clause. In this clause, the Object, marked with **-ra**, follows even the Predicate, and is itself followed by another relative clause. The reason for the unusual element order is unclear.

- | | |
|----------|---|
| (70)C129 | (ke) u har musulman/me-fam-a/e sura-haa-ra |
| | that every Muslim ME-know-PF this sura-pl-RA |
| | misli ke maa me-fam-im |
| | like that we ME-know-1p |
| | 'every Muslim knows these suras like we know (these suras)' |

7.4 Intransitive clauses

IntCl = \pm S +P

Intransitive clauses have only one obligatory constituent, the Predicate. There is an implicit Subject, which may or may not be overtly realized as a separate subject element. The process expressed can be: material, mental, behavioral, or verbal. These are middle voice clauses containing only an Affected Participant, not an Agent. In addition, some mental and verbal processes (IntC) contain a Phenomenon or Verbiage, but these participants are never realized as noun phrases, only as *ke* clauses or direct reports in the form of independent clauses.

A third subtype, labelled IntB, has an obligatory Adjunct realized as a prepositional phrase. These Adjuncts act to extend the process. IntB clauses are what Pike and Pike would call bi-intransitive: a second obligatory participant is necessary to complete the proposition (Pike and Pike 1982:43).

Intransitive clauses may contain Adjuncts of Manner, Location, Range, Beneficiary, Time, or Extent. In addition, the data contain one IntC clause with an indirect object marked with *-ra* (71). Most Beneficiaries are realized as prepositional phrases.

(71)C100 **mohamad ke amad / arab-aa-ra / goft /**
 Mohammed that came Arab-pl-RA said
 ke šuma aulad-aa-e-tan-a na kušt-in
 that you child-pl-E-your-RA NEG kill-2p

'Mohammed when he came told the Arabs that they should not
 kill their children'

Adjuncts in all intransitive clauses are very mobile. While most directly precede the Predicate, Adjuncts of Location and Extent appear before the Subject, and one Beneficiary appears clause-finally. Clause-level **ke** clauses, e.g. (71), and direct statements, e.g. (74), all appear clause-finally. Range, however, always appears just before the Predicate, e.g. (73). An overt Subject is expressed in subject slot a little more than half the time. Following are subtype formulas and an example of each:

IntA = \pm S:NP +P:V_{act}

	S:NP		P:V _{act}
(72)B19	in-aa ham	/	xelafat kard-an
	this-PL also		khalifing did-3p
	'these also acted as khalifs'		

IntB = \pm S:NP +Ad:PP +P:V_{act}

	S:NP		Ad:PP		P:V _{act}
(73)B36	akwam-e arabistan-hama	/	az dln	/	gašd-an
	tribes E	Arabia-all	from religion	abandoned-3p	
	'all the tribes abandoned religion'				

IntC = \pm S:NP +AD:ke/cl +P:V_{v/me}

	S:NP		P:V _{me}		Ad:cl
(74)C101	un-aa	/	fikar me-kard-an	/	doktar bad ast-an
	that-PL	think	ME-did-3p	daughter bad	is-3p
	'they thought that daughters were bad'				

7.5 Passive

The notion of passive is a Western construct used by European linguists and grammarians. Passive in the sense of being a counterpart to an active clause has no basis in Persian. John Moyne

(1974) argues that there is no lexical or syntactic category of passive in Persian. Hessam Tabaian (1979) argues that there is no opposition between active and passive, only an opposition between state (**budan**) and process (**šudan**). Lazard (as cited in Tabaian 1979) states that **šudan** forms the intransitive verbs which normally serve as the passive of the verbs formed with **kardan**, 'to do'. But the term passive is not even used by Persian scholars.

So-called passives in Dari are formed by a two part verb consisting of a content verb plus **šudan**. These clauses have an obligatory Subject which is the Affected Participant. Within the system set up for Dari clauses, these are simply intransitive clauses. There is no Agent and most clauses are also minus agency. If one wants to state unambiguously that a participant in a process is Agent, one must put that participant in the subject slot. Any clause marked for agency then becomes a transitive clause. Thus there is no need for a separate grammatical clause type to differentiate active from passive; from a grammatical point of view the distinction is unnecessary. The following are examples from the data of minus agency intransitive clauses:

- | | S:NP | Ad:PP | P:V _{act} | |
|----------|---|--------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| (75)B46a | yak but-e az | in-aa/az | yaaqud/saxt-a | šud-a bud |
| | one idol-E | from this-pl | from ruby | make-PF become-PF was |
| | 'one idol from these had been made from ruby' | | | |
| (76)C93 | akwam-e xud / | ber-a | šud-a | bud-an |
| | tribes-E self | lost-PF | became-PF | was-3p |
| | 'the tribes themselves had become religiously lost' | | | |

Other clauses that might be interpreted as passive in a different system are better seen as simply clauses of change of state. These clauses have stative counterparts. Compare (77), a stative, with (78), a process.

(77) **xuš ist-om** 'I am happy'
happy is-1s

(78) **xuš šud-om** 'I became happy'
happy became-1s

In the text this opposition is found in:

(79)C134 **e/amre/bud/ke bare piḡambar awal dafar amad**
this edict was that for prophet first time came
'this was the edict that came first to the prophet'

(80)C135 **bad az u / amre-(E) namaz / šud**
after from that edict-E-prayer became
'after that came the edict to pray'

Passive does not seem to be a distinctive notion in Dari. It is argued here that there is not a separate passive clause type for Dari. The so-called passive construction occurs when the speaker cannot or does not wish to mention an agent (or there is no agency). The speaker then puts the affected participant in subject position by default, not necessarily as a focus. These clauses must be viewed in their own terms within the system in which they occur. Within the Dari clause system, the so-called passive, in its various manifestations, is simply a variation on other clause types.

Endnotes

1. Examples are of two types: 1) those that actually occur in the text under analysis and 2) those that occur in other texts or have been solicited from native speakers. Those that occur in the text are cross-referenced to one of three sections of the text: B is the main section of the text; section A precedes this section and section C follows the main section. The entire text, glossed and translated can be found in Appendix A.
2. The phoneme [h] is rarely realized in casual spoken Dari, though its underlying presence is testified to by native speakers who can supply it without fail and, indeed, often insist on its physical presence even when the sound is not articulated.
3. It is reasonable to posit V_3 for RelC clauses as well, but no such examples were found in the data.

CHAPTER V

TRANSITIVE STRUCTURE OF DARI

1. Functional roles

Every linguistic theory has struggled with the notion of functional roles, and while all are basically exploring the semantic aspect of clausal constituents, each approach is different enough that a comparison is at best misleading. Most models of functional roles have been independently developed as an integral part of the theory to which they belong. For this reason it is difficult to transpose from one model to another. However, most 'case' theories involve the notion of the verb as central, with various constituent relations dependent upon that verb.

Halliday's functional grammar is no exception. He focusses on what he terms processes, thus avoiding an explicit linkage to a grammatical form and leaving open the possibility that processes may be realized in various ways. In his discussion of grammatical metaphor, he gives three steps for the realization of meaning: 1) selection of a process, 2) construction of a configuration of transitivity functions (process, participants, and circumstances), realized as 3) a sequence of grammatical classes (noun phrases, verb phrases, etc.) (Halliday 1984:321).

This view of the process of creating language starts with meaning. In this analysis, we have done precisely that. Though the text under investigation was divided into processes (realized as clauses by definition), the analysis of the individual clauses was

always done in terms of their relationship to the whole text and the reader's judgment of what the narrator intended to mean at that particular point in the narrative. To a certain extent, however, a clause by clause analysis is forced to ignore the whole because the very act of dividing the whole creates individual chunks of language. This dilemma seems to be unavoidable.

2. The text

In a casual, oral narrative such as the one under investigation, language flows in a wave-like pattern (to use a Pikean concept), where clauses are often incomplete as grammatical entities and inextricably connected to the next clause. In this particular text, the question of what is a dependent (beta) and what is an independent (alpha) clause is vastly complicated by the narrator's use of *ke* as a general linker of ideas. Nonetheless, the text has been divided into individual processes. Each verb of any form in any relationship, main or subordinate, was called a process and given a number or letter. Rather loosely, main clauses are numbered and subordinate clauses are sublettered, but the coding system should not be given significance beyond a mere reference tool. Though the text is numbered consecutively throughout, it has been divided into three sections: A, a short beginning section; B, the main section which has been analyzed at the discourse level and will be used for a contextual analysis; and C, the concluding section. All three sections have been reproduced in their entirety, glossed and translated, in Appendix A. An English recapitulation of the entire narrative can be found in Appendix C.

3. Dari process types

The analysis began with an application of Halliday's three major (material, mental and relational) and three minor (verbal, behavioral and existential) process types for English. The classification of Dari processes into these categories was a relatively smooth one; there seemed to be no particular reason to drastically change the system. Some adjustments were made, however. First, relational processes were divided (following Halliday) into identifying and attributive. These two sub-classifications were analyzed separately, as in Dari there are some fairly distinct things to say about each. Second, existential processes are important and distinct in Dari, both from a grammatical standpoint and from a functional one. In Dari, this is not a minor process type. In fact, Dari processes seem to run along a cline from identifying through attributive to existential. Third, in contrast to the relative importance of existential processes, the data contain only one process that might be classified as behavioral. As a result, behavioral is not posited as a separate process type for Dari.

This distribution in Dari is interesting in light of Halliday's original classification of process types obtained from his "Class Handouts" of 1977 (unpublished). In this mimeographed paper, there are four principal types of processes for English: material, mental, verbal, and relational. Relational is then sub-divided into attributive, identifying, and existential. Behavioral does not exist as a separate process. This earlier classification seems to fit the precise status of the Dari processes in this text.

Halliday's reasons for his re-classification to include a behavioral process type are clear for English and have proven useful in the analysis of English text.¹ There seems little evidence in the Dari text, however, of a separate behavioral category. The one example classified as such, (1), is highly metaphorical.

(1)A16 mohamad / wafat ke yaft-a bud
 Mohammed death that found-PF was
 'Mohammed had died'

Literally, the clause is 'Mohammed had found death' (ke here is used as an emphatic). If one analyses the clause at its literal, rather than metaphorical, level, the process is not a behavioral one but either a material or mental one, depending on one's view of death and its reality as a physical entity as opposed to a mental concept. This is, of course, highly metaphysical, but, whatever the argument, on a literal level the process is *not* a behavioral one. On a metaphorical level, the core meaning, 'Mohammed died', *is* behavioral, but this is hardly a solid base for positing the category of a behavioral process for Dari. This piece of data does not support a separate behavioral process type.

The other re-classification from Halliday's earlier model is really only a reorganization, not a positing of a new type. In Halliday's original system, existential is a sub-type of relational. This makes sense grammatically for English as English existential clauses have 'dummy' subject fillers. In Dari, existential clauses are, however, not relational, even from a grammatical standpoint (there is only one participant). Thus, it makes sense to separate

them grammatically from truly relational clauses, identifying and attributive (which have two participants). We have done this in the grammatical analysis. But functionally, there does not seem to be a dichotomy between relational on the one hand and existential on the other. There seems to be as much functional difference between identifying and attributive as between attributive and existential. In fact, the distinction between the latter two was often problematic; because of the structuring of the Dari noun phrase, the chunking of a noun and a modifier into one or two clausal constituents was not always clear. The difference hinges on the use of the *ezafə* which is not always phonologically apparent. This grammatical fuzziness sometimes obscured the semantic intent of the narrator. The following is a good example:

(2)A11 **dewal-aa-e gali-(e) kalon kalon/saxt-a šud-a bud**
 wall-PL-E mud-(E) large large made-PF became-PF was

The clause may mean 'very large mud walls were made', or it may mean 'mud walls were made very large'. The difference functionally is that the former is simply a statement of the existence of the walls, a characteristic of which is that they are very large, while the intent of the latter is to state that the walls, the existence of which is not in question, are very large. The ambiguity arises because in this phonological environment the *ezafə* would elide with the final [i] of **gali**, 'mud', and not be a physically separate entity; this *ezafə* can only be posited on semantic, contextual, or grammatical grounds. This example is not a unique one; the data abound with cases of such ambiguity.

Because of this realization of these three functional processes, three distinct process types of equal status are being posited for Dari: identifying, attributive, and existential. In total, Dari processes can be classified into six distinct types, with no division into major or minor, though some types are clearly more prevalent than others: material, mental, verbal, identifying, attributive, and existential. All the types but existential cross grammatical clause type boundaries; existential alone seems to coincide grammatically and functionally (with one possible exception).

Table 1
Process Type Distribution

	Ma	Me	V	I	At	Ex	
Tr	38	5		7	6		
Int	24	11	11	1	6	1	
Rel				17	18		
Ex						17	
TOTAL	62	16	11	25	30	18	= 162

4. Material processes

Material processes are the core of a narrative. These are the action processes that account for the events that take place, the 'doings' in Halliday's words. Numerically, material processes dominate this text. This seems normal for a narrative, even an historical one such as this. Material processes have, by definition, an obligatory Actor, the 'logical' subject of the clause but not

necessarily the agent. In Dari this Actor may be realized as the overt grammatical Subject, or it may be realized only as a verbal suffix. Material processes may have a second direct participant, a Goal toward which the action is directed. In Dari, this optional participant is never the grammatical subject of the clause; if there is a Goal, it is most often realized as an Object, but may, in rare instances, be realized more indirectly as an Adjunct. Sixty-two processes (out of approximately 162), including (2), were analyzed as material. This gives a nice broad basis from which to examine the nature of Dari material processes.

Though most grammars of Persian state that the language has a flexible word order, this does not hold true for the text under study. Participant elements were rigidly ordered with one exception: Goal may be fronted. Overt Actors² appear in twenty-five processes; only three of these follow the Goal. Thirty-eight clauses contain Goals (all overt, of course), twenty-six of which are in clause-initial position. This means that if there is a Goal participating in the process, it is twice as likely to appear in clause-initial position as in some other position. Many of these clause-initial Goals are there by default, however, as the Goal is the only overt participant. In only fourteen processes do both a Goal and an overt Actor participate; of these, Goal appears before Actor in only four. Ten processes have overt Actors preceding a Goal, but in two of these, (3) and (4), the Actor is not an actual clausal constituent as the Goal is embedded in a clause modifying the Actor; thus the process is a dependent clause acting as a modifier of the noun phrase of which the Actor is the head.

Other direct participants (Beneficiary or Range) or circumstantial elements follow Actor and Goal, if either is overtly present. Most immediately precede the Predicate. One clause, B80, has a clause final circumstantial element of Location. The data contain no instances of clauses with more than two direct participants or multiple circumstantial elements. It is, therefore, not possible to posit an order of participants beyond Actor-Goal-other. Range would most likely appear directly preceding the verb, as it is often difficult to distinguish between Range plus Predicate and a complex Predicate. Two Beneficiaries appear in material processes, one as

an Adjunct directly following the Goal (5), the other as the single overt participant in the process (6).

would be not only Actor but also Agent. The difference is much like the difference in the English clauses: **the car hit the bus** and **the car collided with the bus**. Such English clauses as **Ralph married Josephine** are often ambiguous when decontextualized; Ralph could be the bridegroom or the cleric. In Dari, this type of ambiguity does not occur; if Ralph were the bridegroom, he would marry 'with' Josephine, becoming a co-Affected Participant; if Ralph were the cleric, he would marry Josephine, acting as Agent. A more semantically accurate, though grammatically more awkward, translation of (7) would be: 'it touched with the hand of Ebrahim'.

Goal realized as Object is nearly always marked with **-ra**. The exceptions are enlightening; there are five in the data:

	A:S	G:O	Ma:P
(8)C109	arab-haa	/ aadam	/ me-kušt-an
	Arab-PL	people	ME-kill-3p
	'the Arabs were killing people'		

	G:O	Cr(Mn):Ad	Ma:P
(9)C112	doktar-aa-e	mardum-e	/ ba zurg / me-graft-an
	daughter-PL-E	people-E	with power ME-took-3p
	'they were taking people's daughters by power'		

	G:O	Ma:P
(10)C105b	zan-e yak-e degar	/ paisa me-dad-an
	wife-E one-E other	money ME-gave-3p
	'they bought another's wife'	

	G:O	Ma:P
(11)C106	zan-e-š-aa	/ aališ me-kard-an
	wife-E-his-PL	exchange ME-did-3p
	'they exchanged wives'	

	G:O	Ma:P
(12)B30	ami sang	/ graft o wardošt
	this rock	took and lifted up
	'he took and lifted up this rock'	

The most glaring exception is (8), 'Arabs were killing people'. Both Lazard and Windfuhr indicate that the primary function of **-ra** is to distinguish the Object from the Subject, but the narrator did not feel it necessary to do so here. All other instances of the verb **kuštan**, 'kill', (C100, C102, C117) have Goals marked with **RA**. In all of these other clauses, the Goals are specific, however, while in (8), the Goal is a general 'people'. It is probably the specificity that has triggered the use of **-ra**. In addition, there is really no need to distinguish the Goal from the Actor here; if 'Arabs' were the Goal, **arabhaa** would, as a fronted Goal, be marked with **-ra**. (9) also has a generalized Goal, 'people's daughters'. The explanation for lack of **-ra** marking in (10) and (11) is less clear. Perhaps in (10), because the phrase-final **degar** ends in /r/, **-ra** is phonologically precluded, but this is not the case in (11). A grammatical argument can also be made for (10). The entire sentence includes an initial 'if' clause:

(13)C105a	agar xuš-e-šan me-amad
	if like-E-their ME-came
	'if they liked'

It is not entirely clear to which process **zan-e yak-e degar**, 'another's wife', belongs. The sentence is either: 1) 'if they liked, they bought one another's wives' (**zan**, 'wife', as direct object of 'bought'), or 2) 'if they liked one another's wives, they paid money' (**zan** as direct object of 'like'). Semantically the grouping of

constituents in C105 is irrelevant, but the fuzzy grammatical status of the noun phrase coupled with the verb, literally 'gave money', make the Goal not very object-like. It is possible that some verbs simply do not lend themselves to participants marked with **-ra**. Entezar hints at this (1964:64). In (11), 'exchange' seems a likely candidate for a verb that does not take **-ra**, but this is only speculative here.

(12) is not marked for quite a different reason: **ami sang**, 'this rock', is already marked for high specificity by use of the deictic **ami**, which means something like 'this very one'. In addition, there is no overt Actor to distinguish from, and a rock is clearly not the Actor of 'took and lifted up'.

The one instance of an Object as Range is also marked with RA:

R:O Ma:P
(14)C133 **eč roi-ra / na-ro / bajust . . .**
 no way-RA NEG-go except
 'go no way except . . .'

This marking seems grammatical. Objects of prepositions are never thus marked. **-ra** is still a very elusive notion, but the variable in usage in this text seems to be specificity, along with the role of the participant in the process and the semantic nature of the process itself.

Material processes are realized grammatically as both transitive (TrA) and intransitive clauses (IntA and IntB). This is not surprising. They can then be either middle voice (with only an Affected Participant, no Agent) or effective voice (with an Agent as Subject).

Table 2
Material Process

<u>Participant</u>	<u>Realization</u>
Actor (62)	overt Subject (24)
Goal (36)	Object (35) / Adjunct (1)
Beneficiary (2)	Adjunct (2)
Range (7)	Adjunct (4) / Object (3)
Circumstance (15)	Adjunct (15)

Some examples of material processes follow:

A:S R:Ad
(15)B22 **hazrat-e omar / taa qismat-aa-e šaom**
hazrat-E Omar until section-PL-E Amman
Ma:P
o fillistin o baiti moqadas / fatha kard
& Palestine & Jerusalem conquer did
'Omar conquered up to sections of Amman, Palestine, and Jerusalem'

	R:Ad	Ma:P	A:
(16)C123	dar majid / b-ur		-in
	in mosque	BE-go	2p
	'you should go to mosque'		

(17)C125 R:O Ma:P A:
 sur-e al hamd-a / bo-xan-in
 verse-E RA BE-read-2p
 'you should read the verse al Hamd'
 A:S Cr(Ac):Ad Ma:p

(18)B80 **in-aa / amroi mohamad / raft-an**
 this-PI with Mohammed went-3p
 Cr(Lc):Ad
/ dar xon-e kaba-e but-aa-ra
 in house-E rock-e idol-PL-RA
 'they went with Mohammed to the Hona Kaba of idols'

Cr(En):Ad :MP Ma:P A:
 (19)C122 **painj waxt / bayad / uzu be-gar-in**
 5 time must ablutions BE-take-2p
 'you must make ablutions five times'

G:O A:S Cr(Lc):Ad Cr(Lc):Ad Ma:P
 (20)B31b **i-ra / xoda / az asman / ba zamin / andox-t-a**
 this-RA god from heaven to earth dropped-PF
 'this God dropped from heaven to earth'

G:O Cr(Mn):Ad Ma:P A:
 (21)C112 **doktar-aa-e mardume / ba zurg / me-graft-an**
 daughter-PL-E people by power ME-took-3p
 'they took people's daughters by power'

5. Mental processes

Halliday lists the second major process as that of mental, the process of sensing. These processes deal with our feelings, likes and dislikes, how we view and interpret the world. Though it is probably true as Halliday states that much of the time we are talking about what we are thinking and feeling rather than concrete events, mental processes are scant in this Dari text; only sixteen, including dependent clauses, were found in the data: A2a, A14a, B29a, B53a, B69, B70, B72 (or B75 or B79), B81, C90, C91, C94, C101, C105a, C129a, C129b, C134c. This is not surprising, given the nature of the narrative as an historical account rather than a

personal relating of events. Nevertheless, within these limited data, patterns emerge on the composition of mental processes in Dari. In a mental process, there are two central participants: 1) the **Senser**, a human (or humanlike) perceiver, and 2) the **Phenomenon**, the 'thing' or 'fact' perceived. In addition, there may be various circumstantial elements. The typical element order for Dari is: **Senser-Phenomenon-Circumstance-Process**.

Unlike **Actors** in Dari material processes, **Sensers** nearly always appear as overt constituents, in clause-initial position. Like **Actors** in Dari, but unlike **Sensers** in English, Dari **Sensers** are always **Subjects** (with one exception, (22), discussed below). An overt **Senser** occurs as the initial element in all but four clauses. C94, C105a, and A14a have no overt **Sensers**. This leaves (22) as the only clause with a fronted **Phenomenon**.

	Ph:O	Se:S	Me:P
(22)B29a	I sang-a	/ hazrat-e ebrahim	ke / me-xost
	this rock-RA	hazrat-E Ebrahim	ME-want
	'this rock Ebrahim wanted'		

In (22), the **Phenomenon** is highly emphatic; it is fronted and marked with **-ra**, as well as having the specific deictic **I**. Except for this highly specified instance, **Phenomenons** follow **Sensers**. If the **Phenomenon** is a 'thing', it comes before the **Process**; if the **Phenomenon** is a 'fact', it comes after the **Process**, usually realized as a **ke** clause. 'Things' are marked with **-ra**, if objects, or realized as prepositional phrases. Four of the clauses have no overt **Phenomenon**:

Se:S Me:P
 (23)B70 **tana kason-e ke / qabul kard**
 only person-E accept did
 'only some people accepted'

Se:S Me:P
 (24)B72 **i / qabul kard**
 she accept did
 'she accepted'

Se:S Me:P
 (25)B81 **anuzi / qabila / xabar na dašt-an**
 yet tribes information NEG have-3p
 'yet the tribes did not know'

Se:S Me:P
 (26)C129b **maa / me-fam-im**
 we ME-know-1p
 'we know'

In all four processes the Phenomenon is implied and can be supplied. All clauses, except (27), (28), and A14a, have overt Subjects, and all of the Subjects are Sensors, with the exception of (29), a dependent clause, and the highly idiomatic (28).

Me:P Se: Ph:ke
 (27)C94 **nazer šud-an / ke**
 observer became -3p that
 'they observed that'

Me:P
 (28)C105a **agar / xuš-e-šan / me-amad**
 if liking-E-their ME-came
 'if they liked'

	Se:Ad	Cr(Tm):Ad	
(29)C134c	(i amre)	(ke)/bare piɔmbar/	awal dafar/ amad
	this edict that	for prophet	first time came
	'(this edict) (that) came for the first time for the prophet'		

(29) is metaphorical and has been interpreted on that level. Literally, of course, the process is a material one. (28) is a common idiom in Dari, the semantic interpretation of which, 'they liked', bears little resemblance to the grammatical realization 'their liking came'; as a result, there is little to say about the functional structure of this dependent clause.

All mental processes (except (29), perhaps) show the potential for Halliday's bi-directional criterion for mental clauses (where either the Sensor or the Phenomenon can be the Subject of semantically equivalent active clauses, see Chapter III). In this text, however, only the 'active' (or 'like') type exist. It is quite possible that, like true material passives, this kind of passive also does not exist, or is rare, in Dari. Such phrases as the English 'the book pleases me' have no equivalent in Dari. If the Phenomenon is the Subject, the process is realized as a metaphorically material one as in (29). One would have to say something equivalent to 'reading the book pleases me' (30). Bi-directionality does not appear as a general pattern in this text, but the data are few.

(30)	xandan-e in kitab	/ ba roi-m	/ xuši meta
	reading-E this book	for-me	pleasure give

Mental processes are realized grammatically as both transitive (TrA) and intransitive (IntA, IntB, IntC) clauses.

Table 3

Mental Processes

<u>Participant</u>	<u>Realization</u>
Senser	Subject (15) / Adjunct (1)
Phenomenon	Object (4) / ke (3) / Adjunct (3) / Subject (1)
Circumstance	Adjunct (1)

6. Verbal processes

Verbal processes are processes of saying, either directly or indirectly, literally or metaphorically, e.g. 'the clock says five o'clock'. The Sayer need not be human; it can be an inanimate object or even the document itself, e.g. 'the report states'. In addition to a Sayer, a second direct participant is what Halliday calls the Verbiage, that is, the verbalization itself. A third direct participant is the Beneficiary or Recipient of the message. Halliday classifies verbal as a minor process type, and, indeed, in this Dari text, it is the least exemplified process. There are only eleven verbal processes in the data: A9a, A13, B31a, B47b, B54c, B56, B83, C98, C100, C127, C130. The constituent order is highly predictable: Sayer-Beneficiary-Process-Verbiage. Only (31) differs from this.

	Vb:S		Sy:Ad		Bn:Ad
(31)C98 i	farman-haa/tawasut-e	pi	ambar/bare	mardum	
	this decree-PL	via-E	prophet	for	people
	V:P				
	me-ras-an				
	ME-deliver-3p				
	'these decrees were delivered via the prophet for the people'				

(31) has been interpreted as a verbal process, but it is quite possible that the 'delivery' was a material action rather than a verbal one. The clause is, at any rate, not a usual verbal process. God is giving decrees for the people, but the prophet is the messenger who actually delivers these decrees. Translation of this clause into English is difficult. 'These decrees' is the grammatical subject but it is not the agent; it is, instead, the affected participant. A closer semantic rendering into English might be: 'these decrees arrived for the people through the prophet' or 'the prophet delivered these decrees for the people'. Functionally, the participant roles are clear: 'these decrees' is the Verbiage; the prophet is the Sayer; and 'the people' is the Beneficiary.

A Beneficiary occurs in four of these clauses, (31) - (34), either as a **bare** phrase (in three) or as an indirect object marked with **-ra** (32). In (33), the Beneficiary follows, rather than precedes, the Process.

	Sy:S		Bn:O	V:P	Vb:ke
(32)C100	mohamad ke amad	/	arab-aa-ra	/	goft / ke . .
	Mohammed that came		Arab-PL-RA		said
	'Mohammed who came told the Arabs'				

	Sy:S	V:P	Bn:Ad	Vb:ke	
(33)B56	xoda	/	amlr kard-a	/	bare ma / ke
	god		order made-PF		for me
	'God instructed me that'				

			Bn:Ad	V:P	Sy:	Vb:ke	
(34)C127	misli ke peřtar	//	bare tan	/	goft-om	/	ke . .
	like		earlier		for you		said-1s
	'like I told you earlier'						

All verbal processes except (35) have a Verbiage, realized as either a **ke** clause or a direct statement:

R:Ad V:P Sy:
 (35)A9a **ba estila** / **be-goy-lm**
 by expression BE-say-1p
 'let's say'

(35) is idiomatic, literally 'we say by expression', but having a meaning similar to the English 'let's say' or 'as the expression goes'. It is treated as an indivisible unit and not deconstructed, though functionally **ba estila** is Range.

There are few overt Sayers. Sometimes the Sayer is an impersonal, unspecified general 'they', e.g. (36) and (37).

V:P Sy: Vb:ke
 (36)A13 **me-g-an** / **ke**
 ME-say-3p
 'they say that'

V:P Sy: Vb:cl
 (37)B47b **me-goft-an** / **i-ra bayad maa parasteš kon-im**
 ME-said-3p this-RA must we worship do-1p
 'they said, "This we must worship."

One native informant translated (37) as, 'the word was that '. Other sayers are more specific but simply not expressed as overt Subjects. It is interesting to note here that while mental processes usually have specific overt sensors, verbal processes do not usually have overt sayers. This may be true for just these data rather than the language as a whole. A wider investigation would be necessary to come to any firm conclusion on this. Though there are few overt

Sayers, all verbal processes in the data have Sayers realized as verbal suffixes, e.g. (35) - (37). Two clauses, however, have Sayers realized as Adjuncts,(31), already discussed, and (38):

	Sy:Ad	V:P	Vb:cl
(38)C130	dar u sura	/ nawišta kard-a	/ [Arabic]
	in that verse	written	did-PF
	'in that verse was written . . .'		

This is an intransitive clause, the Subject of which is not clear but is most likely the Arabic verbalization that follows the predicate. The Sayer, however, is clearly the **sura**, the meaning of the process being 'the verse says'. Here we have an example of the document itself being the Sayer and the actual words being the Verbiage.

Table 4
Verbal Process

<u>Participant</u>	<u>Realization</u>
Sayer	Subject (9) / Adjunct (2)
Verbiage	ke or cl (9) / Subject (1)
Beneficiary	Adjunct (3) / Object (1)

7. Identifying processes

In Dari there are three ways of expressing being: identifying, attributive, and existential. Identifying processes involve two

obligatory participants, one the Identified (Id), the other the Identifier (Ir). In this relational process, one entity is used to identify another in a relationship of token and value, phenomenon and circumstance of time, place, etc., or of owner and possession (Halliday: 1985:113). Identifying processes function to identify or define an entity while attributive processes merely assign an attribute to that entity. Halliday says that in English, "The fundamental difference between the two is the fact that identifying clauses are reversible, whereas attributives are not" (1985:114). In Dari, this reversibility (see discussion Chapter III, p. 18) does not seem applicable; merely putting one entity in clause-initial position does not make it the Identified as opposed to the Identifier. Clause position does not have the same kind of grammatical significance in Dari as it does in English.

The order of Identified-Identifier is almost built into Halliday's definition of the two participants and is tied in with the notion of Theme which will be discussed later. But in Dari, the two participants are also realized in rather different ways. Identifiers may be realized as prepositional phrases, e.g. (39) and (40), while all Identifieds, if they are overtly realized, are noun phrases.

	Id:S		Ir:Ad
(39)B45	but-aa-e kalon-e az i / ba nam-e laut o malaut		
	idol-PL-E large-E from this by name-E Laut & Malaut		
	I:P		
	o ozu / yad me-šud		
	& Ozu memory ME-became		
	'the large idols of these were called by the name of Laut,		
	Malaut and Ozu'		

- | | | | |
|----------|---|------------------------------|--------------|
| | Id:S | Ir:Ad | I:P |
| (40)B28a | u sang | / az sang-haa-e asman | / -is |
| | that rock | from rock-PL-E heaven | is |
| | 'that rock is from the rocks of heaven' | | |

In addition, there is a sub-group of identifying processes where the Identified is the Object and the Identifier is an Object Appositive in a transitive C type clause. These clauses have an additional participant, the Assigner. In the data, an Assigner is realized only as a verbal suffix and the verb is always **goftan**, 'said'. Two examples follow:

- | | | | |
|----------|--|----------------------|------------------|
| | Id:O | Ir:OA | I:P |
| (41)B27c | u-ra | / ajarl aswad | / me-g-an |
| | that-RA | Ajarl Aswad | ME-say-3p |
| | 'they call that Ajarl Aswad (Arabic for Black Rock)' | | |
-
- | | | | |
|--------|--|---------------------|---------------------|
| | Id:O | Ir:OA | I:P |
| (42)A5 | yak-e-ša | / šaar bazar | / me-goft-an |
| | one-E-those | city bazaar | ME-say-3p |
| | 'one of those they called City Bazaar' | | |

There are 25 identifying processes in the text. A typical identifying process has the following constituent order: Identified-Identifier-Process. Most identifying processes are relational clauses, e.g. (43) - (46), but the data also include transitive (TrC), e.g. (41) and (42), and intransitive (IntB), e.g. (47), clauses.

- | | | | |
|---------|--|-----------------------|--------------|
| | Id:S | Ir:C | I:P |
| (43)B24 | markaz-e xalaf-aa | / šar-e madina | / bud |
| | center -E khalif-PL | city-E Medina | was |
| | 'the center of the khalifs was the city of Medina' | | |

Id:S Ir:C I:P
 (44)B84 **ma / p̣aṃbar-e xoda / -st-om**
 I prophet-E god is-1s
 'I am the prophet of god'

 Ir:C I:P Id:
 (45)B74 **xalif-e awal / bud-Ø**
 Khalif-E first was-3s
 'he was the first khalif'

 Ir:C I:P Id:
 (46)B26a **bad dar awaxar // maka / šud-Ø**
 later in the end Mecca became-3s
 'later in the end it became Mecca'

 Id:S Ir:SA I:P
 (47)B71 **yak zan-e hazrat-e mohamad/xadija/nam dašt**
 one wife-E Hazrat-E Mohammed Khadija name had
 'one wife of Mohammed was named Khadija'

Table 5

Identifying Processes

<u>Participant</u>	<u>Realization</u>
Identified	Subject (19)
Identifier	Complement (17) /OA (5) /Adjunct (2) /SA (1)
Assigner	Subject (6)

8. Attributive processes

Attributive processes differ from identifying processes in that the latter are equative while the former are not. In an

identifying process, the two participants are of equal status, and which is the Identified and which is the Identifier is often a matter of perspective based on context and grammatical and thematic realization. In an attributive process, one participant is an attribute of the other, not to be equated with it but a single property of that participant.

Halliday distinguishes in English between 'John is the leader', an identifying process, and 'John is a leader', an attributive process. Dari has no articles as such, so other ways must be found to indicate specificity, or to distinguish between a member of a class (attributive, e.g. 'Ford is a car') and an identity (e.g. 'Ford is the car to buy').

In the clauses in this text, if Identifiers are realized as noun phrases, these noun phrases are highly specific, e.g. (45) and (46). In contrast, Attributes are usually realized as adjective phrases or as general noun phrases after *dašt*an, 'had'. Some examples are:

	Ar:O	At:P	Ca:
(48)C111a	zurg	/	dašt-an
	power		had-3p
	'they had power'		

	Ca:S	Ar:O	At:P
(49)B42	ar qablla	/	yak but / dašt
	every tribe	one idol	had
	'every tribe had one idol'		

	Ar:C	At:P	Ca:
(50)C113a	saxi	o garib	/ bud-an
	propertiless and poor		was-3p
	'they were propertiless and poor'		

	Ca:S	Ar:C	At:P
(51)B68	i	/ qarat	/ -ast
	this wrong		is
	'this is wrong'		

As in identifying processes, there is usually an overt Subject in attributive processes. The Subject is always Carrier and there are no instances of fronted Attributes in the data. The invariable constituent order is: Carrier-Attribute-Process. In one clause, the Carrier is modified by a **ke** clause that contains both the Attribute (realized as an Adjunct) and the Process.

	Ca:	Ar:Ad	At:P
(52)A14b	(en-aa nam . . . ke)	da tarix-e/tazakuri	yaft-a
	this-PL name	that in history-E mention	found-PF
	'these names that were mentioned in history'		

The data contain 30 instances of attributive processes, realized grammatically by all clause types except existential: transitive (TrA), e.g. (57), intransitive (IntB), e.g. (55) and (56), and relational (RelA, RelB, RelC), e.g. (53) and (54); most attributive (18 out of 30) processes are relational clauses.

	Ca:S	Ar:C	At:P
(53)C87	zabur /	az hazrat-e daud	/ -ist
	Old Testament	from Hazrat-E David	is
	'the Old Testament is from David'		

	Ca:S	Ar:C	At:P
(54)C93	aqam-e xud / bira / šud-a	bud-an	
	tribes-E self	lost	became-PF was-3p
	'the tribes themselves had become (religiously) lost'		

Ca:S Ar:Ad(Lc) At:P
 (55)B85 **ma / az taraf-e xoda / amad-im**
 I from direction-E god came-1P
 'I came from God'

Ca:S Bn:Ad Ar:Ad At:P
 (56)C84 **ina awal sura/bare ma/az qoran-e šarif/amad-a**
 this first verse for me from Koran-E holy came-PF
 'this first verse came to me from the holy Koran'

Ca:S Ar:O At:P
 (57)A1 **kabul / šakle emroz-ara / na dašt**
 Kabul like today-RA NEG had
 'Kabul wasn't like today'

Table 6

Attributive Process

<u>Participant</u>	<u>Realization</u>
Carrier	Subject (30)
Attribute	Complement (18) / Object (6) / Adjunct (6)
Beneficiary	Adjunct (1)

9. Existential processes

Existential processes are one participant processes, the meaning of which is that something exists or happens. This type of process is much more common in Dari than in English. In the data, there are eighteen. All grammatically existential clauses are also

functionally existential, and with one exception, the reverse is also true. The exception is:

	Et:S		Ex:P
(58)A11	dewal-aa-e	gali-(e)	kalon kalon/saxt-a šud-a bud
	wall-PL-E	mud	large large made-PF became-PF was
	'very large mud walls had been made'		

Structurally, (58) is not unusual; this seems to be a common way of stating an existential proposition in Dari. On one level, the clause appears to be a material middle-voice process, but the sense of the clause is that there were very large mud walls in old Kabul, a statement of existence. There is no agency involved even though our knowledge of the world tells us that the walls were brought into existence through some conscious outside source. Thus, grammatically, this is an intransitive A clause. (59) is a similar kind of clause; it is functionally an identifying process but grammatically an intransitive B clause.

	Id:S		Ir:Ad		I:P
(59)B46a	yak	but-e	az in-aa/az	yaqud/saxta	šud-a bud
	one	idol-E	from this-PL	from ruby	made became-PF was
	'one of these idols had been made from ruby'				

These seemingly material middle-voice clauses warrant a more extensive look that is beyond the scope of this analysis.

Another existential clause that is difficult to classify is:

	Et:S		Ex:P
(60)C116	bedat	/	-is
	sin		is
	'it is a sin'		

Semantically **bedat** is an attribute of all the actions previously listed, but the sense here (reinforced grammatically) is not 'all these things are sins', an attributive process, but a more unspecified 'it's a sin'. This interpretation is in accord with native intuition, and the narrator intonationally isolates the clause by large pauses on either side of it.

All other existential processes are quite uniform in structure. The only participant is the Existent, which is the Subject of the clause realized as a noun phrase. This noun phrase may be simply a noun as in (60), a noun with a post-modifier, e.g. (61) and (62), or a noun modified by a **ke** clause following the verb, e.g. (63). Some clauses have clause-initial circumstantial elements, e.g. (61). With the exception of (58), the verb is a form of either **budan** or **šudan**.

- | | | | | | |
|----------|--|------|-----------------------------|---|------------|
| | Cr(Lc):Ad | | Et:S | | Ex:P |
| (61)A2b | dar markaz-e kabul | // | yak harb-e kalon | / | -is |
| | in center-E Kabul | | one fortress-E large | | is |
| | 'in the center of Kabul is a large fortress' | | | | |
| | Et:S | | Ex:P | | |
| (62)B27b | yak sang-e sia | / | -ist | | |
| | one rock-E black | | is | | |
| | 'there is a black rock' | | | | |
| | Et:S | Ex:P | Et:S | | |
| (63)C86b | injl / -ist / ke az hazrat-e esaa-s | | | | |
| | Bible | is | that from Hazrat-E Jesus-is | | |
| | 'there is the Bible that is from Jesus' | | | | |
| | Cr(Tm) | | Et:S | | Ex:P |
| (64)C135 | bad az u // amr-e namaz / šud | | | | |
| | after that edict-E pray | | became | | |
| | 'after that the edict of prayer came into being' | | | | |

10. Conclusion

This functional analysis of the clause structure of Dari has revealed some interesting features of that language specifically, as well as some generalizations about all languages. While it is probably true that all languages realize the same basic semantic processes in one way or another, these processes are distributed differently in each language. Dari seems to place considerable weight on grammatical realization for expression of functional roles and little weight on constituent order. Morphological markers (such as *-ra*) also play an important part in the determination of functional structure. Dari seems to make greater use, than does English, of existential processes for the expression of concepts; it is common in Dari to state the existence of something as a separate proposition. This is not as usual in English. Dari also makes relatively frequent use of range. This is seen in the semantic loading of the predicate as well as in the preponderance of Range as an important functional participant. Arguments in a proposition are often more indirect than in English; for example, Dari uses prepositional phrases where English would use direct or indirect objects. All of these features affect the expression of ideas and the way in which one views the world.

Endnotes

1. I found the addition of a behavioral category to be highly insightful in my analysis of Lawrence Durrell's Alexandria Quartet (Rashidi 1983a; 1983b; 1985).
2. An 'overt' element here, as elsewhere, is defined as one which is expressed as a separate clausal constituent, as opposed, say, to being marked as a verbal suffix.
3. Hazrat is a general religious term of address that has no meaningful English gloss.

CHAPTER VI

ERGATIVE VIEW OF DARI

1. Traditional view of ergativity

Traditionally ergativity has been viewed as a syntactic coding system; a language either codes its clausal participants according to an ergative classification or an accusative one. In an accusative system, grammatical subjects are distinguished from grammatical objects. In an ergative system, however, the basis for classification is functional: an agent is distinguished from an affected participant. Thus in the following English clauses the similarity of participants is viewed differently in an accusative system than in an ergative system:

1) **John hit the ball.**

2) **John ran.**

From an accusative viewpoint, **John** has a similar function in both clauses, that of subject, the doer of the action. If the language actually marks for function, or case, **John** will take the same case in both clauses. This system is the basis of the traditional typology of clauses into transitive and intransitive; a transitive clause, 1), has an object while an intransitive clause, 2), does not.

From an ergative viewpoint, **John** in 2) has the same function as **the ball** in 1); each is the affected participant of the clause, the core constituent without which the proposition would not exist. If a so-called ergative language actually marked for case, **John** in 2) and

the ball in 1) would take the same case markings. The dichotomy from an ergative viewpoint is not one of transitive versus intransitive (\pm object) but one of \pm agency. Clause 1) has an agent while clause 2) does not. Thus, from an accusative point of view (or in an accusative language), every clause has an obligatory, at least underlying, subject and an optional object; while from an ergative viewpoint (or in an ergative language), every clause has an obligatory affected participant and an optional agent. Traditional linguistics does not appear to have a specific label for the two types of clauses that would be analogous to the transitive/intransitive distinction. In essence, of course, a semantically transitive clause is one that has both an agent and an affected participant.

Traditionally, then, languages have been classified as either accusative or ergative. An accusative language is one that codes, either on the surface or as an underlying principle of organization, the grammatical functions of subject versus object, regardless of the logical roles of these constituents. In contrast, an ergative language is one that codes the roles of agent versus affected participant regardless of the status of the grammatical constituent as subject or object.

With the recent recognition of the importance of functional roles in the analysis of grammatical structure, the concept of ergativity has been used increasingly in the exploration of various languages (see Bashir 1986; Cooreman 1982 and 1983; Cooreman, Fox, and Givon 1984). Most of this work recognizes not only the importance of functional roles, but also the contribution that discourse structure makes to the selection of surface realization

features. The way a clause is realized is dependent upon the function of the clause as a whole in the discourse as much as the resources available to the user of that particular language.

2. Halliday's ergative interpretation of transitivity structure

Halliday has been in the forefront of this recognition of the importance of functional roles, making use of the notion of ergativity, not as a classification device, but as an additional way to view the structuring of any language. Though Halliday's development of ergativity has been treated within systemic linguistics less extensively than his major model of functional transitivity (process typology), his concept of ergativity can prove profitable and insightful in the analysis of a language. From this viewpoint processes are characterized as being either self-engendering (- agency) or engendered from without (+agency). It is this factor of \pm agency that Halliday calls the ergativity option (1985:147). From an ergative viewpoint each process has an affected participant which Halliday calls Medium (Md). In addition, there may or may not be an Agent (Ag). If there is agency involved, either explicit or implied, then the process is effective voice; if the process is minus agency then the process is middle voice. An agent need not be overtly realized as the structural function Agent for a process to be effective, but agency must semantically underlie the process.

3. An ergative view of transitivity structure in Dari

This ergative distinction based on agency seems an appropriate

one for Dari, as in Dari there is no active/passive distinction; Agent is always realized as Subject. Thus, Halliday's system of transitivity and voice for English (1985:151) (see Figure 2, p.20) can be modified for Dari as shown in Figure 4:

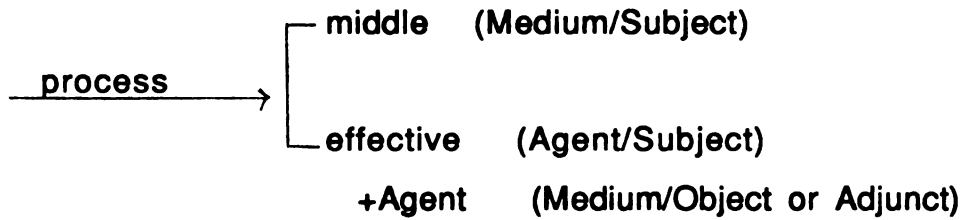


Figure 4

System of transitivity and voice for Dari

Example B15 is middle voice; B31a is effective voice:

Md:S

B15 . . . rakbilšaa / hukumat me-kard
 Rakbil Shah govern ME-did
 'Rakbil Shah was governing'

Md:O Ag:S

B31a i-ra / xoda / az asman / ba zamin / andox-t-a
 this-RA God from heaven to earth dropped-PF
 'this god dropped from heaven to earth'

In our analysis, we have started with the core notion of Medium. Every clause has a nuclear participant in an ergative view of process. If the clause has a single participant, then that participant is Medium. If the process has some outside engendering

force, then that participant is Agent. We will be defining agency here in a, perhaps, narrower, more semantic sense than Halliday does for English, as will be apparent. Other direct participants from an ergative viewpoint are Range and Beneficiary. Range is the scope or domain of the process, a participant that seems of more prominent concern in Dari than in English. Beneficiary is the one for whom the process is explicitly enacted, a concept we have discussed elsewhere.

4. Analysis of the data

In analyzing the processes in the data, it was not always clear-cut which participant was Medium. The notion of Medium, like other functional notions, is a combination of semantic and grammatical considerations. At the core is the semantic intent within the proposition, but there should be some consistency of grammatical realization within a particular language.

4.1 Material processes

Halliday says that in a material process in English, Medium is Goal if there is a Goal; if there is no Goal, then Medium is Actor (1985:147). This works most of the time for Dari. There are processes, however, where Range seems to be the core participant. The most obvious of these are clauses that involve Adjuncts of Range that are very object-like, e.g. (2), (3), (4). Dari often realizes notions indirectly using prepositional phrases, where English would express the same notion more directly as a direct object. We have already noted the distinction earlier with such ideas as 'the car hit

the bus' or 'Ralph married Josephine'. We see the same distinction in the data between (1) and (2).

- | | | | |
|--------|----------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| | Md:G:O | | Ag:A:S |
| (1)B21 | beslor | mamlakat-haa-ra | / graft-an |
| | very | country-PL-RA | took-3p |
| | 'they took many countries' | | |
-
- | | | | |
|--------|--|--------------------------|---------------------|
| | Md:A:S | R | |
| (2)B22 | hazrat-e omar/taa | qismat-aa-e . . . | / fatha kard |
| | Hazrat-E Omar | until section-PL-E | conquer did |
| | 'Omar conquered up to sections of . . .' | | |

In (1), there is an obvious, clear-cut agent, 'they', realized as the verbal suffix **-an**. There is also a clear-cut Goal realized as a direct object marked with **-ra**. The Medium is then 'many countries'. But the ergative roles in (2) are not as clear-cut. Semantically, clauses (1) and (2) seem similar. In (2), however, the verb **fatha kard**, 'conquered', cannot take a direct object; it is, in effect, an intransitive verb. The 'object' then must be realized indirectly as the object of a preposition. This participant is grammatically an Adjunct and functionally Range. But it seems that the core participant, as in (1), is the domain of the conquering. It also seems that the Actor is Agent, not Medium. One might wish to re-analyze the Adjunct in (2) as Goal, but there are less goal-like examples that follow a similar pattern. In (3), the verb **gašdan**, 'abandon', like **fatha kard**, 'conquered', takes only an adjunct, not a direct object, but **az din**, 'from religion', seems more range-like than the Range of (2); 'religion' is not a concrete object. 'Abandon religion' differs from 'hit a ball' or even 'conquer Amman'. In (4),

'ab
ma
are
wh
co
Ra
an
dis

P
S

'abandon the way of God' is even more range-like. Thus, it seems to make sense in (3) and (4) to analyze the Actors as Mediums. These are, in addition, processes that are very close to mental processes where the senser is Medium. (2) remains a problem, but the most consistent analysis seems to be the designation of *omar* as Medium; Range then remains the same notion both from a transitive and from an ergative viewpoint. This analysis also recognizes the semantic distinction between an Adjunct and an Object.

	Md:A:S		R
(3)B36	akwam-e arabistan	/ hama /	az din / gašd-an
	tribes-E Arabia	all	from religion abandon-3p
	'the tribes of Arabia all abandoned religion		

	Md:A:S		R
(4)B53b	in-aa / az roi-e xoda / gašd-an		
	this-PL from way-E god	abandon-3p	
	'they abandoned the way of God'		

Two other material processes in the data present an opposite problem, grammatical direct objects that seem more range-like than goal-like, (5) and (6).

	R		Md:A:S
(5)C125	sur-e al hamd-a / bo-xan-in		
	verse-E al Hamd-RA	BE-read-2p	
	'you should read the verse al Hamd'		

	R		Md:A:S
(6)C126	sur-e exlas-a / bo-xan-in		
	verse-E Ekhlās-RA	BE-read-2p	
	'you should read the verse Ekhlās'		

Both of these clauses are optatives. In each, **sura** indicates the domain of the reading, not a goal that is being acted upon, even though the noun phrase is marked with **-ra**. Thus, 'you' is not a true agent but more of an affected participant. Again, these clauses are not very material; these are close to verbal processes. In this light, we will interpret 'you' as the Medium and the verse as the Range of the process 'read'. Again, this is consistent with the transitive interpretation of these clauses.

This brings us to a third group of material processes where Range seems to play an important role. In Dari, it is not uncommon to have clauses that consist only of a predicate, where the Subject is realized only as a verbal suffix. The entire semantic loading is in the predicate. Many of these predicates are complex verbs where the content verb is very close to being range, e.g. (7), (8), (9).

(7)B34c **ziarat me-kard-an**
 obeisance ME-did-3p
 'they paid religious obeisance'

(8)C110 **duzdi me-kard-an**
 thievery ME-did-3p
 'they were robbing'

(9)C103 **qimor me-zad-an**
 gambling ME-hit-3p
 'they were gambling'

Though the subjects here come close to being agents and, particularly in (9), the content verb is quite like a Medium, it seems best to analyze these as middle voice with only a Medium realized as the verbal suffix **-an**, 'they'.

4.2 Mental processes

There is little to say about mental processes in Dari that differs from Halliday's analysis for English. Senser is Medium and the Phenomenon is Range in the typical consciousness to phenomenon type process, the 'like' type in Halliday's terms (1985: 149). If the process is encoded in the other direction, however (the passive 'please' type), the Phenomenon is Agent. We find two of these clauses in the data:

	Ag:Ph:S	Md:Se:Ad	
(10)C134c	(i amre)/bare	piqambar/awal	dafar/amad
	this edict for	prophet	first time came
	'(this edict) came the first time for the prophet'		

	Md
(11)C105a	agar / xuš-e-šan / me-amad
	if liking-E-their ME-came
	'if they liked'

(10) presents no problems: **amre**, 'edict', which is the Phenomenon encoded as Subject, is the Agent, while **piqambar**, 'prophet', the Senser, becomes Medium. The problem arises with (11) where there is no Senser. If we designate **xuš-e-šan** as Agent, the process has no Medium. This is a rather common way of expressing mental processes in Dari, so we cannot just dismiss the clause as an unusual metaphor. The process is, of course, highly metaphorical. One solution might be to split the clausal constituent and call **šan**, 'their', Medium. This seems, however, to ignore too blatantly the grammatical realization of the idea expressed by (11). A better,

though not completely satisfactory, solution is to call the single participant the Medium. We have chosen this solution.

4.3 Verbal processes

In Dari verbal processes, as in English, the Sayer is Medium, the crucial participant, and the Verbiage is Range. Many verbal processes in the data have Beneficiaries as well, the receiver of the message. As in other processes, metaphorical clauses have been analyzed at that level rather than at a non-metaphorical level, usually material. As a result, there is one clause, (12), that does not fit the typical description of a verbal process. The Verbiage is Subject and the Sayer is realized as an Adjunct. Nonetheless, an analysis of this process as verbal instead of material helps to highlight the distinction in Dari of a facilitator from a true agent. On a semantic level, the true agent is God. It is not the **piqambar** that has sent the decrees; he is only the means through which the people receive them. Thus, it seems appropriate that **piqambar** is Medium, 'decrees' is Range, and 'people' is the Beneficiary. This is consistent with the concept of Agent in Dari that is being espoused here.

	R:Vb:S		Md:Sy:Ad	
(12)C98	i	farman-haa	/	tawasut-e piqambar /
	this decree-PL		via-E	prophet
	Bn			
	bare mardum	/	me-ras-an	
	for people		ME-deliver-3p	
'these decrees were delivered through the prophet for the people'				

4.4 Identifying processes

Halliday argues that in English identifying processes, Value (for all practical purposes, the Identifier) is Medium and Token (essentially the Identified) is Agent (1985:148). This seems to stretch the notion of agency. To analyze Token as Agent helps account for the grammatical reversibility of identifying clauses in English (e.g. **Sarah is the leader versus the leader is Sarah**). The notion of reversibility and, therefore, active/passive identifying clauses, makes little sense for Dari. Though the Identifier in theory may be fronted in Dari (there are no examples in these data), the Identifier is never Subject as it may be in English. Since in Dari, Agent, if present, is always the Subject of the clause and identifying clauses have two obligatory participants, the Identifier can never be Subject, and, therefore, there is no 'passive' identifying process as in English.

A more illuminating analysis for Dari identifying clauses would be one similar to that Halliday posits for English attributive clauses: Identified is Medium, the core participant, while the Identifier is Range. An Agent would only appear as an Assigner (As) (e.g. **they made Sarah the leader**). There are a number of these clauses in the data, e.g. (13), (14).

	Md:Id:O	R:lr:OA	Ag:As:S
(13)B27c	u-ra /	ajarl aswad /	me-g-an
	that-RA	[rock black] ^{Arb}	ME-say-3p
	'they call that Ajarl Aswad'		

	Md:Id:O	R:lr:OA	Ag:As:S
(14)A7	yak qismat-e šar / demazan / me-goŋt-an		
	one section-E city	Demazang	ME-said-3p
	'one section of the city they called Demazang'		

The unsatisfying aspect of this analysis is that often the Medium is merely realized as a verbal suffix, e.g. (15), and the core of the message seems to lie in the Value (Identifier), not in the Token (Identified). Nonetheless, it is not the message structure as such that is the concern here, but the participant that is 'the one that is critically involved' (Halliday 1985:147).

	R:Id:C	Md:Id:S
(15)B74	xalif-e awal / bud Ø	
	khalif-E first	was 3s
	'he was the first khalif'	

4.5 Attributive processes

The above analysis also makes the interpretation of identifying and attributive clauses more parallel, reflecting their closeness grammatically, functionally, and semantically. In an attributive process, the Carrier is Medium and the Attribute is Range. If there is an Attributor, it is Agent There are, however, no Attributors in the data, and they are probably rare in the language in general. There is, for example, no Dari equivalent to the English **I am finished (with something)**. In Dari, one says, 'it is finished' instead:

*xalas-ast-om	'I am finished'
finish-is-1s	
xalas-ast	'it is finished'
finish-is	

5. Conclusion

The Medium, then, is the core participant in a nuclear (ergative), as opposed to a linear (transitive), view of process. Other participants radiate out from this core: Range, Agent, Beneficiary. Every process has a Medium. In Dari, the next most prominent participant is Range. Agency is not a dominant feature of Dari clauses. Though we have defined Agent more narrowly than Halliday, the distinction between plus Agent and minus Agent is an important one in Dari. It remains a consistent notion across process types. All process types except existential have the potential for agency (though we can only posit this for attributive processes). An ergative interpretation of process has both highlighted the centrality of the core participant, Medium, and shown the prominence in the language of Range. As Halliday points out (1985:149), all languages are probably a combination of ergative and transitive structure. This is certainly true for Dari; while it is enlightening to view Dari clause structure in terms of transitivity process type as we did in Chapter V, it is also profitable to view Dari clauses from the consistent viewpoint of ergativity. The ergative functions are summarized in Figure 5.

function	Transitive					
Ergative	Ma	Me	V	At	I	Ex
Medium	G;A (mid.)	Se	Sy	Ca	Id	Et
Agent	A (eff.)	Ph('please')		Attributor	As	
Ben	Bn		Bn	Bn		
Range	R	Ph('like')	Vb	Ar	Ir	

Figure 5
Ergative Functions

6. Some examples analyzed

Some examples of an ergative interpretation of clauses in the data follow:

- (16)B52 R:l:r:C Md:ld:S
ix*t***i**a**d**o**r**-**e** xon-**e** kaba / bud -Ø
authority-E house-E rock was 3s
'he was the authority of the Hona Kaba'
- (17)B24 Md:ld:S R:l:r:C
ma**r**kaz-**e** xalaf-aa / šar-**e** madina / bud
center-E khalif-PL city-E Medina was
'the center of the khalifs was the city of Medina'
- (18)A5 Md:ld:O R:l:r:OA Ag:As:S
ya**k**-**e** ša / šar bazar / me-go**f**t-an
one-E this city bazaar ME-said-3p
'one of these they called the City Bazaar'
- (19)C113a R:Ar:C Md:Ca:S
saxi o garib / bud-an
propertiless & poor was-3p
'they were propertiless and poor'

- Md:Ca:S R:Ar:C
 (20)B57 **i but-aa / qabil-e parasteš / n-est**
 this idol-PL worthy-E worship NEG-is
 'these idols are not worthy of worship'

- Md:Ca:S Bn R:Ar:Ad
 (21)C84 **ina awal sura/bare ma/az qoran-e šarif/amad-a**
 this first verse for me from Koran-E holy came-PF
 'this first verse came to me from the holy Koran'

- R:Ar:O Md:Ca:S
 (22)C111a **zurg / dašt-an**
 power had-3p
 'they had power'

- Md:Sy:S R:Vb:Ad
 (23)B73 **elan kard-ø / ke p̄am̄bar-e xoda šud**
 announce did-3s that prophet-E god became
 'he announced that he had become the prophet of god'

- Md:Sy: S Bn R:Vb:Ad
 (24)B56 **xoda / amir kard-a / bare ma / ke . . .**
 god order did-PF for me that
 'God instructed me that . . .'

- Md:Se:S R:Ph:O
 (25)B69 **pader-aa-e jad . . ./i-ra/awal/qabul na kard-an**
 ancestors this-RA first accept NEG did-3p
 'the ancestors . . . at first did not accept this'

- Md:Se:S R:Ph:Ad
 (26)A2a **maa / fikir kon-im / ke . . .**
 we think do-1P that
 'I think that . . .'

R:Ph:O Md:Se:S
 (27)B29a **i sang-a / hazrat-e ebrahim / (ke) me-xost**
 this rock-RA hazrat-E Ebrahim (that) ME-wanted
 'this rock Ebrahim wanted'

Md:G:O Ag:A:S Cr(Lc) Cr(Lc)
 (28)B31b **l-ra / xoda / az asman / ba zamin / andox-t-a**
 this-RA god from heaven to earth dropped-PF
 'this rock god dropped from heaven to earth'

Md:G:O Cr(Mn) Ag:A:S
 (29)C112 **doktor-aa-e mardume/ba zurg/me-graft-an**
 daughter-PL-E people by power ME-took-3p
 'they took people's daughters by force'

Md:G:O Ag:A:S
 (30)C132a **tu-ra / baujud award-a**
 you-RA brought into being-PF(3s)
 'he brought you into being'

Md:A:S
 (31)B19 **in-aa ham / xelafat kard-an**
 this-PL also khalifing did-3p
 'they also acted as khalifs'

Cr(Lc) Md:A:S
 (32)A13a **dar zamon-e qadim / (ke) hindu-ham da kabul**
 in old-E section (that) Hindu-all in Kabul
 zendagi me-kard-an
 live ME-did-3p
 'all the Hindus in Kabul were living in the old section'

R:Ad Md:A:S
 (33)C123 **dar majid / b-ur-in**
 in mosque BE-go-2p
 'you should go to the mosque'

CHAPTER VII

THEME/RHEME STRUCTURE

1. Introduction

Halliday sees three principal kinds of meaning embodied in the structure of a clause: clause as message, clause as exchange, and clause as representation. The realization of each of these meanings is a configuration of functions, the significance of which lies in the relationship of these functions to other functions. These various structures mapped on to each other constitute the clause which is the basic meaning unit of language. Of these three kinds of meaning, message structure, or Theme/Rheme structure, is perhaps the most central to understanding the nature of functional relationships and their various realizations, because it is the message structure that gives the clause its status as a communicative event (Halliday 1985: 38).

2. Halliday's view

The Hallidayan view of message structure is one of focus on Theme and its role as an organizer of the message. One element in the clause is given special status and "enunciated as the theme" (Halliday 1985: 38), that which the clause is about. This announcement of Theme has different realizations in different languages. In English, Theme is signalled by putting it first. Though Halliday is quick to point out that sentence position is not a definitional aspect of Theme, in fact, work on Theme in English

assumes that Theme is the first ideational element of the clause and proceeds from there. Rheme is generally ignored as a notion to be explored. Indeed, Rheme is simply what is left over after Theme is identified. From a Hallidayan perspective, Theme seems to be the crucial organizer of message structure and, as such, the element to focus on in any analysis of text.

3. Firbas' view

Jan Firbas views message structure from the opposite direction of Halliday. His theory of Functional Sentence Perspective (1966a; 1966b; 1987) focuses on Rheme instead of Theme. He proposes the criterion of communicative dynamism (CD), whereby any clausal element that has meaning, and, therefore, participates in the development of the communication, is assigned a value of CD. CD is a relational concept. The degree of CD carried by a sentence element is the extent to which it pushes the communication forward. The element that carries the lowest degree of CD is the starting point of the communication, or Theme. The element carrying the highest degree of CD is the Rheme proper which completes the development of that proposition.

Distribution of CD is determined by an interplay of factors including: linear modification, context-dependence/independence, semantic content, and intonation. For Firbas, "the foundation-laying elements set up the *theme* and the core-constituting elements the *non-theme*, within which the *transition* and the *rheme* can be established" (1987: 34). Within this framework, Rheme is the

element towards which the sentence is prospected. Every element is in competition for the position of Rheme.

For Firbas, Theme/Rheme is essentially, in Hallidayan terms, ideational and highly content-based. It is also a notion that has firm psychological underpinnings. In the normal course of conveyance of information, human speech works to produce a linear string of elements, and these elements follow each other in ascending order of the degree of CD contained, provided there is no overriding interference such as contrast or marked intonation. So the usual order is *theme-transition-rheme* (Firbas posits a unit of message structure between Theme and Rheme which he calls transition.) The order, however, may vary. Different linear arrangements can produce different orientations, but do not necessarily do so (Firbas 1987:40). Unlike Halliday, Firbas does not tie Theme to sentence-initial position. Firbas would not, for example, distinguish between the following:

A fly/	settled/	on his hair
Rheme		Theme

On his hair/	a fly/	settled
Theme	Rheme	

(The verb settled adds little beyond the mere fact of 'appearance on the scene' and lacks CD altogether.)

4. Prague School foundation

These two views of message structure are not really at odds; Halliday and Firbas simply approach Theme/Rheme from different

angles. Both views are based on the Prague School notions of Theme and Rheme (whence the terms derive) and are quite semantically-based. Most of our current understanding of Theme/Rheme arises from the work of Vilem Mathesius, the founder of the Prague School, and later Frantisek Travnicek's exposition and criticism of the ideas of Mathesius (Firbas 1966a).

Mathesius' notion of Theme/Rheme is tied to the criterion of Known/Unknown information from the decoder's point of view, or probably more accurately, from the encoder's assessment of the decoder's point of view. But this concept of Known is a broad one, including what is accessible from the text, either anaphorically or cataphorically; the context of situation; or even the gnostology¹ of the decoder. Travnicek objected to the inclusion of this broad concept of Known as a criterion for themehood. He narrowed but delineated the concept of Theme to "the sentence element that links up directly with the object of thought, proceeds from it and opens the sentence thereby" (as cited in Firbas 1966a: 269).

Both Halliday and Firbas separate the notions of Theme/Rheme and Known/Unknown, but neither divorces the two concepts completely. For each theorist, the concept of Known/Unknown is not irrelevant to message structure but neither is it a definitional feature.

Halliday prefers the terms *given* and *new* instead of Known and Unknown. The interplay of Given and New makes up the information unit which is to be distinguished from the message unit, conceptually at least. Given/New is decoder-oriented while Theme/Rheme is encoder-oriented. Both are, however, as Halliday

points out, speaker-selected (1985: 278). The two notions often coincide; the unmarked pattern is for Theme to be mapped on to Given, and for Rheme to be mapped on to New.² Given for Halliday is a broad notion, indeed, including not only that which is retrievable from the text or the context of situation, but also "something that is not around at all but that the speaker wants to present as Given for rhetorical purposes" (Halliday 1985: 277).

Firbas does not use either the Known/Unknown dichotomy of the early Prague School or Halliday's Given/New. Instead, he speaks of context-dependency or context-independency. A sentence constituent is context-dependent if it is retrievable from the immediate context, either verbal or situational (Firbas 1987). Context-dependency is a complex and graded phenomenon; an item, such as a pronoun, that is retrievable from the immediate situation contributes more to CD than a textually given item but less than a context-independent item.

5. Other interpretations: Theme and Topic

Theme, in the early Prague School sense of sentence-level Theme, seems to receive little attention outside of Systemic and European Functional linguistics. Most not immediately connected with either school equate the concept of Theme with Topic. Little is said about Rheme at all. Wallace Chafe, for example, in an article in Charles Li's book, Subject and Topic, discusses the various packaging statuses that a noun may have. He uses Halliday extensively but in the end treats Topic and Theme as synonymous terms (Chafe 1976: 49). It is interesting to note that Topic is the only packaging device

that Chafe discusses that has varying definitions cross-linguistically. For him, Topic in a topic-prominent language such as Chinese is a different notion than Topic in a subject-prominent language such as English. He states that what the term topic means "seems to differ from language to language" (1976: 55). And none of these notions of Topic is the same as the notion of Theme, as conceived by the early Prague School and developed by Halliday and Firbas.

Another linguist who has equated not only Topic and Theme, but also Theme and Given, is Talmy Givón. He begins his introduction to Topic Continuity in Discourse by noting the shift of attention in linguistic study "from the purely structural notion of 'subject' toward the more discourse-functional notion of 'topic', or under some other guises 'theme'" (1983:5). He goes on to state that the sources most often cited were--and are--the Prague School (Firbas 1966a and 1966b), the Firthian tradition (Halliday 1967), and Dwight Bolinger. He describes this collective influence:

In one form or another, the various strands of this tradition tended to divide sentences ('clauses') into two distinct components, one of them the 'focus' ('rheme', 'comment', 'new information'), the other the 'topic' ('theme', 'old information'). And it was the second, the topic, which all early practitioners would then link to discourse structure, communicative dynamism, functional sentence perspective etc., in ways that tended to be often both vague and mysterious" (1983:5).

While Halliday's 1967 exposition of Theme is less detailed than his more recent (1985) descriptions, his conceptualization and analysis of the realization of Theme in English is quite specific. Firbas' exposition, even in 1966, was quite specific and detailed.

Both theories have heavy semantic underpinnings, however, which make them not entirely acceptable to more quantitatively and surface-oriented linguists such as Givon. At any rate, Halliday and Firbas have separate conceptualizations, and if one lumps their theories together, as Givon has done, it is understandable that the result is 'mysterious'.

Givon's definition of Topic differs in a number of ways from either Halliday's or Firbas' notion of Theme. Though for Givon Topic is a functional entity, it is not a discrete entity. In other words, Givon is looking at 'topicality'. This view of Topic is one of information flow tied firmly to Given/New or retrievability (he uses the concepts interchangeably). Givon speaks of process-ibility and measures this ease of processing by setting up a cross-language scale. His is a quantitative model where such things as length of absence and interference of other Topics are used to determine the 'availability' in the decoder's cognitive 'file'. While the various analyses based on Givon's model (see Cooreman 1982 and 1983; Cooreman, Fox and Givon 1984) yield some interesting findings, what they show has little to do with Theme as conceptualized in present Systemic or European Functional theory.

A recent Ph.D. dissertation by Ali Asghar Aghbar on case in Persian also uses Halliday's conceptualization of Theme in discussing 'topicalization.' Like Chafe, Aghbar makes use of the notion of 'psychological subject.' He restates Halliday's definition of Theme as "that part of the clause about which a message has been asserted and which usually occurs in sentence-initial position" (1981: 179). He adds that he will call this notion 'topic' and

proceeds to discuss topicalization, not thematization. Aghbar's points on topicalization in Persian are valid and interesting but they may or may not be pertinent to thematic selection in Persian.

6. Defining Theme and Rheme

In the present attempt to come to some kind of understanding of this elusive notion, several parameters of Theme/Rheme structure have emerged. First, Theme and Rheme are encoder-oriented as opposed to decoder-oriented. Theme is, in Halliday's words, "what I, the speaker, choose to take as my point of departure" (1985: 278). Rheme is what the speaker chooses to impart as the essential message. This is a psychological notion, not just a packaging strategy. Second, Theme and Rheme are essentially clause-level constituents. The clause from a textual point of view is the unit of information processing, and while Theme and Rheme may exist on other levels, the basic message unit is the clause. Third, both Theme and Rheme are discrete elements represented by clausal constituents (i.e. one can delineate a unit as Theme or Rheme). Fourth, Theme and Rheme are universal notions; that is, all languages have Theme/Rheme structure and every clause has at least a Rheme, or the clause would have no communicative value.

These parameters distinguish Theme/Rheme from other related notions. First, Theme is not to be equated with Given (or Known) which is decoder-oriented. The two notions, of course, often coincide and are realized by the same element, but Given is not a definitional aspect of Theme and, as we will see, Theme is quite often new information. Given will be defined here as that which is

already in the mind of the hearer. New then is that which is not at the moment of speaking already in the mind of the hearer. Rheme is more closely tied to the concept of New than Theme is to Given. Rheme will most likely be new information or the speaker would not be mentioning it, but New is not a definitional aspect of Rheme.

Second, Theme is not the same as Subject. Halliday distinguishes the two concepts by relating Theme to the late nineteenth century concept of the psychological subject and Subject to the notion of the grammatical subject of the same period (1985: 33-34). Subject is more intimately tied to surface features of grammaticality than is Theme. Chafe describes Subject as "the hitching post for the new knowledge" (1976: 44). The primary result of hearing the assertion is that you know something new about the Subject. This is different from "point of departure of message" which is more textually-oriented and more intimately linked to discourse flow.

Third, Theme is not synonymous with Topic, and Rheme is not synonymous with Comment. As Halliday points out (as well as others; see Chafe 1976), Topic/Comment, and even more particularly Topic, has taken on many guises and is used in too many ways to be understood in any universal sense. But several common aspects of Topic emerge: 1) Topic is a sentence-level constituent, not a clause-level constituent. It often does not participate in case frame relations. 2) Topics, like Themes, but unlike Subjects, are highly discourse-oriented. 3) Topics are not selectionally related to the verb (Li and Thompson 1976: 466). Chafe says that Topic is "the frame within which the sentence holds" (1976: 51). Topic seems to set up a frame of reference for the predication.

With this in mind, we can set up a working definition of Theme and Rheme that is cognitive and substantive. Theme is the clause-level constituent that the encoder uses as the starting point for the message, the constituent that begins moving the decoder toward the core of the communication. Theme is the essential ideational jumping off point directing the decoder's attention to the ultimate goal of the communication, the kernel of the message, the Rheme. Rheme, then, is that which develops the Theme. Following Firbas' notion of communicative dynamism, that element which does the most for pushing the message forward will be the Rheme proper. Rheme is the essential ideational purport that the speaker wishes to get across.

We will treat Theme and Rheme as universal and as obligatory, at least as underlying notions; that is, all languages have Theme/Rheme structure. The realization of Theme and Rheme will be overt discrete clausal elements. Theme may be mapped on to the same constituent as Subject, Topic, or Given but is not synonymous with any of these. In fact, all four notions may be realized by the same clausal element.

Endnotes

1. The term 'gnostology' is being used here following Michael Gregory. Gregory uses gnostology to refer to the knowledge base of the encoder/decoder. For his latest exposition, see Gregory, 1988.
2. For a fuller discussion of the interrelationship of Theme and Given see Fries 1983.

CHAPTER VIII

THEME AND RHEME IN DARI

1. Identification of Theme and Rheme

Though there are clauses where functional and even grammatical roles are not entirely clearcut, most are readily apparent and not open to divergent analyses. Such is not the case with message structure, or thematic roles. There are few formal criteria for the assignment of Theme and Rheme, only semantic criteria. Even Halliday's very explicit clause-initial rule for Theme in English is a realization rule, not a definitional one. Firbas' rather mathematical assigning of numbers for degree of CD is both intricate and subjective. If we wish to delineate message structure in any meaningful way for Dari, we must come up with some criteria for determining which element carries the most communicative value and is, therefore, Rheme proper, and which element carries the least (but not zero) CD, acting as a 'jumping off' point for the core of the message and is, therefore, Theme.

Based on an earlier analysis (Rashidi in press), some parameters of the message structure in Dari have emerged. First, linear realization of a proposition plays an important role in the structure of this language. Where other languages, such as English, use intonational prominence for focus and emphasis, Dari is more likely to use element order. Linear position as a universal should

correlate with Theme/Rheme structure. In the normal course of producing a sentence, one element follows another. From a cognitive standpoint, this is significant, especially for spoken text. It would seem natural that the orienting part of the communication would appear early in the linear sequence and before the core idea. While intonation markedness may have the effect of counter-balancing this tendency, in general Theme should appear before Rheme. This is particularly true for Dari where word order is relatively flexible from a grammatical standpoint and intonation is highly predictable (Bing 1980) and plays a minor role in marking prominence.

Second, message structure correlates with information structure (or Given/New in Halliday's terms). For language in general, we are most likely to orient our listeners to our message by a piece of content that is already in the consciousness of the listener, that is, has been activated either linguistically or extralinguistically. As such, Theme is most likely to be Given, or at least not entirely new. Because an element labelled New may contain some given information¹, many Themes may be labelled New but not be completely new information. Rheme, by contrast, is most likely to be not only New but entirely new information. While previous research on Dari (Rashidi in press) did not show as high a correlation between Theme and Given as expected, Rheme was always New.

A third possible correlate lies in the grammatical structure of the clause. It would seem reasonable, given Chafe's definition of Subject as "the hitching post", that the Subject of a clause would have a tendency to be Theme. Halliday states that in English the

mapping of Theme on to Subject is the norm and, therefore, the unmarked situation. Indeed, Halliday defines 'marked Theme' as "something other than the Subject" (1985:451). As shown in the present analysis, however, Dari does not have obligatory overt subjects, overt subject pronouns only occur in marked situations, and the subject inflection on the verb appears clause-finally. These three factors make the linking of Subject with Theme less attractive in Dari than in English.

In addition, the grammatical realization of a constituent in Dari seems more loosely tied to its status as an argument in the proposition than does a similar constituent in English. Objects and Complements, for example, may be realized as prepositional phrases in Dari. There is no formal distinction between direct and indirect objects. Beneficiaries in material processes are always realized as prepositional phrases. A Beneficiary in a verbal process may be realized as an object, but then there is no other object. For example, one cannot say in Dari the equivalent of 'he told John a lie'. One can only say 'he told John that . . .' or 'he told a lie to John'. Because the function of a constituent is not strictly tied to its grammatical realization, the grammatical status of a constituent is not a factor in determining the message structure of Dari. If grammatical function does correlate with Theme or Rheme, it is probably indirectly as the result of the correlation of grammatical function with linear order.

In identifying the Theme and Rheme of each clause, then, only two correlates seem to have bearing: linear position and information structure. In the final analysis, however, the

recognition of Rheme and Theme is a semantic one based on their respective values as the core of the message and the orienter of that message core. From a methodological standpoint, it is important to first establish Rheme, the essential ideational purport, and then identify Theme, the jumping off point directing the decoder's attention to the ultimate goal of the proposition, the kernal of the message, the Rheme.

2. Theme and Rheme in Text B

Theme, then, following Halliday, is the element which "organizes the clause as a message" (1985:39), "it is that with which the clause is concerned" (1985:39). Theme is what the clause is about. Rheme is the essential thing the encoder wishes to impart about the Theme. But it is best to reverse the emphasis on these two parts of message structure and say that Rheme is the development, the core of the message, while Theme is a statement of what is to be developed, that about which something is said.

To investigate the message structure of Dari, we have taken the main section of the text, labelled Text B, and divided it into major independent clauses. Because the main contribution to the development of a text comes from the message structure of independent clauses, we will take into account essentially these; we will only peripherally consider: 1) embedded clauses which because of their 'down-ranking' are themselves constituents of a clause or, more likely, another clausal constituent such as a noun phrase (e.g. B29b); 2) minor clauses which have no mood or transitivity structure (e.g. **saudi** in B25; **eč kas** in B81); 3) subordinate (beta)

clauses (e.g. B27b), the options for the formation of which are constrained by the main (alpha) clause.² Appendix B shows the message structure of Text B. The Theme of each clause is underlined and the Rheme proper is in italics. In general, any constituent not marked as Theme is part of the Rheme. The exceptions to this are **budan** and **šudan** which, because they carry no communicative value (following Firbas, see discussion of CD, Chapter VII, p. 100), are outside the Theme/Rheme structure.

3. Parameters of message structure in Dari

Thematic structure is only meaningful if there are choices to make. An element that is highly mobile will have thematic value because the choice of where to place it in the structuring of the proposition will be significant in terms of how that message is communicated. On the other hand, an element the linear position of which is fixed will have little thematic value. Choices besides linear position also affect message structure. Can a particular argument in a proposition be realized, either grammatically or functionally, in a number of ways? What choices does the encoder have open to express a particular concept?

Dari, like any other language, places restrictions on the way in which an idea can be expressed, and these restrictions both determine and constrain the Theme/Rheme structure of the encoding of that message. The following aspects of Dari point out the problem of a universal notion of message structure because they highlight differences in the possibilities open to Dari encoders as compared to those open to English encoders.

3.1 Clauses without a Theme

In the analysis of Dari text, one problem that consistently arises is the possibility of a clause without a Theme. This dilemma is the result of a preponderance of one-participant clauses in Dari. Because English requires an overt subject, clauses with a single element of communicative value are probably rare. In Dari, they are common.

3.1.1 Existential

One example of a one-participant clause in Dari is an existential clause, which has by definition a single participant followed by a form of **budan** or **šudan**, elements which add little or nothing to the communicative dynamism of the message and, therefore, following Firbas, carry no CD. In these clauses, then, there is no choice in structuring the proposition. In any case, there is only one element carrying CD and that element is designated Rheme. The clause, in effect, has no Theme.

Fries and Francis (1990) suggest the semantic *notion* of existential as Theme for English 'dummy' constructions (e.g. 'it is raining'). But this makes little sense for Dari as there is no 'dummy' element to carry the notion. A possible solution would be to attach the notion of existential to the predicate and call that Theme, but that seems to be stretching the concept of message structure beyond any usefulness. It would appear, instead, that there are clauses that do not have a Theme/Rheme structure. An existential clause is one such clause.

3.1.2 Ellipsis

We find another type of structure in Dari that is problematic for Halliday's conceptualization of thematic structure. Is elliptical Theme possible? Because message structure is a surface concept involving the presentation of a proposition, the notion of elliptical Theme seems questionable. Yet we find in Dari, clauses that consist only of a Predicate, usually a complex verb. It is important to remember that in Dari, subject pronouns are encoded only in marked situations; their overt appearance is not the norm. Thus, while a zero Subject clause has an underlying subject (and actor or sener or sayar, for example), that subject is encoded only as a verbal suffix which appears in clause final position, hardly a location for thematic material. In addition, third person singular, the most common inflection, is realized as a null element (i.e. not physically realized at all). As a result, it is often not clear if a clause is a compound clause with a single overt element that could be labelled Theme of both or two separate clauses, one without a Theme/Rheme structure. Several such examples appear in Text B. One is B34:

B34a ham-e musulman-aa ke me-amad-an /

all-E Muslim-PL that ME-came-3p

B34b **sang-a / *tamas me-kard-an* //**

rock-RA touch ME-did-3p

B34c ***zlarat me-kard-an* //**

respect ME-did-3p

'all the Muslims that came touched the rock; they paid respect'

B34a is a noun phrase (with an embedded **ke** clause) that is the Subject and Actor of B34b. That much is straightforward. The

semantic content encoded in B34a is also the subject and actor of B34c. But B34b and B34c are not connected with a conjunction, an atypical occurrence for this text. B34c can stand on its own as an independent clause. Our translation reflects this. So while we might posit B34a as the Theme of a compound Rheme, it is important to remember that the encoder chose not to encode an overt subject for B34c or connect it explicitly to the preceding clause. Nonetheless, while the notion of an elliptical Theme does not seem appealing, the notion of compound Rhemes seems to be plausible for examples like B34. Less obvious, but possible, examples of a compound Rheme occur in B59-61 and again in B64-66.

B59 **ke / ma / *šuma-ra* / hast kard-im //**
 that I you-RA create did-1p
 B60 ***asman o zamin-a* / hast kard-im //**
 sky and earth-RA create did-1p
 B61 ***afta o sita-aa-ra* / hast kard-im //**
 sun and star-PL-RA create did-1p
 'I created you; I created the sky and earth; I created the sun
 and stars'

B64 **wa / un-ja / *mand-in* //**
 and that-place leave it-2p
 B65 ***mer-in* //**
 go-2p
 B66 ***sajda me-kon-in* //**
 bow down ME-do-2p
 'you leave it there; you go; you bow down'

B65 and B66 are probably connected to *unja* (B64) as Theme. In like manner, the thematic status of the overt *ma* in B59 probably carries over to B60 and B61. The nature of Dari makes it highly

unlikely that, within the particular contextual environment of these clauses, the overt subject pronoun *ma* would be repeated. The presentation as it exists seems unmarked, making the concept of a compound Rheme very appealing here.

3.1.3 Clauses without an ideational Theme

Halliday distinguishes textual, interpersonal, and ideational theme and says that every clause has an ideational Theme because textual and interpersonal Themes do not use up the thematic potential of a clause. Though, in this data, clauses without a Theme of any kind are rarer than expected, some clauses have only a textual Theme. This is because the narrator connects most clauses using textual elements, generally *wo*, 'and', or *ke*. We will follow Halliday here, assuming that a textual Theme, because its clause-initial position is not a matter of choice, does not use up all of the thematic potential, thus leaving open the possibility of an additional ideational Theme. Only a few clauses in the data had no potential candidates for an additional ideational Theme. One instance, B18, is discussed later on. The other clauses with only textual Themes are: B21, B23, B35, B39, B46b, B83.

B21 *o / besior mamlakat-haa-ra / graft-an //*
 and very country-PL-RA took-3p
 'and they took many countries'

B23 *wo / pas amad //*
 and again came
 'and he returned'

B35 **čun/ba dist-e plqambar-e hazrat-e ebrahim /xord**
 since by hand-E prophet-E hazrat-E Ebrahim hit
 'since it hit the hand of the prophet Ebrahim'

B39 **wa / but-aa-e / dašt-an / ke . . . //**
 and idol-PL-E had-3p that
 'and they had idols . . .'

B46b **ke / čišma-aa-e zamarud / bud //**
 that eye-PL-E jade was
 'with eyes of jade'

B83 **wa / elan kard //**
 and announce did
 'and announced'

B21 and B23 are material process clauses. B23 consists only of a Predicate, offering no choice in constituent presentation. B21, though it consists of an Object in addition to the Predicate, also offers no real choice of constituent presentation. In any event, the Rheme proper is **besior mamlakat-haa-ra**, 'many countries', the Object, and the other constituent is the Predicate. Predicates in general seem unlikely candidates for thematic status in Dari, and we have not posited any. A similar argument can be made for B35 and B39. B46b is an existential clause with a single participant. B83 is a verbal process consisting of only a Predicate.

3.1.4 Truly Themeless clauses

There remain clauses in the data without any Theme whatever: B31a, B70, B25, B37, B38, B49, B52, B74, B77. B31a is a verbal process clause consisting of only the Predicate, **goft**, 'said', in turn followed by the verbalization which has its own thematic structure.

In B70, **tana**, 'only', seems the core of the message, and the entire Subject is connected to the Predicate by **ke**, making the clause as a whole seem like a single constituent, though the **ke** is probably an emphatic. The other clauses all consist of a single constituent followed by a form of **budan** or **sudan**. They are either existential clauses or relational clauses with non-overt subjects. These latter clauses are truly clauses without a Theme/Rheme structure; they consist only of the core of the message, the Rheme.

B31a **goft** //
said

B70 **tana kason-e ke / qabul kard //**
only people-E that accept did
'only some people accepted'

3.1.5 Topic and Theme

An interesting aspect of Dari is its tendency for topicalization (Rashidi in press). Encoders often begin an idea by first stating the topic of that idea, its central participant, even if that participant does not formally then participate in the proposition that follows. A topicalized element is most often the Agent. In another Dari text about a motorcycle accident (see Rashidi in press), the following sentence appeared:

ebrahim poi-xub-iš-a šikistan
Ebrahim leg-good-his-RA broken
'Ebrahim broke his (someone else's) leg'

Ebrahim is the Agent, the cause of the broken leg, but it is not Ebrahim's leg that is broken. The closest English translation is:

'Ebrahim, his (someone else's) good leg was broken'. In Text B, there are similar topicalized elements, though none is an Agent (B51, B53a, B63). In analyzing these clauses, we have considered a topicalized element as part of the Theme but not the entire Theme; there are still choices left open to the encoder to organize the following proposition independent of the topicalized element which does not directly participate in the proposition. Thus, we have chosen to call this element Topic as distinct from the Theme of the clause that follows. In all three examples in Text B, the clause following the Topic contains at least a textual Theme in addition to the Topic of the sentence.

Topic

- B51 xon-e kaba / kli-š / *da tasruf-e az i* / bud //
 Hona Kaba key-its in possession-E from him was
 'he had the key to the Hona Kaba'

Topic

- B53 i mohamad nawas-iš / waxt-e ke . . . / *raft* //
 this Mohammed grandson-his time-E that saw
 'this Mohammed, his grandson, when he saw that . . . he left'

Topic

- B63 i but-e ke xud-e-tan da dist-e-tan tajar me-kon-in/
 this idol-E that self-E-you in hand-E-you construct ME-do-2p

- B64 *wa* / *un-ja* / *mand-in* //
 and that-place leave it-2p

'these idols that you yourselves construct with your own hands; you leave them there'

B51 is quite typical of topicalized elements in Dari. The narrator repeats the **xone kaba**, 'House of the Rock', from the previous sentence, establishing it as the referent for **-š**, 'it', and the topic of the clause that follows. In B53, Mohammed is semantically the subject and actor of **raft**, 'left', and, therefore, the Theme, but is physically separated from the Predicate by so much material (see Appendix B for full text) that its effect is topical. Given the structure of Dari, it is logical to posit this sentence-initial element as Topic. B53 as a whole, however, has been deconstructed in a later section. As viewed there, the English equivalent would be: 'this Mohammed, his grandson, when he saw that they, abandoning the way of God, were worshipping idols, left'. Even in English, however, a speaker would probably insert the pronoun 'he' before 'left', making Mohammed a topicalized sentence element. In Dari, because subject pronouns are not obligatorily overt, it is ambiguous whether **i mohamad** or **Ø**, the null third person singular marker, is the formal subject of **raft**, 'left'. B63 is probably the Topic for the four clauses that follow it, B64-67, but is at least the Topic of B64. **mandin** is an intransitive verb, the meaning of which has the notion of object built into it, 'leave it'. B64 is 'about' the idols mentioned in B63, even though **but**, 'idol', never directly participates in the clause.

3.2 Linear position

Unlike Halliday's analysis for English, in Dari linear position is not, *a priori* a realization feature of thematic structure. But we would also vary from Firbas' looser association of Theme and linear position. Linear position is not irrelevant; the order in which an

encoder choses to structure the elements of a proposition is highly relevant to the message structure and the identification of Theme and Rheme in Dari. Two major factors contribute to the importance of linear sequence in this language.

First, the verb in Dari has two counter-tendencies. Most Predicates fall into one of two categories: a relatively semantically empty verb (e.g. **budan**, **šudan**) or a complex verb with heavy semantic loading. These latter Predicates often contain the entire semantic content of the proposition. In addition, the verb is obligatorily marked for subject person and number, often the only realization of subject in the clause. This results in clauses with the entire semantic content mapped on to a single constituent, as we have seen. A second characteristic of Dari verbs is that, with few exceptions, they are clause-final. Thus, the Rheme proper, by the very nature of the language, will appear at the end of the clause.

Second, except for the Predicate, element order in Dari is grammatically flexible, and, therefore, carries thematic significance. The order of the Subject and the Object is particularly variable. Other elements, Circumstances and Modal Particles, are rather free to occur in different positions. A fronted Object or an overt Subject is definitely thematic, as are clause-initial Circumstances and Modal Particles. By contrast, clause-final circumstantial elements are not prominent as they often are in English, but have more of a feeling of being 'tacked on' and are, therefore, not rhematic.

The significance of linear position in Dari seems to be as follows. If an element is in clause-initial position by choice, it is

probably Theme. Clause-final position does not carry the same significance. Predicates are nearly always clause-final because of the grammatical structure of the language. In Dari, clauses do not build up to the end as in English (see Fries unpublished) but build up to the Predicate. The most prominent linear position in Dari in terms of message focus (as well as information focus) is immediately preceding the Predicate. This is where the Rheme proper is most likely to occur.

3.3 Given/New

Like linear position, Given/New also correlates highly with Theme/Rheme in Dari: Theme is usually Given and Rheme is usually New. But, message structure and information structure do not always coincide. There are clauses where there is only given information. At first glance, it may appear pointless to encode a proposition with no new information, but in reality we do this all the time. We may wish to emphasize or clarify, as the narrator of this text does in B19 (see Appendix B); or the various pieces of information may already be in the mind of the decoder, but their combination is what is news (e.g. the *I qabul kard* clauses B72, B75, B79).

There are also clauses with only elements labelled New. There may be two reasons for this. The most obvious is that, in fact, all the information is news. This happens most often at the beginning of a text or a new section of a text. Text B begins with a transition sentence that connects Text B to Text A, what went before, but the second sentence (B16) in Text B announces a new idea and is all new

information. A less obvious reason for a clause with only New is that elements labelled New may not, in fact, be entirely news. In other words, some New elements may be more new than others. An element that is entirely news will be more likely to be Rheme than an element that is only partially news. For example, in B71, the Theme contains the given information **mohamad**, but **yak zan**, 'one wife', is new information. Her name, however, is entirely news and is the Rheme.

B16 **wa / dar arabstan / plqambar-e islam mohamad /**
 and in Arabia prophet-E Islam Mohammed
wafat ke yafat bud //
 death that found was
 'and in Arabia the prophet Mohammed had died'

B71 **yak zan-e hazrat-e mohamad/ . . . xadija /nam dašt**
 one wife-E hazrat-E Mohammed . . . Khadija name had
 'one wife of Mohammed was named Khadija'

If a clause has both a Given and a New element, the element that is Given will be the Theme and the element that is New will be the Rheme. This overrides even linear position. In B69, such a conflict between linear position and information structure occurred. **ira**, 'this', is quite definitely given information, while **pader-aa-e** . . ., 'ancestors', is at least partially news. The encoder could have fronted **ira**. The clause as it stands is typical word order for Dari but seems atypical in this context for this narrative. The narrator has often fronted object pronouns in other similar contextual environments. In this case, he chose not to do so. **ira** is still the Theme of the clause and **pader-aa-e** . . . is the Rheme proper.

B69 *pader-aa-e jad o kaka-e mahamad / i-ra / awal /*
 father-PL-E old and uncle-E Mohammed this-RA first
qabul na kard-an //
 accept NEG did-3p

'the ancestors and uncles of Mohammed at first did not accept this'

4. Embedded clauses

Embedded clauses have Theme/Rheme structure of their own, and this embedded message structure is intricately interwoven with the message structure of the clause of which it is a constituent. It is instructive to look at the detailed analysis of two such examples: B47 and B53.

In B47, the Predicate of the main clause is **bud** which is outside of the Theme/Rheme structure. **I**, the Subject and Carrier, is the Theme of the entire sentence, the Rheme of which is the Attribute as Complement, realized as the noun phrase 'such an expensive idol that the word was we had to worship it' (all of B47 except **I** and **bud**). The **ke** clause, a down-ranked modifier of **beslor buta qimati**, has a textual Theme, **ke**, as well as an ideational Theme, **ira**, the initial Verbiage. The verb, **megoftan**, is the Rheme proper, and the Verbiage that follows the verb is more rhematic material. This final part of the Verbiage is a clause in and of itself. **ira**, the Goal and Object of this clause, is the Theme. **bayad**, a Modal Particle, is an interpersonal Theme due mostly to its linear position before the Rheme. We have posited **maa** as Rheme for three reasons: 1) it is an overtly expressed pronoun, giving it prominence; 2) it is New, and 3) it has focussed linear position immediately preceding the Predicate. The Predicate itself, **parasteš konim**, is additional

rhematic material.

Th	Rh	Rh								
		tx	Th	Rh	rhem					
					Th	InTh	Rh	rhem		
B47	i besior buta qimati bud ke ira megoftan ira bayad maa parastes k.									
	this very idol expensive was that this said this must we worship do				G:O	MP	A:S	P-Ma		
			Vb	P-V	Vb					
Ca:S	Ar:C	P-At	Ar:C							
'this was such an expensive idol that the word was we had to worship it'										

Figure 6
Detailed Analysis of B47

Th									Rh																									
	text	Rh	rhem																															
			tx	Th			Rh	rhem																										
			tx	Th	Rh	rhem																												
B53	m		waxte	ke		did		ke		inaa		az	roi	xoda		gastan		butaara		parastes	mek.		raft											
M.			when			saw				that			they			from				way			god		abandon		idols			worship		do		left
A:S		P-Me		A:S	R	P-Ma			G:O	P:Ma	P-Ma																							
				A:S																														
			Ph																															
												Ma																						
'Mohammed, when he saw that they, abandoning the way of God, were worshipping idols, left'																																		

Figure 7
Detailed Analysis of B53

B53 can be viewed formally as a single clause (for a different interpretation see Chapter VIII, p. 121) with progressively embedded internal clauses. In this interpretation, the first two elements (represented above by **mohamad** but including the appositive **nawasiš**, 'his grandson') are the Theme of the entire clause and the final element is the Rheme proper. The mental process clause embedded between these two elements has a textual Theme, **waxte ke**, but no ideational Theme; the verb, **did**, is the Rheme proper. The Phenomenon of this clause is an event, actually two events, one embedded in the other with the whole introduced by **ke**, a textual Theme. **inaa** is the Subject, Actor and Theme of both the main clause, **inaa__butaara parasteš mekonan**, and the further embedded infinitive clause, **az roi xoda gaštan**. In the outer of these two material process clauses, **inaa** is the Agent and **butaara**, the Rheme, is the Medium; of the infinitive clause, **inaa** is the Medium and the other participant, **az roi xoda**, is the Range.

5. Analysis of the text

Not all decisions in the Theme/Rheme analysis are clear-cut and without dispute. To illustrate some of the reasoning behind the choices made, a discussion of the initial section of Text B (probably the first semantic paragraph) follows.

Text B begins in a usual fashion for a narrative. B15 has two thematic elements, one a Circumstance of Time, the other a Circumstance of Location, that orient us to the core of the message, 'Rakbil Shah was governing', Rakbil Shah being the Rheme proper. **dar in waxt**, 'in that time', refers back to the events in Text A and

is, therefore, Given; **dar kabul**, 'in Kabul', is also Given from Text A. **Rakbil Shah is New** as is the idea of governing. B16 follows a similar pattern without the initial Circumstance of Time. The narrator is orienting us to an event in time, but he puts the locations in parallel sentence-initial position. B15 and B16 are probably, in fact, a single compound sentence (or clause complex in Hallidayan terms), **dar in waxt** being a sentence-level constituent, not a clause-level one. 'At this time', two events were occurring: 1) **Rakbil Shah was governing** and 2) **Mohammed had died**. The first occurred in Kabul, the location of Text A, what has gone before, and the second occurred in Arabia, the location of the text to follow. This is a transition sentence.

B17 begins with the textual element **o**, 'and'. This 'and' connects the listener back to B16, what was happening in Arabia. But the narrator also orients us timewise: **bad az u**, 'after that', 'that' being the death of Mohammed. The Rheme of B17 is the existence of the four khalifs of Rashid.

B18 does not have an ideational Theme, only the textual connector **ke**. This presents some problems for the notion of message structure as proposed by Halliday. Grammatically, **ke** is a subordinate clause connector, but B18 is not a subordinate clause. We find throughout this narrative the use of **ke** as a general connector of ideas. The enumeration of the names of the four khalifs in B18 is, of course, closely linked semantically to B17. B18 is an identifying process, 'they were Abu Bakar, Omar, Usman, and Ali'. In English, the clause-initial 'they' would act as Theme, but Dari does not require an overt subject pronoun here; indeed, the presence of

one would be marked. Thus, we have a clause with only a textual Theme, no ideational Theme.

B19 illustrates another aspect of Dari that affects message structure: the penchant for complex verbs. While in English, the core of the message seldom lies in the verb, in Dari the semantic load of the proposition is often shifted to the verb. B19 does have a Theme with the highly focussed initial element **Inaa ham**, 'they also', but in another context the clause might have consisted of only the Predicate. Thus, we have in B18 and B19 two clauses that potentially do not have Themes.

There is little new to say about B20. The clause-initial **o**, 'and', is the textual Theme; **dar zaman-e-šan**, 'in their time', a circumstantial element, is the ideational Theme. The semantic intent of the remainder of the clause is rather ambiguous. **ziat šud** is a common idiom meaning 'increased'. If interpreted as such here, the clause would mean: 'and in their time conquering increased'. But this seems strange as **futuhāt**, 'conquering', is new information. In addition, **futuhāt** is connected to **ziat** by the *ezāfe*. Thus, we have interpreted **futuhāt-e ziat** as one constituent meaning 'a lot of conquering', and **sud** alone as the Predicate meaning 'happened'. The closest English translation is: 'a lot of conquering occurred'. This seems logical within the context. **futuhāt-e ziat**, then, is the Rheme.

In B22, the narrator again uses the time frame **bad az u**, 'after that', as Theme. The Rheme is not so apparent. The rest of the clause following **bad az u** is rhematic, but the Rheme proper seems to be **taa qismat-aa-e . . .**, 'up to sections of'. This is the only

constituent that is New, and it is in linear position immediately preceding the Predicate. Though its grammatical realization is an Adjunct, it functions directly in the process as Range.

B23 has only two constituents. **wo**, 'and' is a textual Theme and **pas amad**, 'returned', is Rheme. It is possible that B23 is a compound with B22, in which case, **bad az u**, 'after that', would also be the ideational Theme of B23; it is not possible to tell here. In such cases of ambiguity, we have selected the most overtly obvious analysis.

6. Theme/Rheme chart

Appendix B shows the designation of Theme and Rheme in clausal context. There we can see the flow of thematic structure from one clause to the next and in relationship to the choices not made. The Theme/Rheme Chart, Table 7, shows in condensed form the interrelationship of Theme/Rheme structure to: information (Given/New) structure, grammatical structure, transitive functional structure, ergative structure, and linear position. In this chart we can easily compare the parameters of Theme versus Rheme in this text.

There are 77 clauses tallied in this chart. All 77 had a Rheme. We are positing Rheme as obligatory; without at least a Rheme, a proposition would not exist. All Rhemes are clausal constituents, occurring in the following order of frequency: Complement (22), Predicate (21), Subject (15), Object (9), Adjunct (9), and Subject Appositive (1). By contrast, only 55 of the 77 clauses have

ideational (or topical) Themes. There are four possible reasons for this: 1) there is only a textual Theme; 2) the Theme consists only of Topic and, therefore, is not a clausal constituent; 3) a constituent is the Theme of more than one clause (i.e. has a compound Rheme); and 4) a clause has no Theme/Rheme structure (i.e. has only a Rheme). If a Theme is a clausal constituent, it is most likely to be the Subject (31); if it is not a Subject, it is either an Object or an Adjunct (11 each).

Theme and Rheme vary in functional structure as well as grammatical structure, but not equally for all process types. In a material process, both Actor and Goal are equally likely to be Theme (A=7, G=8) or Rheme (A=6, G=8). In a mental process, an overt Sensor may be Theme (4) or Rheme (3), but the Phenomenon may be only Theme (2), never Rheme. An overt Sayer may be Theme (1) as may the Verbiage (1). In verbal and mental processes, the Rheme is most often the Predicate (the process itself) which often includes the Sayer or Sensor as a verbal suffix but not a separate constituent. In relational clauses, the correlations are invariable: Attributes and Identifiers may be Rheme but not Theme, while Carriers and Identifieds may be Theme but not Rheme, perhaps by definition. Existents are, of course, always Rhemes. Circumstantial elements are far more likely to be Theme (11) than Rheme (3).

From an ergative perspective, Rheme is most often Range (32), while Theme is most often Medium (36). In fact, the Theme is seldom anything but Medium: three Themes are Range and four are Agents. Nineteen Rhemes are constituents that act as Mediums but other Mediums are indirectly Rheme as part of the Predicate.

As noted earlier, there is a high correlation between message structure and information structure. A Theme is only New if the entire clause is New, and Rheme is only Given if the entire clause is Given. The correlation of Theme and Rheme with linear position is also virtually invariable. Only one Theme (B69) is not the clause-initial element. With few exceptions (B53, B63), the Rheme is the clausal constituent that immediately precedes the Predicate or is the Predicate itself.

Table 7
Theme/Rheme Chart

Theme	Pos	Gr	Tr	Er	Inf	Inf	Er	Tr	Gr	Pos	Rheme
15. dar in waxt/ dar kabul	1	Ad	Cr		Gv	Nw	Md	A	S	1P	rakbilša
16. wa (text) dar arabstan	1	Ad	Cr		Nw	Nw	Md	A	S	1P	piqāmbare . . .
17. o (text) bad az u	1	Ad	Cr		Gv	Nw	Md	Et	S	1P	xalifaae . . .
18. ke (text)						Nw	R	I	r	C	1P hazrate . . .
19. inaaham	1	S	A	Md	Gv	Gv			P		xelaafat kardan
20. o (text) dar zamanešan	1	Ad	Cr		Gv	Nw	Md	Et	S	1P	futuhate ziat
21. o (text)						Nw	Md	G	O	1P	besior mamlakathaara
22. bad az u	1	Ad	Cr		Gv	Nw	R	R	Ad	1P	taa qismataae . . .
23. wo (text)						Nw			P		pas amad
24. markaze xa	1	S	Id	Md	Nw	Nw	R	I	r	C	1P šare madina
25. -----						Gv	R	Ar	C	1P	dar arabstan
26a. bad/dar awa	1	Ad	Cr		Gv	Nw	R	I	r	C	1P maka
26b. čun (text) darinja	1	Ad	Cr		Gv	Nw	Md	Et	S	1P	mazjidl haram
26c. wo (text) maka	1	S	Id	Md	Gv	Nw	R	I	r	C	1P joi_ke . . .
27. o (text) mazjid ke .	1	S	Id	Md	Nw	Nw	R	I	r	C	1P yak joi_ke . . .
28. ke (text) u sang	1	S	Id	Md	Gv	Nw	R	I	r	C	1P az sanghaae asman_ke . .
29. o (text) i sanga	1	O	Ph	R	Gv	Nw	Md	S	S	1P	hazrate ebrahim
30. ami sang	1	O	G	Md	Gv	Nw			P		graft o wardošt
31a. -----						Nw			P		goft
31b. ira	1	O	G	Md	Gv	Nw	Ag	A	S	3P	xoda
32. wo (text) i	1	S	Oa	Md	Gv	Nw	R	Ar	C	1P	moqada
33. ira	1	O	G	Md	Gv	Nw		Cr	Ad	1P	dar deware xone kaba
34. hame musil	1	S	A	Ag	Nw	Nw			P		tamas mekardan
34c. "			Md		Nw				P		ziarat mekardan
35. čun (text)						Nw	R	G	Ad	1P	ba diste piqāmbare . . .
36. bad az haz	1	Ad	Cr		Gv	Nw	Md	A	S	1P	akwame . . .
37. -----						Nw	R	Ar	C	1P	kafire
38. -----						Nw	R	Ar	C	1P	but parast
39. wa (text)						Nw	R	Ar	O	1P	butaae_ke . . .

Table 7

41. ar qabila	1	S	Qa	Md	Gv	Nw	R	Ar	O	1P	yak but
42. ar qabila					Gv	Gv					yak but
43. wo (text)						Nw					se sod o šast qabila
44. se sod o šas	1	O	G	Md	Gv	Gv	R	Cr	Ad	1P	dar ami rafaae x. k.
45. ke (text)											
butaae kalone az i	1	S	Id	Md	Nw	Nw	R	Ir	Ad	1P	ba name laut . . .
46a. wa (text)											
yak bute az inaa	1	S	Qa	Md	Nw	Nw	R	Ar	Ad	1P	az yaqud
46b. ke (text)						Nw	Md	Et	S	1P	čišma-aae zamarud
47a. wa (text)											
i	1	S	Qa	Md	Gv	Nw	R	Ar	C	1P	besior buta qimati
47b. ke (text)											
ira	1	O	Vb	R	Gv	Nw		P			megoftan
47c. ira	1	O	G	Md	Gv	Nw	Ag	A	S	1P	maa
48. waxte bud ke (text)											
i butaara	1										tawasute mohamad
49. -----						Nw	R	Ir	C	1P	pisare abdula wa . . .
50. Abdul motal	1	S	Id	Md	Gv	Nw	R	Ir	C	1P	mujawir wa . . .
51. xone kaba (Topic)											
kliš	1	S	Qa	Md	Nw	Nw	R	Ar	C	1P	da tasarufe az i
52. -----						Nw	R	Ir	C	1P	ixiardare xone kaba
53a. i moh./nawasiš (Top)											
waxte ke (text)						Nw		P			did
53b. ke (text) (dep cl)											
inaa	1	S	A	Md	Gv	Gv	R	R	Ad	1P	az roie xoda
53c. "					Ag	Gv	Md	G	O	1P	butaara
53d. [53a-c]						Nw		P			raft
54. o (text)											
i	1	S	Qa	Md	Gv	Nw		P			dawi kard
55. ke (text)											
ma	1	S	Id	Md	Gv	Nw	R	R	C	1P	piqambare xoda
56. wo (text)											
xoda	1	S	Sy	Md	Gv	Nw		P	+		amir karda
57. ke (text)											
i butaa	1	S	Qa	Md	Gv	Nw	R	Ar	C	1P	qabile parasteš
58. bayad (interp)											
šuma	1	S	A	Ag	Gv	Gv	Md	G	O	1P	mara
59. ke (text)											
ma	1	S	A	Ag	Gv	Gv	Md	G	O	1P	šumara
60. "						Nw	Md	G	O	1P	asman o zamina
61. "						Nw	Md	G	O	1P	afta o sita-aara
62. bayad (interp)											
hamagi	1	S	A	Ag	Gv	Gv	Md	G	O	1P	mara

Table 7

63.	i bute	1	O	G	Md	Gv	Gv	Ag	A	S	2P	xudetan
64.	wa (text)											
	unja	1	Ad	Cr		Gv	Nw			P		mandin
65.	"						Nw			P		merin
66.	"						Nw			P		sajda mekonin
67.	ura	1	O	G	Md	Gv	Nw			P		ebadat mekonin
68.	i	1	S	Ca	Md	Gv	Nw	R	Ar	C	1P	qarat
69.	ira	2	O	Ph	R	Gv	Nw	Md	Se	S	1	paderaae jad o . . .
70.	-----						Nw	Md	Se	S	1P	tana kasone ke
71.	yak zane . .	1	S	Id	Md	Nw	Nw	R	Ir	SA	1P	hazrate xadija
72.	i	1	S	Se	Md	Gv	Gv			P		qabul kard
73.	bad az hazra	1	Ad	Cr		Gv	Nw	Md	Et	S	1P	abu bakar
74.	-----						Nw	R	Ir	C	1P	xalife awal
75.	i	1	S	Se	Md	Gv	Gv			P		qabul kard
76.	bad az u	1	Ad	Cr		Gv	Nw	Md	Et	S	1P	ast sola bača
77.	-----						Nw	R	Ir	C	1P	hazrate ali . . .
78.	ke (text)											
	i	1	S	Id	Md	Gv	Nw	R	Ir	C	1P	bačae kakae piqambar
79.	i	1	S	Se	Md	Gv	Gv			P		qabul kard
80.	o (text)											
	inaa	1	S	A	Md	Gv	Gv		Cr	Ad	1P	amroi mohamad
81.	anuzi (text)											
	qabila	1	S	Se	Md	Gv	Nw			P		xabar na dastan
82.	kule butaara	1	O	G	Md	Gv	Nw			P		šikastand o . . .
83.	wa (text)						Nw			P		elan kard
84.	ke (text)											
	ma	1	S	Id	Md	Gv	Gv	R	Ir	C	1P	piqambare xoda
85.	ma	1	S	Ca	Md	Gv	Gv	R	Ar	Ad	1P	az tarafe xoda

Endnotes

1. Firbas feels that if part of a constituent is irretrievable, the whole constituent is considered irretrievable (i.e. New) [from discussion at the Second Nottingham International Systemic Workshop (on Rheme)]. I would agree with Firbas on this.
2. A subordinate (beta) clause stands in a hypotactic relationship to the main (alpha) clause; this is a tactic relation *between* clauses. An embedded clause functions as a constituent *within* a group which is itself a constituent of a clause (e.g. a modifier within a noun phrase). For further discussion of this distinction, see Halliday 1985: 219.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

1. Summary of findings

In this analysis we have looked at some of the clausal patterns that run through this text, tracing various features and showing how these features are interrelated and dependent upon both other features and the text as a whole. Some features are more significant than others and, consequently, affect other features of the text and the meaning of the entirety in larger proportion. But all strands--grammatical, transitive, ergative, thematic--interact and pattern with each other to create the essence of the text. We have pulled apart the various strands, as we must, in order to gain some insight into the separate functioning of the various parts. In the end, however, the individual systems only have meaning in relationship to each other and to the whole.

By basing our analysis within a particular theory, we are able to establish a consistent framework for both an internal look at the nature of Dari and a comparative view of Dari in relationship to other languages, forming some tentative assertions about the nature of Language. We have begun our analysis with a number of long-established basic assumptions, leaving open the possibility that some of these assumptions may not be borne out.

Our most primitive assumption has been that the basic message unit of language is the clause, and we have founded our analysis on this assumption. Indeed, even in a casual, oral discourse such as this historical narrative, the division of the text into clauses has been a relatively simple one. Our next assumption has been that clauses are composed of discrete constituents that function in various ways in relationship to each other to form the whole. We have used essentially Halliday's model to identify these constituents, but the foundation is a traditional hierarchical one: clauses are composed of phrases (or groups) which are composed of words which are composed of morphemes.

These constituents are simultaneously arranged according to various functional concepts, or modes of meaning, to create a single structure or output, and they take on significance structurally in their syntagmatic relationship to each other. But these constituent choices are also a result of the paradigmatic systems from which they are selected. Thus we have explored the description or output of this Dari narrative, but in doing so we have had to consider both the system and the text. Our interpretation of Dari, or of a single text, must take into consideration the choices available, the possible forms, and why an encoder would chose this particular form at this particular time and within this particular framework.

Halliday sees these choices as coming from three separate but interlinking metafunctions or choice systems: the interpersonal (clause as exchange), the ideational (clause as representation), and the textual (clause as message). We have analyzed the Dari text along all three of these modes of meaning, both paradigmatically and

syntagmatically. This analysis along various parameters and within various systems allows for the richness of the language to be exposed. We gain one insight from analyzing a clause into its grammatical structure, another insight from viewing its transitivity structure, and still another insight from exploring its thematic structure.

2. Analysis across the three metafunctions

Figure 6 and Figure 7 have shown in detail the interrelated systems across the three metafunctions for two clauses. Figure 8 shows the flow of structures within the three metafunctions for clauses B15-B23, the first nine clauses of the main text.

B15 has two clausal constituents marked as Theme. Both are Circumstantial elements, one of Time and one of Location. There is nothing remarkable about their order and both seem to carry equal CD. Linearly, the next element is **rakbilsă**, both Actor and Subject of the clause as well as Medium. Its status as Rheme is firmly established on two counts: 1) most importantly, **rakbilsă** seems to be the core of the message, and 2) it is in linear position directly preceding the Predicate. In addition, it is the Medium or core participant. **hukumat mekard**, 'governed', the Predicate, is more rhematic material but does not carry as much CD as **rakbilsă**.

B16 begins with a textual Theme **wa**, 'and'. In addition, this clause, like B15, has an ideational Theme that is a Circumstance of Location. Again as in B15, the Rheme is the Actor, Subject, and Medium of the clause, the core participant, while the Predicate is more rhematic material. It seems clear that the narrator is

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focusing the listeners' attention by orienting them to first the vital people of that time frame and secondly their 'activity', as it were. It is not death or governing that is the essential news but the existence of Rakbil Shah and Mohammed.

B17 and B18 follow a similar pattern with the introduction of prominent figures in history in Rhematic position. There is, in fact, little other content material in either of these clauses beyond the Rhemes. B17 has, besides the textual Theme, an ideational Theme of Time. B18 is most likely a dependent relative clause acting as a postmodifier of the Rheme of B17. The English equivalent would be: 'and after that there were the khalifs of Rashid, four khalifs, who were . . .'. Both the **ke** following **rašuda** and the **ke** that begins B18 are functioning in the same manner, as relativizers of post modifiers. It is difficult to capture this use of **ke** in English as **ke** functions more in the capacity of a connector than the English relative pronoun 'who'. B18 is only formally a dependent clause; B17 and B18 form something closer to a compound sentence (two alpha clauses) than a complex sentence (an alpha clause plus a beta clause), the relationship being more one of parataxis than hypotaxis. Nonetheless, **bad as u**, 'after that', might be viewed as the ideational Theme of B18 as well as B17. B18's close linkage to B17 is reflected in the realization of the Medium as the verbal suffix - **an**, 'they', the referent for which is the Subject of B17. While B17 is an existential process establishing the existence of the four khalifs, B18 is an identifying process, establishing who they were by name.

The core of the message of B19 lies in the complex verb, **xelaafat kardan**, 'acting as khalifs'. This is a mysterious

sentence, the purpose of which is unclear. The only bit of information that is 'new' is **ham**, 'also', but **ham** has no apparent referent (who else was acting as khalif or what else were the four khalifs doing?). The sentence merely repeats information already given. The overt subject pronoun is marked but necessary for the use of **ham**; otherwise the narrator would probably have said simply **xelaafat kardan**. This is the first clause in this section (indeed, the only clause) in which the Medium is the Theme.

B20 is more typical: it has first a textual Theme, then an ideational Theme of Circumstance. Rheme is Subject, Existent and Medium, the only direct participant in the clause. **šud**, 'became', carries no communicative value. B21 follows a similar pattern but has only a textual Theme. In addition to the Medium (Goal realized as Object), B21 has an Agent realized as the verb ending **-an**, 'they'.

B22 has a Medium that is neither Theme nor Rheme, a very unusual occurrence. The rationale for the Theme/Rheme analysis has been discussed in Chapter VIII and we will not repeat it here. The Rheme is Range realized as an Adjunct. Range plays a prominent role in Dari clause structure, and it is not surprising that Range would be the core of the message.

In B23, again there is only a textual Theme, and the Rheme is the Predicate. In this clause, we find the Medium, the central participant in the process, realized only as a null element. This, perhaps, presents a dilemma for the theory as it is a situation that occurs frequently in this text.

Th:Cr:Ad Th:Cr:Ad Rh:A(Md):S

15. **dar in waxt | dar kabul | rakbilša | hukumat me-kard |**
 in that time in Kabul Rakbil Shah govern ME-did

text Th Th:Cr:Ad Rh:A(Md):S

16. **wa | dar arabstan | piqambar-e Islam mohamad | wafat ke yafta bud |**
 and in Arabia prophet-E Islam Mohammed death that found was

text Th Th:Cr:Ad Rh:Et(Md):S

17. **o | bad az u | xalif-aa-e rašuda ke čor xalif-a | bud |**
 and after that khalif-PL-E Rashid that 4 khalif-RA was

text Th Rh:lr(R):C :ld(Md):

18. **ke | hazrat-e abubakar wo hazrat-e omar . . . | bud-an |**
 that hazrat-E Abu Bakar and hazrat-E Omar . . . was-3p

Th:A(Md):S Rh:Ma:P

19. **in-aa ham | xelaafat kard-an |**
 this-PL also khalif duties did-3p

text Th Th:Cr:Ad Rh:Et(Md):S

20. **o | dar zaman-e-šan | futuhat-e zlat | šud |**
 and in time-E-their conquering-E alot became

text Th Rh:G(Md):O :A(Ag):

21. **o | beslor mamlakat-haa-ra | graft-an |**
 and very country - PL -RA took-3p

Th:Cr:Ad A(Med):S Rh:R(R):Ad

22. **bad az u | hazrat-e omar | taa qlsmat-aa-e šam o fillistln . | fatha kard**
 after that hazrat-E Omar until section-PL-E Amman and Palestine conquer did

text Th Rh:Ma:P

23. **wo | pas amad**
 and back came

Figure 8
 Analysis Across Metafunctions

3. Implications for systemic theory

Any theory has rough edges, and systemic theory is no exception. As can be seen even in this brief analysis, the various parts do not always fit together smoothly and certain dilemmas, even contradictions, arise. The analysis and discussion of B15-B23 reveal a few places in particular where some criteria or classification categories might be re-evaluated.

Within the textual metafunction, Dari shows some variation from English. For example, textual Themes are prominent, often filling the entirety of the thematic potential. In some cases, there are simply no other clausal constituents available. In other cases, the Predicate might meet the criteria for an ideational Theme, but that would mean a 'split Theme', one part before the Rheme and one part after. This is worth considering, but in doing so we might have to rethink the whole notion of message structure. It seems unlikely that an encoder would structure a message in such a way that the core of the message lies between two pieces, each of which is the organizer of the message.

Ideationally, while the process types and participants set up by Halliday for English differ for Dari essentially in their distribution and emphasis, some areas of systemic process theory seem to have more universal implications than other areas. Halliday's most recent classification of process types is a refining of the theory based on English. His original thinking on this may be closer to a universal model. As a tentative observation based on this analysis of Dari and work on English, three major process types might be posited: material (including behavioral), mental (including

verbal), and a 'being' process including relational and existential.

If such a system were set up, participants directly involved in each particular process type would necessarily take on a more universal flavor and, therefore, be more applicable across languages. This would, of course, be moving away from Halliday's efforts at greater delicacy. But Halliday already posits two participants that cross process boundaries: Beneficiary and Range. This analysis of Dari has already given new insight into the notion of Range; because of the more prominent role Range plays in Dari, its potential has been more fully explored than was possible from an analysis of English.

Grammatically, of course, languages differ, but some of the grammatical properties of Dari that differ from English make Dari difficult to fit into the model that Halliday sets up for English. This is to be expected. The most obvious divergence is the lack of true passives in Dari, which sometimes leaves Dari without the contrasts that Halliday uses to distinguish process types in English. In light of this difference in the grammatical realization of agency, we have set up some differing criteria for identification of participant functions. In fact, the system set up here seems more consistent across processes than Halliday's system for English.

A second grammatical property that marks Dari is the optional nature of subjects; the subject slot in Dari need not be filled. This seems to open the way for true existentials which are both grammatically and functionally distinct from other 'being' clauses. But the null realization of participants also presents problems for the theory. This is especially apparent in an ergative interpretation,

where it is possible for the Medium to not be realized at all, even as a verb suffix. We need to address the question of whether a core participant in a proposition can have no surface realization.

4. Implications for a theory of language universals

What can we say about the nature of Language? First, the traditional grammatical categories of Subject, Object, Complement, Adjunct, and Predicate seem to work well as basic clausal constituents. By identifying these units, a language can be categorized into basic clause types. It would seem reasonable that all languages would in some way encode the basic units of meaning as transitive, intransitive, relational and existential.

Grammatical patterns are realization patterns and, therefore, are probably not universal. A more likely area to look for broad generalizations would be in functional patterns, the notions of which are more probably universal. For example, the much explored passive is clearly not universal. Languages such as Dari do not have passives in the sense of their being counterparts to active clauses. But all languages most likely have the notion of agency encoded in some way. In English, an Agent can be encoded as a direct participant in the process (i.e. as Subject) or more obliquely as an Adjunct. In Dari, an Agent can only be encoded as a direct participant. Thus there is no active/passive contrast.

The universality of process types is more open to variation, given both cultural differences and differences in the resources of each language, but all languages will most likely encode meaning using some process or another and Halliday's major categories of

material, mental and relational seem fairly universal. The emphasis that a particular language places on a particular process type, however, will vary. In Dari, for example, meaning is frequently encoded as an existential process, a process type rarely used in English. On the other hand, meaning in Dari is seldom realized as a behavioral process. While the details of participant relations will vary from language to language, the basic participants themselves seem fairly universal.

Even the thematic or message structure of a language seems quite consistent across languages. Given a substantive definition of Theme and Rheme, a language will consistently structure messages, guiding the decoder toward the core of the message. But the way in which each language does this may vary. In English, the message generally builds to the end of the clause. In Dari, however, the message builds up to the position preceding the Predicate and then trails back off; the clausal position that typically carries the highest CD is that immediately before the Predicate. In light of this, we might want to posit a message structure for Dari where Rheme is preceded by a lead-in element and followed by a lead-out element.

5. Conclusion

What has been described here is the nature of this text. From this exploration, some assertions have been made about the nature of Dari. Though these particulars are only a small piece of the puzzle, they bring us one step further in our quest to understand the nature of language in general. As we explore more and more particular instances of language, we gain a better insight into this most complex of human activities.

APPENDICES

Appendix A
Text A; Text B; Text C

Text A

1. **dar zamon-aa-e qadim kabul šakli emroz-ara na dašt**
in time-PI-E old Kabul like today-RA not have
"In the old times Kabul was not like today"

- 2a. **maa fikir kon-lm ke**
we think do-1p that
- 2b. **dar markaz-e kabul yak-e harb-e kalon is**
in center-E Kabul a-E fortress-E large is
"I think that in the center of Kabul is a large fortress"

- 2c. **dar rol-e dar-iš burja is o tikašasu**
around in-its turret is and rifle hole
"All around it are turrets and rifle holes"

3. **(faqat)**
okay?

4. **kabul dar rol-e čand bazar-aa-e bazurg bud**
Kabul in way-E many bazaar-PL-E great was
"Kabul had many great bazaars"

5. **I bazar-aa-ra yak-e-š-aa šar bazar me-goft-an**
this bazaar-PI-RA one-E-this-PL city bazaar ME-said-3p
"These bazaars--one of these they called City Bazaar"

6. **wa yak-e-š-aa darwaz-e lauri me-goft-an**
and one-E-this-PL door-E Lahore ME-said-3p
"And one of these they called doors of Lahore"

7. **yak qismat-e š-aa demazan me-goft-an**
one section-E this-PL Demazang ME-said-3p
"One section of these they called Demazang"

8. **yak qismat-e š-aa de afgan-aa me-goft-an**
one section-E this-PL from Afghan-PL ME-said-3p
"One section of these they called Deafghana"

- 9a. **wa yak qismat čor čata [9b. ba estila be-goy-lm] bud**
and one section four corner in speak BE-say-1p was
"And one section was, let's say, four corners"

10. **ba sarat-e kabul ba sarat-e saqtuman-iš bud ke a traf-e kabul**
in kind-E Kabul in kind-E structure-this was that surround-E
"It was this kind of structure that surrounded Kabul"
11. **dewal-aa-e gall kalon kalon saxta šud-a bud**
wall-PL-RA mud large large made become-RA was
"Very large mud walls had been made"
12. **wa dar roi-e čor darwaza bud**
and in way-E four door was
"And it had four doors"
13. **ke i darwaza-e az i-ra me-g-an ke**
that this door-E from this-RA ME-say-3p that
dar zamon-e qadim ke hindu-ham da kabul zendagi me-kard-an
in old-E section that Hindu-all in Kabul live ME-did-3p
"This door here, they say that in the old section, all the Hindus in Kabul
were living"
14. **un-aa-ra ba nam-e pača-haa-e ratbilša zatbilša aratša**
that-PL-RA by name-E king-PL-E Ratbil Shah Zatbil Shah Arat Shah
zamburakša en-aa nam me-bar-an ke da tarix etazakuri yaft-a
Zamburak Shah this-PL name ME-take-3p that in history mention -PF
"They called them by the names of kings, . . ., that were mentioned
in history"

Text B

15. **dar in waxt dar kabul rakbilša hukumat me-kard**
in that time in Kabul Rakbil Shah govern IMP-did
"At that time in Kabul Rakbil Shah was governing."
16. **wa dar arabstan piqambar-e islam mohamad**
and in Arabia prophet-E Islam Mohammed
wafat ke yafta bud
death that found was
"And in Arabia the prophet of Islam, Mohammed, had died."
17. **o bad az u xalif-aa-e rašuda ke čor xalif-a bud**
and after that khalif-PL-E Rashid that 4 khalif-RA was
"After that were the khalifs of Rashid, the four khalifs."

18. **ke hazrat-e abubakar wo hazrat-e omar hazrat-e usman**
that hazrat-E Abu Bakar and hazrat-E Omar hazrat-E Osman
wo hazrat-e ali bud-an
and hazrat-E Ali was-3P
"They were Hazrat Abu Bakar, Hazrat Omar, Hazrat Osman, and Hazrat Ali."
19. **In-aa ham xelaafat kard-an**
this-PL also khalif duties did-3P
"These also acted as khalifs."
20. **o dar zaman-e-šan futuhat-e zlat šud**
and in time-E-their conquering-E alot became
"And in their time a lot of conquering occurred."
21. **o beslor mamlakat-haa-ra geraft-an**
and very country - PL -RA took-3P
"And they took many countries."
22. **bad az u hazrat-e omar taa qismat-aa-e šam o fillistin**
after that hazrat-E Omar until section-PL-E Amman and Palestine
o baltl moqadas fatha kard
and holy house (Jerusalem) conquer did
"After that Omar conquered Jerusalem up to sections of Amman."
23. **wo pas amad**
and back came
"And he returned."
24. **markaz-e xalafaa šar-e madina bud**
center-E khalif place city-E Medina was
"The center of the khalifs was the city of Medina."
25. **dar arabstan-is saudi**
in Arabia-is Saudi
"It is in Saudi Arabia."
- 26a. **bad dar awaxar maka šud**
after in the end Mecca became
"Later in the end it became Mecca."
- 26b. **čun dar in-ja mazjidl haram bud**
since in this-place mosque Haram was
"Since in this place was the Haram Mosque."

- 26c. **wo maka joi-ist ke badatgaa-e musulman ast-a**
and Mecca place-is that house of worship-E Muslims is-PF
"And Mecca is the place that is the Muslim's house of worship."
- 27a. **o mazjld ke ast yak dar berun-lē yak joi-ist**
and mosque that is one in outside-its one place-is
"And there is a mosque outside "
- 27b. **ke yak sang-e sia-ist nasb ast**
that one rock-E black-is install is
"of which is installed a black rock"
- 27c. **ke u-ra ajarl aswad me-g-an**
that that-RA [rock black]Arb IMP-said-3P
"they are calling that Ajarl Aswad."
- 28a. **ke u sang az sang-haa-e asman-is**
that that rock from rock-PL-E sky-is
"That rock is from the rocks of the sky"
- 28b. **ke ba zamin aftad-a bud-an**
that to earth fell-PF was-3P
"that had fallen to earth."
- 29a. **o e sang-a hazrat-e ebrahim ke me-xost**
and this rock-RA hazrat-E Ebrahim that IMP-want
mazjld-e maka-ra abad kona
mosque-E Mecca-RA build
"And this is the rock that Ebrahim wanted to build the mosque of Mecca."
30. **ami sang geraft o wardost**
this rock took and lifted up
"He took and lifted up this rock."
31. **goft i-ra xoda az asman ba zamin andox-t-a**
said this-RA god from sky to earth dropped-PF
"He said, "This rock God has dropped from the sky to the earth."
32. **wo i moqada ast**
and this holy is
"And this is holy."
33. **i-ra dar dewar-e xon-e kaba geraft nasb kard**
this-RA in wall-E house-E rock took installed
"And he took and installed this in the wall of the Hona Kaba."

- 34a. **ham-e musulman-aa ke me-amad-an**
all-E Muslim-PL that IMP-came-3P
"All the Muslims that came"
- 34b. **sang-a tamas me-kard-an**
rock-RA touch IMP-did-3P
"they touched the rock"
- 34c. **ziarat me-kard-an**
respect IMP-did-3P
"they paid respect"
35. **čun ba dist-e piqambar-e hazrat-e ebrahim xord**
since by hand-E prophet-E hazrat-E Ebrahim hit
"since it hit the hand of the prophet Ebrahim."
36. **bad az hazrat-e ebrahim akwam-e arabistan hama az din gašd-an**
from hazrat-E Ebrahim tribes^{Arb-E} Arabia all from religion abandoned-
3P
"After Ebrahim the Arab tribes all abandoned religion."
37. **kafir-e šud-an**
infidel-E became-3P
"They became infidels."
38. **but parast šud-an**
idol worship became-3P
"They became idol worshippers."
39. **wa but-aa-e dašt-an ke dar sare raf-aa-e xon-e kaba-ra**
and idol-PL-E had-3P that in upon shelf-PL-E house-E rock-RA
"And they had idols on the shelves of the Hona Kaba."
40. **jol bud ke but-aa-ra de sare - - -**
place was that idol-PL-RA on shelf
(incomplete proposition)
41. **ar qabila yak but dašt ke taqriband se sod o šast but**
every tribe one idol had that around 3 100 and 60 idol
"Every tribe had one idol, around 360 idols."
42. **ar qabila yak but dašt**
every tribe one idol had
"Every tribe had one idol."

43. **wa se sod o šast qabila**
and 3 100 and 60 tribe
"And 360 tribes"
44. **se sod o šast but-a dar ami raf-aa-e xon-e kaba čind-a bud-an**
3 100 and 60 idol-RA In this shelf-PL-E house-E rock arrange-PF was-3P
"They had arranged 360 idols on these shelves of the Hona Kaba."
45. **ke but-aa-e kalon-e az i ba nam-e laut o malaut o ozu**
that idol-PL-E large-E from this by name-E Laut and Malaut and Ozu
yad me-šud
remember IMP-became
"The large idols of these were called by the name of Laut, Malaut, & Ozu."
- 46a. **wa yak but-e az in-aa az yaqud saxt-a šud-a bud**
and one idol-E from this-PL from ruby made-PF became-PF was
"And one of these had been made of ruby"
- 46b. **ke čišma-aa-e zamarud bud**
that eye-PL-E jade was
"with eyes of jade."
- 47a. **wa i beslor but-a qimati bud**
and this very idol-RA expensive was
"And this was such an expensive idol"
- 47b. **ke i-ra me-goft-an**
that this-RA IMP-said-3P
- 47c. **i-ra bayad maa parasteš kon-lm**
this-RA must we worship do-1P
"that the word was we must worship it."
48. **wakti bud ke i but-aa-ra tawasut-e mohamad**
time was that this idol-PL-RA through-E Mohammed
ke piqambar-e islam-is
that prophet-E Islam-is
"At this time these idols through the agency of Mohammed who is the prophet of God"
49. **pisar-e abdula wa nawas-e abdul motalib bud**
son-E Abdulla and grandson-E Abdul Motalib was
"was the son of Abdulla and the grandson of Abdul Motalib."

50. **abdul motalib mujawir wa palrador-e xon-e kaba bud**
 Abdul Motalib curator and guard-E house-E rock was
 "Abdul Motalib was the religious curator and guard of the Hona Kaba."
51. **xon-e kaba kli-š da tasaruf-e az i bud**
 house-E rock key-lts in possession-E from this was
 "He had the key to the Hona Kaba."
52. **ixtlardor-e xon-e kaba bud**
 authority-E house-E rock was
 "He was the authority of the Hona Kaba."
- 53a. **i mohamad nawas-iš waxt-e ke did**
 this Mohammed grandson-his time-E that saw
 "This Mohammed, his grandson, when he saw"
- 53b. **ke in-aa az rol-e xoda gašt-an**
 that this-PL from place-E god abandon-3P
 "that they abandoned God"
- 53c. **but-aa-ra parasteš me-kon-an**
 idol-PL-RA worship IMP-do-3P
 "were worshipping idols"
- 53d. **raft**
 left
 "he left."
- 54a. **o i ke kalon šud**
 and he that big became
 "And he grew up"
- 54b. **ba sine čel solagi rasid**
 for age 40 years arrived
 "he reached the age of 40"
- 54c. **dawl kard**
 claim did
 "He claimed"
55. **ke ma piqambar-e xoda-st-m**
 that I prophet-E god-be-1P
 "that he was the prophet of God."

56. **wo xoda amir kard-a bare ma**
and god order did-PF for me
"And God had instructed me"
57. **ke I but-aa qabil-e parasteš n-est**
that this idol-PL worthy-E worship not-is
"that these idols are not worthy of worship."
58. **bayad šuma ma-ra parasteš kon-In**
must you I-RA worship do-2P
"You must worship me."
59. **ke ma šuma-ra hast kard-Im**
that I you-RA create did-1P
"that (because) I created you."
60. **asman o zamin-a hast kard-Im**
sky and earth-RA create did-1P
"I created the sky and the earth."
61. **afta o sita-aa-ra hast kard-Im**
sun and star-PL-RA create did-1P
"I created the sun and the stars."
62. **bayad hama-gi ma-ra parasteš kon-an**
must all I-RA worship do-3P
"All of these must worship me."
63. **I but-e ke xud-e-tan da dist-e-tan talar me-kon-In**
this idol-E that self-E-2P in hand-E-2P construct IMP-do-2P
"These idols that you yourselves are constructing with your hands"
64. **wa un-ja mand-In**
and that-place left it-2P
"and you left it there"
65. **me-r-In**
go-2P
"you are going (there)"
66. **sajda me-kon-In**
bow down IMP-do-2P
"you are bowing down (before them)"

67. **u-ra ebadat me-kon-in**
that-RA worship IMP-do-2P
"you are worshipping them."
68. **I qarat ast**
this wrong is
"This is wrong."
69. **pader-aa-e jad o kaka-e mohamad i-ra awal qabul na kard-an**
father-PL-E old and uncle-E Mohammed this-RA first accept not did-3p
"The ancestors and the uncles of Mohammed at first did not accept this."
70. **tana kason-e ke qabul kard**
only people-E that accept did
"Only some people accepted."
71. **yak zan-e hazrat-e mohamad hazrat-e xadija nam dašt**
one wife-E hazrat-E Mohammed hazrat-E Khadija name had
"One wife of Mohammed was named Khadija."
72. **I qabul kard**
she accept did
"She accepted."
73. **bad az hazrat-e xadija az mard-aa-e bezurg-e qablla**
after hazrat-E Khadija from person-PL-E important-E tribes
abu bakar sadiq bud
Abu Bakar Sadiq was
"After Khadija from the important people of the tribes was AbuBakarS."
74. **xalif-e awal bud**
khalif-E first was
"He was the first khalif."
75. **I qabul kard**
he accept did
"He accepted."
76. **bad az u az bača-aa-e xord ke ast sola bača bud**
after that from boy-PL-E little that 8 years boy was
"After that from the young sons was an 8-year-old boy."
77. **hazrat-e all karam allah bud**
hazrat-E Ali [term of respect] was
"He was Ali"

78. **ke i bača-e kaka-e plqambar bud**
that he son-E uncle-E prophet was
"who was the son of the uncle of the prophet."
79. **i qabul kard**
he accept did
"He accepted."
80. **o in-aa amroi mohamad raft-an dar xon-e kaba-e but-aa-ra kulda-**
r a
and they with Mohammed went-3P in house-E rock-E idol-PL-RA all them-
RA
"And they went with Mohammed to the Hona Kaba of idols, all of them."
81. **anuzl qabila xabar na dašt-an eč kas**
yet tribes information not had-3P no person
"Yet the tribes did not know--nobody."
82. **kul-e but-aa-ra šikastand o payan andoxt**
all-E idol-PL-RA broke and down droppped
"He threw down and broke all the idols."
- 83a. **wa elan kard**
and announce did
"And announced"
- 83b. **ke plqambar-e xoda šud**
that prophet-E god became
"that he was the prophet of God."
- 83c. **ma az taraf-e xoda amad-im**
I from direction-E god came-1P
"I came from God."

Text C

84. **wa ina awal sura bare ma az qoran-e šarif amad-a**
and this first verse for me from Koran-E holy came-PF
"And this first verse came to me from the holy Koran."
85. **čor kitab-e asman-ist**
four book-E heaven is
"There are the four books of heaven."

- 86a. **taurat-1st**
Torah is
"There is the Torah."
- 86b. **injl-1st ke hazrat-e esau-s**
Bible is that Hazrat-E Jesus-is
"There is the Bible that is from Jesus."
87. **zabur az hazrat-e daud-1st**
Old Testament from Hazrat-E David-is
"The Old Testament is from David."
- 88a. **faqan az hazrat-e mohamad-1st**
Koran from Hazrat-E Mohammed-is
"The Koran is from Mohammed."
- 88b. **ke i čor kitab-e asman-1st**
that this four book-E heaven-is
"These are the four books of heaven"
89. **ke az taraf-e xoda amad-a**
that from direction-E god came-PF
"that came from the direction of God."
90. **wa amagi ba i kitab-e iman dora**
and everyone by this book-E faith has
"And everyone has faith in this book."
91. **musilman-aa-am ba hazrat-e musau ba hazrat-e esau**
Muslim-PL-all by Hazrat-E Moses by Hazrat-E Jesus
ba hazrat-e daud ba hazrat-e mohamad iman dor-an
by Hazrat-E David by Hazrat-E Mohammed faith have-3p
"All Muslims have faith in Moses, Jesus, David, Mohammed."
92. **ke in-aa plqambar-e morsal astan ke az taraf-e xoda**
that this-PL prophet-E genuine are that from direction-E god
barol edoyat-e ad
for religious-E direction
"They are the genuine prophets from God for religious direction."
93. **aqm-e xud bera šud-a bud-an**
tribes-E self lost became-PF was-3p
"The tribes themselves had become religiously lost."

94. **nazer šud-an ke bayad pirawl az u-aa-ra kon-an**
 observer became-3p that must follow from that-PL-RA do-3p
awamil-e xoda-ra
 affairs-E god-RA
 "They observed that they must follow those that do the deeds of God."
95. **barol omat bare mardum be-rason-an**
 for follower for people should-deliver-3p
 "They should deliver for the followers of God, for the people."
96. **wa mardum-e az roi qalat az roi duzdi wa adam kušl o**
 and people-E from way wrong from way thievery and man kill and
az roi qimor o az roi kor-aa-e bezat o šerab xur-e zlat
 from way gamble and from way matter-PL-E and alcohol drinking-E alot
ke ba mardum zarar me-rasona
 that by people injury ME-deliver
 "And the people from the way of thievery, murder, gambling, and excessive
 alcohol drinking that injures people . . ."
97. **o mardum-a ozar meta az l-ra-aa az duzdi o serafat**
 and people-RA bother give from this-RA-PL from thievery and arb
az hama čis bayad mana kon-a
 from all thing must prohibit do-PF
 "Bothering people from these, from thievery, from everything--
 it must be prohibited."
98. **baz l farman-haa tawasut-e piqambar bare mardum me-ras-an**
 then this decree-PL via-E prophet for people ME- arrive-3p
 "Then these decrees arrived through the prophet for the people."
99. **dar waxt arab-aa mardum-e wašl bud-an**
 in time Arab-PL people-E uncivilized was-3p
 "At that time the Arabs were uncivilized people."
100. **mohamad ke amad arab-aa-ra goft ke**
 Mohammed that came Arab-PL-RA said that
šuma aulad-aa-e-tan-a na kušt-in
 you child-PL-E-your-RA not kill-2p
 "Mohammed who came told the Arabs not to kill their children."
101. **čera un-aa fikar me-kard-an doktor bad ast-an**
 because that-PL think ME-did-3p daughter bad is-3p
 "Because they thought daughters were bad."

- 102a. **nan dašt-an**
 pride had-3p
 "They had pride."
- 102b. **doktar-aa-e xud-a dar xardi me-kušt-an**
 daughter-PL-E self-RA in youth ME-kill-3p
 "They were killing their daughters in their youth."
103. **wa qimor me-zad-an**
 and gamble ME-hit-3p
 "They gambled."
104. **doktar-aa-e xud-a da qimor me-boxt-an**
 daughter-PL-E self-RA in gamble ME-lost-3p
 "They lost their daughters in gambling."
105. **agar xuš-e-šan me-amad zan-e yak-e degar palsa me-dad-an**
 if liking-E-their ME-came wife-E one-E other money ME-gave-3p
 "If they liked, they bought another's wife."
106. **zan-e-š-aa ališ me-kard-an**
 wife-E-their-PL exchange ME-did-3p
 "They exchanged wives."
107. **zan-e xud-a bar u me-dad-an**
 wife-E self-RA for that ME-gave-3p
 "They gave their wives to them."
108. **zan-e maqbul-e az u-ra me-graft-an**
 wife-E beautiful-E from that-RA ME-took-3p
 "They took the beautiful wife of another."
109. **arab-aa adam me-kušt-an**
 Arab-PL people ME-kill-3p
 "They were killing people."
110. **duzdi me-kard-an**
 thievery ME-did-3p
 "They were robbing."
111. **mal-e kase-ra ke zurg dašt-an ba zurg me-graft-an**
 property-E people-RA that power had-3p by power ME-took-3p
 "They took by force the property of the people that had power."

112. **doktar-aa-e mardum-e ba zurg me-graft-an**
 daughter-PL-E people-E by power ME-took-3p
 "They took people's daughters by force."
113. **wa mardum-aa-e arab ke saxi o garib bud-an**
 and people-PL-E Arab that propertiless and poor was-3p
doktar-aa-e xud-a me-fruxt-an
 daughter-PL-E self-RA ME-sell-3p
 "And the Arab people who were propertiless and poor sold their daughters."
114. **mohamad amad**
 Mohammed came
115. **goft i kul-e čis-aa-ra xoda mana kard-a**
 said this all-E thing-PL-RA god prohibit did-a
 "He said, 'God has prohibited all of these things.'"
116. **bedat-is**
 sin-is
 "It is a sin."
117. **bayad doktar-aa-tan-a na kušt-in**
 must daughter-PL-your-RA not kill-2p
 "You must not kill your daughters."
118. **zan-aa-e-tan na fruš-in**
 wife-PL-E-your not sell-2p
 "You (must) not sell your wives."
119. **qlmor na zan-in**
 gamble not hit-2p
 "You (must) not gamble."
120. **šarab na xur-in**
 alcohol not drink-2p
 "You (must) not drink."
121. **libaš-e-tan-a jan-e-tan-a paq naqa dašt-a b-aš-in**
 clothes-E-your-RA body-E-tan-RA clean keep have-PF BE-is-2p
 "You should keep clean your clothes, your body."
122. **painj waxt bayad uzu be-gar-in**
 five time must ablutions BE-take-2p
 "You must take ablutions five times."

123. **dar majid bur-in**
in mosque BE-go-2p
"You should go to mosque."
124. **wo dar balne majid ebadat kon-in**
and in inside mosque pray do-2p
"And inside the mosque you should pray."
125. **sur-e al hamd-a bo-xan-in**
verse-E -Ra BE-read-2p
"You should read the verse al hamd."
126. **wo sur-e exlas-a bo-xan-in**
and verse-E -RA BE-read-2p
"And you should read the verse eklas."
127. **misli ke peštar bare tan goft-um**
like that earlier for you said-1s
"Like I told your earlier"
128. **ke awal-in sura ke amad bare pləmbar anamu sur-e [Arabic]**
that first-very verse that came for prophet that one verse-E
"that the very first verse that came to the prophet, that verse [name]."
129. **ke u har musliman me-fam-a i sura-haa-ra**
that that every Muslim ME-know-PF this verse-PL-RA
misli ke maa me-fam-im
like that we ME-know-1p
"Every Muslim knows these verses like we know (them)."
130. **dar u sura nawišta kard-a [Arabic]**
in that verse written did-PF
"In that verse was written [Arabic]"
131. **yane boxan ba nam-e xoda-e bazurg-e ke tu-ra hast kard-a**
means read by name-E God-E powerful-E that you-RA create did-PF
az yak au bigin
from one water
"Translation: in the name of the powerful God that created you from water"
- 132a. **wo tu-ra baujud award-a**
and you-RA bring into being-PF
"And brought you into being"

- 132b. **wo tu-ra n-est me-kon-a**
 and you-RA not-be ME-do-PF
 "And takes you out of being"
133. **wo eč rol-ra naro ba just parasteš-e parwardegor-e**
 and nothing way-RA don't go except worship-E creator-E
ke u tamam-e maxluqat-e dunya-ra palda kard-a
 that that whole-E creations-E world-RA create did-PF
 "And go no way except worship of the creator that has created the
 entire creations of the world."
134. **I amre bud ya sure bud ke bare plqambar awal defar amad**
 this edict was or verse was that for prophet first time came
 "This was the edict or verse that came the first time for the prophet."
135. **bad az u amr-e namaz šud**
 after that edict-E pray become
 "After that come the edict to pray."

APPENDIX B

Theme/Rheme Structure: Text B

Theme is underlined; Rheme is in italics

15. dar in waxt / dar kabul / *rakbilša* / *hukumat me-kard* //
in that time in Kabul Rakbil Shah govern ME-did
16. wa / dar arabstan / *piqambar-e islam mohamad* / *wafat ke yafta bud* //
and in Arabia prophet-E Islam Mohammed death that found was
17. o / bad az u / *xalif-aa-e rašuda ke čor xalif-a* / *bud* //
and after that khalif-PL-E Rashid that 4 khalif-RA was
18. ke / *hazrat-e abubakar wo hazrat-e omar hazrat-e usman wo hazrat-e ali* / *bud-an*
that hazrat-E Abu Bakar and hazrat-E Omar hazrat-E Osman and hazrat-E Ali was-3p
19. In-aa ham / *xelaafat kard-an* //
this-PL also khalifing did-3p
20. o / dar zaman-e-šan / *futuhāt-e zlat* / *šud* //
and in time-E-their conquering-E alot became
21. o / *beslor mamlakat-haa-ra* / *graft-an* //
and very country - PL -RA took-3p
22. bad az u / *hazrat-e omar* / *taa qisimat-aa-e šam o fillistin o baitl moqadas* /
after that hazrat-E Omar until section-PL-E Amman and Palestine and Jerusalem
fatha kard //
conquer did
23. wo / *pas amad* //
and back came

24. markaz-e xalaf-aa / šar-e madina / bud //
center-E khalif-PI city-E Medina was
25. dar arabstan / -is / saudi //
in Arabia- is Saudi
- 26a. bad / dar awaxar / maka / šud //
after in the end Mecca became
- 26b. čun / dar in-ja / mazjidi haram / bud //
since in this-place mosque Haram was
- 26c. wo / maka / joi / -ist / ke badatgaa-e musliman ast-a //
and Mecca place -is that house of worship-E Muslim is-PF
- 27a. o / mazjidi ke ast yak dar berun-iš /
and mosque that is one in outside-its
- 27b. yak joi / -ist / ke yak sang-e sla-ist nasb ast
one place -is that one rock-E black-is install is
- 27c. ke u-ra ajari aswad me-g-an //
that that-RA [rock black]Arb ME-said-3p
- 28a. ke / u sang / az sang-haa-e asman / -is /
that that rock from rock-PL-E sky is
- 28b. ke ba zamin aftad-a bud-an //
that to earth fell-PF was-3p
- 29a. o / i sang-a / hazrat-e ebrahim / ke me-xost /
and this rock-RA hazrat-E Ebrahim that ME-want
- 29b. mazjidi-e maka-ra abad kona //
mosque-E Mecca-RA build
30. ami sang / graft o wardost //
this rock took and lifted up
31. goft // i-ra / xoda / az asman / ba zamin / andoxt-a //
said this-RA god from sky to earth dropped-PF
32. wo / i / moqada / ast //
and this holy is
33. i-ra / dar dewar-e xon-e kaba / graft nasb kard //
this-RA in wall-E house-E rock took installed

- 34a. ham-e musliman-aa ke me-amad-an /
all-E Muslim-PL that ME-came-3p
- 34b. sang-a / tamas me-kard-an //
rock-RA touch ME-did-3p
- 34c. zlarat me-kard-an //
respect ME-did-3p
35. čun / ba dist-e piqambar-e hazrat-e ebrahim / xord //
since by hand-E prophet-E hazrat-E Ebrahim hit
36. bad az hazrat-e ebrahim / akwam-e arabistan hama / az din /
from hazrat-E Ebrahim tribesArb-E Arabia all from religion
gašd-an //
abandoned-3p
37. kafir-e / šud-an //
infidel-E became-3p
38. but parast / šud-an //
idol worship became-3p
39. wa / but-aa-e / dašt-an / ke dar sare raf-aa-e xon-e kaba-ra //
and idol-PL-E had-3p that in upon shelf-PL-E house-E rock-RA
40. joi / bud / ke but-aa-ra de sare - - - // (unanalyzed)
place was that idol-PL-RA on shelf
41. ar qabila / yak but / dašt / ke taqriband se sod o šast but //
every tribe one idol had that around 3 100 and 60 idol
42. ar qabila / yak but / dašt //
every tribe one idol had
43. wo / se sod o šast qabila //
and 3 100 and 60 tribe
44. se sod o šast but-a / dar aml raf-aa-e xon-e kaba / čind-a bud-an //
3 100 and 60 idol-RA in this shelf-PL-E house-E rock arrange-PF was-3p
45. ke / but-aa-e kalon-e az i / ba nam-e laut o malaut o ozu / yad me-
šud //
that idol-PL-E large-E from this by name-E Laut and Malaut and Ozu
remember
- 46a. wa / yak but-e az in-aa / az yaqud / saxta šud-a bud /
and one idol-E from this-PL from ruby made became-PF was

- 46b. ke čišma-aa-e zamarud bud //
that eye-PL-E jade was
- 47a. wa / l / beslor but-a qimatl / bud /
and this very idol-RA expensive was
- 47b. ke / l-ra / me-goŋt-an /
that this-RA ME-said-3p
- 47c. l-ra / bayad / maa / parasteš kon-lm //
this-RA must we worship do-1p
48. wakti bud ke / l but-aa-ra / tawasut-e mohamad ke piqambar-e
Islam-is
time was that this idol-PL-RA through-E Mohammed that prophet-E
Islam-is
49. plisar-e abdula wa nawas-e abdul motalib / bud //
son-E Abdulla and grandson-E Abdul Motalib was
50. abdul motalib / mujawir wa pairador-e xon-e kaba / bud //
Abdul Motalib curator and guard-E house-E rock was
51. xon-e kaba / kli-š / da tasaruf-e az / / bud //
house-E rock key-its in possession-E from this was
52. ixtiardor-e xon-e kaba / bud //
authority-E house-E rock was
- 53a. l mohamad / nawas-lš / waxt-e ke / dld //
this Mohammed grandson-his time-E that saw
- 53b. ke / ln-aa / az roi-e xoda gašt-an /
that this-PL from place-E god abandon-3p
- 53c. but-aa-ra / parasteš me-kon-an //
idol-PL-RA worship ME-do-3p
- 53d. raft //
left
- 54a. o / l / ke kalon šud //
and he that big became
- 54b. ba sine čel solagi / rasid //]
for age 40 years arrived
- 54c. dawl kard //
claim did

55. ke / ma / piqambar-e xoda / -st-om //
that I prophet-E god is-1s
56. wo / xoda / amir kard-a / bare ma /
and god order did-PF for me
57. ke / i but-aa / qabli-e parasteš / n-est //
that this idol-PL worthy-E worship NEG-is
58. bayad / šuma / ma-ra / parasteš kon-in /
must you I-RA worship do-2p
59. ke / ma / šuma-ra / hast kard-im //
that I you-RA create did-1p
60. asman o zamin-a / hast kard-im //
sky and earth-RA create did-1p
61. afta o sita-aa-ra / hast kard-im //
sun and star-PL-RA create did-1p
62. bayad / hama-gi / ma-ra / parasteš kon-an //
must all I-RA worship do-3p
63. i but-e / ke xud-e-tan / da dist-e-tan / talar me-kon-in /
this idol-E that self-E-you in hand-E-you construct ME-do-2p
64. wa / un-ja / mand-in //
and that-place leave -2p
65. mer-in //
go-2p
66. sajda me-kon-in //
bow down ME-do-2p
67. u-ra / ebadat me-kon-in //
that-RA worship ME-do-2p
68. i / qarat / ast //
this wrong is
69. pader-aa-e jad o kaka-e mohamad / i-ra / awal /
father-PL-E old and uncle-E Mohammed this-RA first
qabul na kard-an //
accept NEG did-3p

70. **tana kason-e ke / qabul kard //**
only people-E that accept did
71. **yak zan-e hazrat-e mohamad / hazrat-e xadija / nam dašt //**
one wife-E hazrat-E Mohammed hazrat-E Khadija name had
72. **./ / qabul kard //**
she accept did
73. **bad az hazrat-e xadija / az mard-aa-e bezurg-e qabila /**
after hazrat-E Khadija from person-PL-E important-E tribes
abu bakar sadiq / bud //
Abu Bakar Sadiq was
74. **xalif-e awal / bud //**
khalif-E first was
75. **./ / qabul kard //**
he accept did
76. **bad az u / az bača-aa-e xord ke / ast sola bača / bud //**
after that from boy-PL-E little that 8 years boy was
77. **hazrat-e ali karam allah / bud /**
hazrat-E Ali [term of respect] was
78. **ke / ./ / bača-e kaka-e piqambar / bud //**
that he son-E uncle-E prophet was
79. **./ / qabul kard //**
he accept did
80. **o / in-aa / amroi mohamad / raft-an /**
and this-PL with Mohammed went-3p
dar xon-e kaba-e but-aa-ra / kulda-ra //
in house-E rock-E idol-PL-RA all them-RA
81. **anuzi / qabila / xabar na dašt-an / eč kas //**
yet tribes information NEG had-3p no person
82. **kul-e but-aa-ra / šikastand o payan andoxť //**
all-E idol-PL-RA broke and down dropped
- 83a. **wa / elan kard /**
and announce did

83b. **ke / ma / *piḡambar-e xoda* / -st-om //**
 that I prophet-E god is-1s

83c. **ma / *az taraf-e xoda* / *amad-im* //**
 I from direction-E god came-1p

APPENDIX C

Translation of the Text

Text A:

In the old times Kabul was not like today. I think, in the center of Kabul was a fortress with turrets and rifle holes around it. Kabul had many great bazaars: Shar Bazaar, Darwaze Lauri Bazaar, Demazang, DeAfghana, Char Chata. These kinds of structures surrounded Kabul, with very large mud walls. In one old section, all the Hindus lived. They were named after the kings mentioned in history: Ratbil Shah, Zatbil Shah, Arat Shah, Zamburak Shah.

Text B:

At that time, Ratbil Shah was governing in Kabul. And in Arabia, the prophet of Islam, Mohammed, had died. After Mohammed, came the four khalifs of Rashid: Abu Bakar, Omar, Asman, Ali. And in their time, a lot of conquering occurred and they took many countries. Omar conquered Palestine up to Jerusalem and sections of Amman, Jordan. Then he returned.

The center of the khalifs was the city of Medina which is in Saudi Arabia. Later Mecca became the center because the Haram Mosque is in Mecca. It is outside this mosque that a black rock called Ajarl Aswad is situated. This rock fell to earth from heaven. Ebrahim wanted to build the mosque of Mecca with this rock. He took and lifted up the rock and said, "This rock God dropped from the

heaven to earth, and it is holy." He took and installed the rock in the wall of the House of the Rock. All the Muslims that came, touched the rock and paid respect because it had hit the hand of the prophet Ebrahim.

After Ebrahim, the Arab tribes all abandoned religion. They became infidels. They became idol worshippers. They had idols on the shelves of the House of the Rock. There were 360 tribes and each tribe had one idol; 360 idols were arranged on the shelves. The large idols had names: Laut, Malaut, Ozu. One of these was made of ruby with eyes of jade. This was such an expensive idol that the word was that we must worship it.

Mohammed was the son of Abdulla and the grandson of Abdul Motalib, the religious curator and guard of the House of the Rock. He had the key to the House of the Rock and was the authority. When his grandson, Mohammed, saw that they had abandoned God and were worshipping idols, he left. When he grew up and reached the age of forty, he claimed that he was the prophet of God, and God had instructed him that these idols were not worthy of worship: "You must worship me because I created you. I created the heaven and the earth. I created the sun and the stars. All of these must worship me. You construct idols with your own hands and, leaving them there, you go and bow down and worship them. This is wrong."

At first the ancestors and relatives of Mohammed did not accept this. Only some people accepted. One wife of Mohammed was named Khatija. She accepted. After Khatija, from the important people of the tribes, was Abu Bakar Sadiq. He accepted. From the young sons was an eight-year-old named Ali, the son of the uncle of

the prophet. He accepted. They all went with Mohammed to the House of Rock. Yet the tribes did not know--nobody knew. He threw down and broke the idols. And he announced, "I am the prophet of God. I come from God."

Text C:

"And this is the first verse that came to me from the holy Koran." [Arabic]

There are the four books of heaven. There is the Torah. There is the Bible which is from Jesus. The Old Testament is from David. The Koran is from Mohammed. These are the four books of heaven that came from God. Everyone believes in these books. All Muslims have faith in Moses, Jesus, David and Mohammed. They are the genuine prophets of God for religious direction.

The tribes themselves had become lost religiously. They saw that they must follow those that do the deeds of God. They should deliver as followers of God for the people. They should deliver the people from stealing, murder, gambling and drinking. Injuring people in this way must be prohibited. These decrees were delivered for the people through the prophet.

At that time the Arabs were uncivilized people. Mohammed came and told the Arabs not to kill their children because they thought it was bad to have daughters. They had pride so they killed their daughters when they were young. They gambled and lost their daughters in gambling. If they liked someone else's wife, they exchanged wives. They gave their wives to others. They took a beautiful wife from another. They were killing people. They were

robbing people. They took by force the property of the powerful. They took people's daughters by force. And the Arab people who were propertiless and poor sold their daughters.

Mohammed came. He said, "God has prohibited all of these things. It is a sin. You must not kill your daughters, sell your wives, gamble, or drink. You should be clean in body and appearance. You must make ablutions five times. You should go to the mosque, and inside the mosque you should pray. You should read the verse al Hamd. You should read the verse Eklas." Like I told you earlier, that was the very first verse that came to the prophet. Every Muslim knows these verses like we know them. In that verse is written [Arabic]. Translated, that means: in the name of the powerful God that created you from the waters and brought you into being and will take you out of being. There is no way except worship of the creator that has created the entire creations of the world. This was the edict or verse that came for the first time to the prophet. After that came the edict to pray.

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