

**TEXT DISCOURSE FEATURES IN SOUTHERN  
ZAZAKI (ÇERMİK/SİVEREK DIALECT)**

**- A Glance at some Folktales -**

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## **Abstract**

Zazaki, as a North-western Iranian language, reveals textual discourse features some of which are unique, while others follow in line with related Iranian languages. This text focuses on the textual discourse features of folktales. They offer both anthropologic and cognitive-linguistic insights. Following the principle of linguistic relativity (a weak version of Sapir-Whorf hypothesis) both provide further clarity on the worldview of this people group. The investigation of these discourse features follows the pragmatic model of Dooley and Levinson (2000). Of specific interest are the information structures and the flow of information in sentence articulation (Lambrecht 1998). In order to identify the features which build up a story line the relevance theory approach in textual discourse is used.

## Introduction – The Zaza, Zazaki and Text Discourse

The Zaza ethnicity originally inhabited the area of the Euphrates (tk. / Za. *Firat*) / Tigris (tk. / Za. *Dicle*) headwaters. This is reflected by the fact that the Euphrates is only addressed as *ro* ‘river’ by the Zaza people and not by its proper name. Boys are gladly given the Turkish name *Firat*; one has to consider that the naming of children in Zazaki was forbidden in the past<sup>1</sup>. Besides both huge rivers, the smaller *Murat*, *Peri*, and *Pülümür Çayı* are essential sources of water for the Zaza people during the hot, dry summers resulting from continental climate influences. Water holds a position of immense importance in daily life practices and rituals, reflected in the language by idioms, poems and even religious concepts. Estimations of the Zaza population range from two to five millions, whereas a realistic number would be around three to four millions.<sup>2</sup>

An Alevism practicing northern group lives in the area of Ovaçık, Tunceli, Varto, Elazığ, Pulemoriye, Erzincan and Harput. It is referred to as Northern Zaza, speaking *Northern Zazaki*. The eastern group is religiously split between Sunnism and a smaller Alevism practicing group. They are partially following the Hanafi and Shafi’i rite (Islamic school). The Eastern Zaza speak *Eastern Zazaki* and are located around the cities of Bingöl (*Çewlig*; *Çabaxçur*), Palu (*Palo*), Hani (*Henî*), Lice, and Ergani. Smaller Zaza exclaves are found in Muş and Kulp. The Southern Zaza group inhabits the Çüngüş, Çermik, Siverek (*Sewreg*) area. They follow the Islamic school of the Hanafî rite and their dialect is called *Southern Zazaki*. This group is often referred to as Dımılı / Dımili / Dimili / Dunbeli<sup>3</sup> (e.g. Todd 2002; Ethnologue *diq*). Other people groups surrounding them or still in the area are Turks, Kurmanji speakers and very few remaining Armenians. The close contact – in the case of the Armenians the former close contact – is reflected in mutual word loaning and cultural influences, although the

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<sup>1</sup> IHD Bericht 2002. *Türkischer Innenminister gründet Kommission “Gefährliche Namen”*. Türkischer Menschenrechtsverein. Online: URL: [http://www.nadir.org/nadir/periodika/kurdistan\\_report/2002/105/07.htm](http://www.nadir.org/nadir/periodika/kurdistan_report/2002/105/07.htm) [accessed 2012-02-29]. [Engl.: Report of IHD 2002. Turkish Minister of Interior establishes commission “Dangerous Names”. Turkish Association for Human Rights.].

<sup>2</sup> Due to political reasons (relocation, persecution, destruction) only half of the population is living nowadays in the welat ‘homeland area’. The big cities of Turkey in the East and West became settlement areas for the Zaza Diaspora. Of those families that remain in the welat ‘homeland’ the men mostly work as seasonal workers in distant large cities during the summer. Europe, mainly Germany, became the settlement area of the far-flung Diaspora. Smaller groups went to the US or to Australia. The breakthrough of public linguistic and cultural activity started during the 1980s with Ebubekir Pamukcu (the magazine *Ayre* 1984-1986; Çermik dialect) and later Malmisanij (magazine *vatê*; Palu dialect) in Stockholm. Whereas the former took a more cultural approach, viewing the Zaza as being an independent people, the latter emphasized the closeness of the Zaza to the “Kurds”, meaning the Kurmanji speaking people. This initial trigger moved into the foundation of an Alevism based Dersim Community Corporation (Dersim Dernekleri Federasyonu - DEDEF) all over Europe and in Turkey. The foundation and development of cultural associations, seminaries and courses of cultural and linguistic orientation became popular. As a many short- and long-term magazines started in the nineties (e.g. *Raştiye* 1991-1995 Paris; *Ware* 1992-2003 Germany; *Tija Sodiri* 1995-1998 Germany; *vatê* 1997- Stockholm / İstanbul). However, through this development the religious and dialectical split of the three main groups became more obvious, and an obstacle.

<sup>3</sup> There is a lot of discussion about this term. It is nowadays considered to be an exoterm, since the intern and extern tendency is to use “Zaza” as a common designation for the whole group to focus on the similarities and less on the differences. Todd, Terry L. [1985] 2002. *A Grammar of Dimili (also known as Zaza)*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Stockholm: Iremet Förlag. Online: URL: <http://www.forum-linguistik.de/Zaza-Dimli/page2.html> [accessed 2013-03-28].

origin of such practices is not always obvious (e.g. Gağan celebration; baptism rites; replacement of compound verbs turk. *etmek* with Za. *kerdiş* ‘to make’ etc.).

*Zazaki* (Ethnologue *zza*) belongs to the North-western Iranian languages and is supposed to form an identifiable language cluster together with *Gurani / Hewrami*. The affinity to other South Caspian Sea languages, like *Gilaki*, *Mazanderani*, *Talyshi*, *Semnani* and the *Sharmizadi* dialects suggests we can speak of a “South Caspian language belt”. However, such a theory leads to the often heard assumption that the origin of the Zaza people is from the south Caspian province called Deylemi. An escape from the Mongol Storms (11<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> century AD) led to an exodus and settlement in the Lake Van area, from which later on the Kurmanji speaking people pushed the Zaza people further west to its recent homeland. Such traditions are not undisputed. Another tradition claims the recent settlement area as the original one as an offshoot of the great emigration of the Celts along the Danube around 2,000 BC. Those assumptions are supported by the facts that a) the Zaza people do not have any tradition of nomadism, b) they know of a past influenced by Byzantine Christianity and c) the whole group split up from Zoroastrism into an Alevi and Sunni group around the 16<sup>th</sup> century. It seems that than an Islamic missionary intervention by Saudi Arabian Wahhabism-following sects started an intense (Re-) Islamization process in East Anatolia, which led to an uprise of Islamic education centres in the Zaza region. However, there is no written proof of that.

Western scholars like Lerch (1857-58; *Zazaki dialects*)<sup>4</sup>, Hadank (1932; *Zazaki dialects*)<sup>5</sup>, Terry Todd (1985/2002; *Southern dialect*), Ludwig Paul (1998; *Zazaki dialects*)<sup>6</sup>. Early works by Zaza scholars are written by Zülfü Selcan (1998; *Northern dialect*)<sup>7</sup>, Fahri Pamukçu (2001; *Southern dialect*)<sup>8</sup>, Gagan Çar (1997)<sup>9</sup> and Malmisanij (1983, 1984; *Eastern dialect*)<sup>10</sup>. Their research initially described the *Zazaki* language to the public. Today all more-or-less vivid languages in the realm of the Turkish nation are struggling with assimilation, language death and the standardization of their dialects in a written form. The most active group of *Zazaki* writers from the Northern dialect and some from the Southern are using an alphabet which was proposed by Jacobson (1993)<sup>11</sup> and tested in the 1990s with this group of

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<sup>4</sup> Lerch, Peter J. A. (1857-58). *Forschungen über die Kurden und die iranischen Nordchaldäer* (2 vols). St. Petersburg. Reprint (1979). Amsterdam: Academic Publishers Associated. (Translation as an edited Russian issue under the pseudonym Petr Ivanovich Lerch [1856-1858]. *Isledovanija ob Iranskix Kurdax i ix predkax severnyx Xaldejax*. (3 vols.). St. Petersburg: I. Glazlinov. 1856-58.). Online: URL: [http://books.google.de/books/about/Forschungen\\_über\\_die\\_Kurden\\_und\\_die\\_ira.html?hl&id=6IE-AAAACAAJ](http://books.google.de/books/about/Forschungen_über_die_Kurden_und_die_ira.html?hl&id=6IE-AAAACAAJ) [accessed 2013-04-30]. [Engl.: Research on the Kurds and the Iranian Northchaldeans].

<sup>5</sup> Hadank, Karl 1932. *Mundarten der Zaza, hauptsächlich aus Siwerek und Kor*. Berlin: Verlag der preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Kommission bei Walter de Gruyter & Co. (Series: Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen, Abt. III, Band IV, ed. durch Mann, Oskar). [Engl.: Vernaculars of the Zaza, mainly from Siwerek and Kor.].

<sup>6</sup> Paul, Ludwig 1998. *Zazaki: Grammatik und Versuch einer Dialektologie*. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert. [Engl.: *Zazaki: Grammar and Attempt towards a Dialectology*.].

<sup>7</sup> Selcan, Zülfü 1998. *Grammatik der Zaza-Sprache – Nord-Dialekt (Dersim-Dialekt)*. Berlin: Wissenschaft & Technik. [Engl.: *Grammar of the Zaza Language – Northern Dialect (Dersim-Dialect)*.].

<sup>8</sup> Pamukçu, Fahri 2001. *Giramerê Zazaki - Züwanrêznayi*. [Zazaki Grammar.]. İstanbul: Vêjyayîşê Tiji / Tij Yayınları.

<sup>9</sup> Çar, Gagan 1997. *Zarathuş ra: Vendidad*. Stockholm: Zaza Förlag.

<sup>10</sup> Malmisanij 1983. Le verbe composé dans le dialecte dumilî (Dimilkî de lêkerê hevduđanî). *Hêvî: Revue Culturelle Kurde* (Paris) 1, 67-82. Malmisanij 1984. Variantes dialectales en dumilî (Dimilkî miyan di cîyayeya vatisan). *Hêvî: Revue Culturelle Kurde* (Paris) 2, 86-103.

<sup>11</sup> Jacobson, C. M. [1993] 1999. *Zazaca Okuma-Yazma El Kitabı*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. İstanbul: Vêjyayîşê Tiji/Tij Yayınları. [Engl.: *Writing and Reading Manual for Zazaki*.]. Includes a proposal of orthography: Northern dialect p. 64-65, Southern dialect p.

writers. Alternatively the *vatê* group, very actively publishing around Malmisanj uses the Kurmanji alphabet proposed by Bedir Khan (~1931)<sup>12</sup>. The deeper issue with these two alphabets and writers groups is a political division between those Zaza who understand themselves culturally and linguistically as independent from the larger Kurmanji speaking group (~12-16 millions), and those using the Kurmanji alphabet work towards a unified “Kurdish” movement. The latter claims Zazaki as a dialect of either Kurmanji or “Kurdish”. Linguistically Zazaki is defined as a language on its own; ethnically the issue is more complicated. It has to be emphasized that the term “Kurdish” is ethnologically coined.<sup>13</sup> It is mainly used for all people groups or “mountaineers” of the Tauros, Zagros, and Elbourtz mountain ranges (see footnote **Fehler! Textmarke nicht definiert.**)<sup>14</sup> We are now leaving the linguistical and cultural level and lean towards the topic of *text discourse*.

Paltridge offers a helpful definition of *discourse* research. He calls it the analysis that “focuses on knowledge about language beyond the word, clause, phrase and sentence that is needed for successful communication.” (2006:2).<sup>15</sup> He writes further about the focus point of discourse, “it looks at patterns of language across texts and considers the relationship between language and the social and cultural contexts in which it is used.” (ibid.). On this basis the discourse researcher examines the relationships between participants and the effects the use of language has upon social identities and relations. In addition to that the construction of conceptions of the world, and identities, are considered in text discourse. The foundational idea was about the analysis of the connection of speech and writing, by looking at the distribution of language features throughout texts and the ways in which they are combined in different styles of texts. So to speak, we look at a metatextual structure within the given text(s) structure(s) that symbolises the information flow. Because text discourse is going beyond the word level it leaves the spheres of semiotics and semantics. The meaningful components of textual environments receive attention by looking at text-*internal* and *intertextual* features. Discourse analysis examines both spoken and written texts (ibid.). Spoken discourse contains much more repetition,

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124-125.

<sup>12</sup> Khan, Emir Djeladet & Lescot, Roger 1986. *Kurdische Grammatik - Kurmanci Dialekt*. Bonn: Verlag für Kultur und Wissenschaft. [Engl.: *Kurdish Grammar – Kurmanci Dialect*.]

<sup>13</sup> For the “Kurds” in general (including the Zaza) see Bruinessen, Martin M. van 2013. *Kurds and the City*, in Bozarslan, Hamit & Scalbert-Yücel, Clémence (eds.): *Joyce Blau, l'éternelle chez les Kurdes*, 273-295. Paris: Institut Kurde de Paris. For the Zaza people only see Gündüzkanat, Kahraman 1997. *Die Rolle des Bildungswesens beim Demokratisierungsprozess in der Türkei unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Dimli (Kirmanc-, Zaza-) Ethnizität*. Münster: LIT. [Engl.: *The role of education in the process of democratization in Turkey with particular regard to the Dimli (Kirmanc-, Zaza-) ethnicity*. Münster: LIT.].

<sup>14</sup> Certainly there are many similarities between Kurmanji speakers and the Zaza, such as traditions (e.g. folktales), social settings (e.g. cem/ cemat meetings), religious orientation (e.g. Alevism, Sunnism and Sufism) and historical settings (joint uprisings and political interventions). Both people groups can also rely on a long tradition of city life and urbanization, as well as common Islamic education in the central *medrese* institutions (e.g. *Hani, Diyarbakır – Amet, Bagdad – Bağdad*, Cairo etc.). However, there are essential differences too. Some of the Zaza groups know about a peasantry with semi-nomadic summer pasture animal husbandry, but nothing about nomadism as such. Not a few of the Kurmanji speaking small scale societies are aware of a nomadic past and still practice nomadism. Holidays (e.g. *Newroz* vs. *Kormışkan*; forty day vs. eight day feasting; etc.), tribal and social structures (e.g. *Mir* kingdoms in the Kurmanji speaking group vs. Sheikdom and Aghadom within the Zaza), and Sufism orientation (e.g. Naqshebandi, Mevlana, Bektashi, Nur etc.) differentiate both people groups.

<sup>15</sup> Paltridge, Brian 2006. *Discourse Analysis: An Introduction*. New York: Continuum.

hesitation and redundancy, as well as pauses and fillers (:18). This has not to be seen as a straight difference but more in a continuum, because some written text uses speech in literal form (e.g. novels, comics etc.). Also spoken discourse assumes more implicit mutual encyclopaedic knowledge, whereas written text is more explicit.<sup>16</sup> E-mail, texting or other electronic communication is in between. As a side note discourse is embedded in communication theory, so the theoretical foundation of text discourse analysis relates hereto. I will take the dynamic-equivalence<sup>17</sup> and the relevance theoretical (footnote 16) approaches into consideration here. This choice seems productive because both theories span a continuum from a negative to a positive description of communication. Dynamic equivalence is built on the assumption that communication always needs correction because *noise* – that is negative influence from outside – has to be filtered out. The theory of dynamic equivalence stands for those translation approaches that are based on the model of communication from Information Technology (IT theory) introduced by Shannon/Weaver 1949<sup>18</sup>. In contrast relevance theory as a cognitive linguistic approach presupposes that a speaker is filtering out eventual hindrances before the communication act. There remains the pure ostensive-inferential nature of communication which expects a mutual encyclopaedic knowledge. The responsibility to “successful” communication goes with the speaker, who enriches his communication with everything that the hearer needs to receive the whole information (Sperber & Wilson 1995:125; see also footnote 16). Following Dooley and Levinsohn (2000:56-62<sup>19</sup>) *text discourse* hovers around

- identifiability - the hearer must be able to identify the various referents mentioned in discourse and disambiguate them from each other,
- referential systems which should be able to signal the cognitive activation status of a particular referent,
- the flow of information, whereas reference systems must be able to aid the hearer in processing information, especially at points of disruption or discontinuity.

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<sup>16</sup> Sperber and Wilson are dealing with that in their relevance-theoretic approach. Gutt summed relevance theory up as: “The central claim of relevance theory is that human communication crucially creates an expectation of optimal relevance, that is, an expectation on the part of the hearer that his attempt at interpretation will yield *adequate* contextual effects at *minimal* processing cost.” [emphasis in Orig. EW.]. In Gutt, Ernst-August 1991. *Translation and Relevance: Cognition and Context*. Oxford: Blackwell, p. 30. As in the original: First “... an assumption is relevant in a context to the extent that its contextual effects in this context are large” and second, “an assumption is relevant in a context to the extent that the effort required to process it in this context is small.” In Sperber, Dan & Wilson, Deidre [1986] 1995. *Relevance, Communication and Cognition*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Oxford: Blackwell, 125. The successful and positive view of communication in Relevance Theory is considered a paradigm shift in communication theory.

<sup>17</sup> The four basic principles of dynamic equivalence (Nida 1961; Nida & Taber 1969) are outlined in Nichols (1996:44): “1. Contextual consistency has priority over verbal consistency (or word-for-word concordance). 2. Dynamic equivalence has priority over formal correspondence. 3. The aural form of the language has priority over the written form. 4. Forms that are used by and acceptable to the audience for which a translation is intended have priority over forms that may traditionally be more prestigious.” In Nichols, Anthony Howard 1996. *Translating the Bible: A Critical Analysis of E. A. Nidas theory of Dynamic Equivalence and its Impact upon Recent Bible Translations*. London: The British Library.

<sup>18</sup> Shannon, Claude L. & Weaver, Warren 1949. *The Mathematical Theory of Communication*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

<sup>19</sup> Dooley, Robert A. & Levinsohn, Stephen H. 2000. *Analyzing Discourse: A Manual of Basic Concepts*. Dallas: SIL International.

Text discourse is a relatively recent discipline which is based on a lot of Western Latin-grammar influence. It is to be expected that other approaches to grammatical description will rise in the future.

Ong divides *orality* in primary and secondary oral cultures (2002:8, 34).<sup>20</sup> The Zaza people belong to both. There is still the older generation which is illiterate and depends on oral-aural communication thus primary oral. The younger people hear their mother tongue only from the environment (parents, friends, public places), but do not write it, due to the repressive national language education.

This paper is meant to be a comparative study to further research. The Southern Zazaki material is mainly from Rosan Hayıg's folktale book *Mahmeşa*<sup>21</sup>. I will refer to this book without the author and publishing date. The text discursive research is based on a study on Southern Zazaki discourse from 2007 by Werner and Werner.<sup>22</sup> I will also rely on a study of text discourse in Northern Zazaki Dersim dialect (Crandall 2002).<sup>23</sup> Other books in Zazaki are also taken into account, as well as a paper on text discourse in Gilaki (dialect of *Rasht* and environs)<sup>24</sup> and some Farsi<sup>25</sup> narratives. General remarks on Zazaki folktales, oral-aural traditions and narratives are necessary. I need to emphasize that my observations are out of my ethnocentric Western conception of the world, although I tried over many years to keep a diary and ethnographic study to dig into the cultural idiosyncrasies of the Zaza people.<sup>26</sup> There are similar concepts in Zaza folktales and Western ones: the topics of an evil stepmother (e.g. *Elicanek u Warda Xoya* [Elicanek and his sister]:3-7), an evil leader (*Lazê Axay* [Son of the agha]:26-32), giants and supernatural powers (e.g. *Gorma'hmed*:8-14) and another world or the underworld (e.g. *Keçel Ahmed* [Bold Ahmed]:21-25). In comparison to western *folktales* women are *never* given proper names but mainly referred to by their role (e.g. *wa* 'sister', *ma* 'mother', *dapir* 'grandmother/old women'). The hero is mainly led through the story line without showing specific intellect or cleverness. Following the Zaza folktales, cleverness as such is expressed more in facing the challenge bravely and with strength and less in solving problems as in Western traditions (e.g. *Keçel Ahmed*:21-25, the hero kills a giant without going into further detail). As always these remarks reflect tendencies and no absolutes.

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<sup>20</sup> Ong, Walter J. [1982] 2002. *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. London: Routledge.

<sup>21</sup> Hayıg, Rosan 2007. *Mahmeşa: Vizêr ra Ewro İstanikê Zazayan – Mahmescha: Zaza Volksmärchen von Damals und Heute – Mahmescha: Zaza Folktales: Then and Now*. İstanbul: Vêjyayîşê Tiji/Tij Yayınları.

<sup>22</sup> Werner, Brigitte & Werner, Eberhard 2007. Outline of Narrative Discourse Features in Dimli / Southern Zazaki. Work Paper. Holzhausen: SIL International / European training program (etp). [unpublished].

<sup>23</sup> Crandall, Marie 2002. Discourse Structures in Zazaki Narrative. MA Thesis. Mainz: Johannes Gutenberg-Universität. [unpublished]. [Northern Zazaki Dersim dialect].

<sup>24</sup> Lockwood, Ron & Nabhani, Ali 2007. Outline of Narrative Discourse features in Gilaki. Work Paper. Holzhausen: SIL International. [unpublished].

<sup>25</sup> The reference to Farsi grammar is taken from: Alavi, Bozorg & Lorenz, Manfred [1967] 2003. *Langenscheidts Praktisches Lehrbuch Persisch: Ein Standardwerk für Anfänger*. Berlin: Langenscheidt. [Engl.: Langenscheidts Practical textbook Persian: A standard reference for beginners.].

<sup>26</sup> Werner, Eberhard 2005. Questionnaire on the Practices and Rituals in Zaza culture with 15 participants, including a research of Zazaki literature. Based on an anthropological questionnaire. Holzhausen: SIL International. [unpublished].

## Text discourse features in Southern Zazaki

This study is focussing on a general overview of text discourse features in Southern Zazaki. Due to that focus deeper insight studies on specific issues need to be postponed. As mentioned in the abstract, such an overview demonstrates general characteristics that are either shared with other Iranian languages or those that are unique to Southern Zazaki.

It has to be mentioned that a Zazaki speaker in his oral presentation stresses non-story elements by low intonation to increase the tension of the hearer. In written texts this is mainly expressed by dislocation, highlighting, and back- and foregrounding through relative clauses and similar clause constituents. The stylistic technical implementation of intonation in written form leads to text discourse features which are often skipped by authors because the disruption of the story line is felt to be “unprofessional”. The Western ideal of a linear and straight (stringent) presentation of thoughts is one of the challenges to the increasing market of Zazaki publications.

The main event or story line is expressed by verbs in the present tense. The “events located on the main event line in Zazaki folktales are understood as occurring prior to the moment of speaking” (Crandall 2002:35). This *narrative* or *historical present* makes a “narrative dramatic or vivid” (ibid.). The change to another tense is another stylistic form to disrupt the story line and present supportive material. All of these stylistic features are mentioned to bring the audience on the same cognitive level as the speaker (Unger 2009:2).<sup>27</sup> It is in the utterance, produced by the speaker / writer, to include such supportive material aside the main event line. The information flow in narratives is thus not interrupted but enriched through cognitive help to come to a full understanding of the textual content and context.

Generally the setting is presented right at the *onset* of a *folktale* or at the beginning of the main event line. Often the participants are initially introduced after an introductory sentence. In Southern Zazaki this is *cakê beno, cakê nêbeno* ‘there was a place, wasn’t it’ (:37, 45, 50, etc.), *wextê di, ...* ‘one time’ (:54, 66, etc.). In Northern Zazaki it is *waxtê waxta de* ‘time, a time’ and *zomonê* ‘a time’ (Crandall 2002:41). Southern Zazaki folktales are often closed with a final tail end: *Istanika muna weş, 'hewt koya pey di bi ze leş*. ‘Here is my charming tale; it has turned into a carcass behind seven mountain ranges’ (:20, 44 etc.).<sup>28</sup>

Zazaki *folktales* are distinct from personal narratives in style because they represent a long history of being passed down from one generation to another.<sup>29</sup> Due to oral communication, central scenes and phrases are stored and became fixed elements in the narrative, but peripheral information underwent changes due to language and cultural shift.<sup>30</sup> The main lessons in Zazaki folktales are about

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<sup>27</sup> Unger, Christoph 2009. Exploring the borderline between procedural encoding and pragmatic inference. Working paper. SIL International and Johannes-Gutenberg-Universität Mainz. [unpublished].

<sup>28</sup> This corresponds with English: “- and they all lived happily even after.” or German: “Und wenn sie nicht gestorben sind, so leben sie noch heute.” [Engl.: “And if they did not die, they still live.”].

<sup>29</sup> Modifications, change in style, new wordings, and even a mix with other fiction are oral-aural developments which could be found universally and thus in Zazaki folktales. Folktales in general are meant to teach a lesson on ethical or moral values to transport cultural identity.

<sup>30</sup> Although no folktale, the “poem of the Prophets birthday” called *Mewlid* is a good example of oral-aural fictional tradition. Its recent six main versions demonstrate the oral variations that developed within half a century (Lezgin, Roşan 2011. *Mewlidê Ehmedê Xasî*. Online: URL: <http://www.zazaki.net/haber/mewlid-neb-y-ehmed-xas-57.htm>. [accessed 2013-05-

family cohesion, hospitality, and the delimitation of social areas. These include the sacred vs. profane, the private vs. public, prestige vs. shame, *helal* ‘pure’ (ritually clean) vs. *haram* ‘impure’ (ritually defiled). The framework for such ethical coding comes from a strong shame or defilement orientation of collective societies such as the Zaza ethnicity (Werner 2011).<sup>31</sup>

## Narrative Structure

The narrative structure of Southern Zazaki folktales is well presented in the general paradigm of a) introduction / orientation, b) climax / evaluation, c) resolution and final stage / coda. All of the folktales and narratives follow this pattern. Sometimes two or more climaxes twist the story line. E.g. in *Lazê Axay* [Son of the Agha] the hero goes through four climaxes (section II – V: 27-31) that are framed by the introduction (:26 and section I:26-27) and the coda (section VI:31-32). The resolution (coda) is about reunification of father and son, thus family cohesion (ibid.). Such morals are often packed into an adventurous life experience of the hero.

## Order of Constituents in Clause

Southern Zazaki follows in transitive sentences with verbal predicate the general constituent order of Iranian languages which is S-O-V (Todd 2002:22-24).<sup>32</sup> The intransitive case follows the general S-V pattern or when there is a location or destination S-V-Complement/O. In this Gilaki (and Farsi) offer the same constituent paradigm as Southern Zazaki (Lockwood & Nabhani 2007:1-2).<sup>33</sup>

*Table 1 Constituent Order - Axayo, Axay niyo? (2007:65)*

S	O	V
ceniyeka c1 they 'His wife opens the door.'	kêveri door-obl	akena, open-PRES-3SF

The ditransitive case in Southern Zazaki is S-O-V-Goal or S-IO-O-V (Werner & Werner 2007:7), whereas Gilaki and Farsi follow a S-O-IO-V pattern (Lockwood & Nabhani 2007:1; below; Alavi & Lorenz 2003:68).

19].).

<sup>31</sup> Werner, Eberhard 2011. The Struggle for Identity: Cognitive Anthropology: Aspects of the Zaza Worldview. Power Point Presentation and Paper presented at the 15<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the publication Iran and the Caucasus. Leiden: Brill. [unpublished].

<sup>32</sup> Csirmaz, Aniko & Ceplová, Markéta 2004. Other Options without Optionality, in Kenstowicz, Michael (ed.): *Studies in Zazaki Grammar. Working Papers on Endangered and Less Familiar Languages* 6, 11-30. Cambridge: MIT. Greenberg (1963) defined three main constituent orders: VSO, SVO, SOV.

<sup>33</sup> Payne criticized the Latin-grammar based Western-centric linguistic perception of subject and object distinction which would not fit for many languages. He suggests an agent (A) “most agent like argument of a transitive clause”, subject (S) “only argument of an intransitive clause” and absolutive (P) “least agent-like argument of a transitive clause” (1997:74-75). However, he also calls the APV/SV and AVP/SV cluster universals as with Southern Zazaki. Payne, Thomas E. 1997. *Describing Morphosyntax: A Guide for Field Linguists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Table 2 Ditransitive Case - Lockwood & Nabhani (2007:1)

S	IO	O	V
wihêrê keyi the host 'The host brings tea to them.'	ninarê them-to	çay tea	ano, brings.

S	O	IO	V
mi doxtær æmu ... 1.Sg.Gen cousin(f) ... 'My cousin delivers these newspapers to the people.'	æ ruznameye this newspaper -Acc	be dæste mærdom ... to hand -Gen people ...	færæsæne reach.Pres -3.Sg

Alavi and Lorenz describe the constituent order in Farsi as flexible, whereas the predicate is always at the end of the sentence (2003:68-69). However, the general order above can be assumed.

Table 3 Flexible Constituent Order in Farsi

S	O	IO	V
Mo'allem the teacher 'The teacher gave me the money.'	pul-râ money	be-man to me	dâd. gave-3.Sg

To emphasize a constituent of a clause it can be put in front, a stylistic technique called fronting (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:36; Walter 2004:104<sup>34</sup>).

### Marked order of Constituents

The intertextual structure in text discourse is signalled by the marked order of clause constituents. Pre- and post-posed elements lead the hearer / reader in his cognitive processing of an utterance and the inner cohesion of utterances or a text.<sup>35</sup> The speaker offers new information only based on text-discursive features that can be processed by the hearer. In Southern Zazaki *pre-posed* elements are often subject complements to emphasize and lead the focus of the hearer and are less part of the narrative information flow (:65). The following example shows a complementary subject. The genre of narratives, specifically folktales tends to emphasize the agent quite often (about genre in general see Dooley & Levinsohn 2000:4).

Table 4 Constituent Order - Axayo, Axay niyo? (2007:65)

S.comp	S
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<sup>34</sup> Van Valin & LaPolla call this "preoccur slot", but describe it also as an emphasizing tool. Walter describes it for Zazaki. Van Valin, R. D., jr. & LaPolla, Randy 1997. *Syntax: Structure, meaning and function*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Walter, Mary Ann 2004. Loan Adaptation in Zazaki, in Kenstowicz, Michael (ed.): *Studies in Zazaki Grammar. Working Papers on Endangered and Less Familiar Languages* 6, 97-106. Cambridge: MIT.

<sup>35</sup> Lenneberg states that these cognitive processes being "characterized as the ability to make a similar response to different stimulus situations within given limits" (1971:555). The cognitive process rests on the individual's capacity to recognize common denominators or similarities in texts. In Lenneberg, Erich H. 1971. Language and cognition, in Steinberg, Danny D. & Jakobovits, Leon A. (eds.): *Semantics: An Interdisciplinary Reader in Philosophy, Linguistics and Psychology*, 536-557. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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axa	ez-a
agha	I-am
'The agha, surely am I.'	
werdê ê kutika zi	es'teyê.
food-of those dogs also	bones-are
'Food for dog are (indeed) bones.'	

Lockwood and Nabhani give an example of a pre-posed subject and object in Gilaki (2007:2-3). Post-posed elements are rare in written Southern Zazaki texts but very common in oral traditions or speech. Due to comprehensibility and a fluent flow of information writers delete post-posed elements. However, the example given below shows a locative adjunct, other examples are given by adverbs of manner (Werner & Werner 2007:3).

*Table 5 Constituent Order - Axayo, Axay niyo? (2007:65)*

<b>S</b>	<b>S.comp-Cop</b>	<b>LocAd</b>
ê	ç1 kutikiyê,	zerre d1.
they	what dogs-are	inside in
'They, inside the house, are just dogs [the two men].'		

In story telling (oral-aural presentation) post-posed elements are slightly accentuated. Low intonation is thus another hint to the narrative function of this text discursive characteristic (see above).

Another feature to lead the reader /hearer in a specific direction is given by violating the principle of information flow. In such cases non-established information precedes the established information; this will be called *marked* word order for emphatic prominence (Roberts 2003:13). For instance in the story *Axayo Axay niyo?* [Is there an agha or not?] three guests, here as IO ('them') are prominent throughout the whole unit. The calf, although mentioned in the opening (setting), was not yet activated in this unit. Now, bringing the calf into focus by placing the phrase *na naleka xo* 'this, our calf' in the context given, implies the assumption that this is a very important object. This should be made explicit in translation (here "beloved" calf / German: "wertvolles" Kalb).

*Table 6 Interrupting information flow - Axayo, Axay niyo? (2007:65)*

<b>S</b>	<b>O</b>	<b>IO</b>	<b>V</b>
ma	na naleka xo	cirê	bibirrim.
we	this calf-of refl	to-them	slaughter
'We will slaughter for them our (beloved) calf.'			

### Dislocated Constituents

Dislocation manifests an interruption of the story line to present supportive material. It is suggested that left-dislocation supports the hearer / reader with pre-information and preliminary considerations, whereas right-dislocation functions as afterthought and repair (Givón 1990:761<sup>36</sup>). However, such

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<sup>36</sup> Givón, Talmy 1990. *Syntax: A Functional-Typological Introduction*. 2 vols. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

assumptions are not unchallenged; Lambrecht speaks of right-dislocation as an antitopic construction to put the propositional information on hold (Lambrecht 1998:203)<sup>37</sup>. Payne summarizes the issue based on practical and text discursive reasons,

sometimes dislocation is referred to as **extraposition**. Left-dislocation is sometimes referred to as **preposing** and right-dislocation as **postposing** (not to be mixed with marked order above). The term **topicalization** refers to left-dislocation in the tradition of generative grammar and other autonomous approaches to syntax. Right-dislocation is sometimes referred to as **afterthought topicalization**. [emphasis in original. EW.] (Payne 1997:273).

These structural and functional segments are well presented in the Southern Zazaki folktales. In Northern Zazaki Crandall offers examples of right-dislocation as an afterthought (2002:79). Preceding the right-dislocation is always a pause which leads the detached item into lower pitch (see above).

*Table 7 Right Dislocation - Crandall (2002:79)*

R-disloc; <i>subject</i>	S	S.comp	V	
... bese ken-o	wuza de	biman-o	o	ostor
able do –pres-3ms	there at	remain-subj-3s	that	stallion
‘... he can remain there, that horse.’				

Dislocation is referent oriented, which means that it helps the audience to clearly identify the referent. Hayig has no right-dislocation. In the Southern Zazaki folktales left dislocation occurs quite often, as it does in the Northern Zazaki folktales (Crandall 2002:76-77). First a subject left-dislocation in *Kirtleme niyo*, *Zirtlemeyo* [Not Kirtleme, its zirtleme!] and second in *Axayo*, *Axay niyo?* an object left-dislocation is presented (Werner & Werner 2007:11-12).

*Table 8 Left Dislocation - Kirtleme niyo, Zirtlemeyo (:66)*

L-disloc; <i>subject</i>	S	S.comp	V
no çiyô kî tiyê kenê,	no	kirtleme	niyo
this thing, rel you-are doing	this	kirtleme.style	is-not
‘The stuff which you are doing, this isn’t kirtleme at all.’			

*Table 9 Left-Dislocation - Axayo, Axay niyo? (:65)*

L-disloc; <i>object</i>	S	Opostp	O	V
iniyo kî kesi keno kavır,	no	ê inî ra	aw	şimeno
well rel someone do lamb	he	that well from	water	drinks
‘The well who transforms into a lamb, he drinks from that well.’				

Lockwood and Nabhani made a distinct observation in Gilaki. They did not find any left-dislocation but right-dislocation in their data (2007:3), presenting an afterthought as clarification.

<sup>37</sup> Lambrecht, Knud [1994] 1998. *Information structure and sentence form: Topic, focus and the mental representations of discourse referents*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Table 10 Right Dislocation - Lockwood & Nabhani (2007:3)

R-disloc; object Acc/Dat	V Pres -2/3.Pl	O - Gen	Adj
rægzæniye	æværidi	rægzæne	varediye
phlebotomist	bring	phlebotomist	skilled
'(They) bring a phlebotomist, a skilled phlebotomist.'			

### Relative Clause

All clauses in a discourse can be partitioned into main clauses (the ones on the central string), subordinate (adverbial) clauses, and relative clauses (both restrictive and non-restrictive). Relative clauses are the main vehicle of transporting supportive material beside the main event line. In Farsi Roberts identifies the *restrictive* and *non-restrictive* relative clause distinguished by a morphological feature (2003:24). In Zazaki all relative clauses are identified as restrictive or identifying. In contrast Gilaki offers examples of restrictive and non-restrictive relative clause (Lockwood & Nabhani 2007:4).<sup>38</sup> The particle *ki*, in Gilaki *ki* (Lockwood and Nabhani 2007:4) and in Farsi *ke* (Alavi & Lorenz 2003:109) functions as introducer and complementizer of subordinate clauses, the relative clause being one of them (Werner & Werner 2007:12). In Southern Zazaki two fixed expressions are often sentence-initially, they are based on a relative construction (:13): *Si'hata ki* 'hour that', meaning 'at the time when' and *wexto ki* 'time that', meaning 'at the time when'. Left-dislocation is also found in plenty – although not only – in regard to relative clauses (ibid.; below an extract).

Table 11 Left Dislocation in Relative Clause - 'Elicanek u Warda Xoya (:5)

S	Intr.	O	VP
iniyo	k1	kesi	keno kavır,
the fountain-EZdesc	Rel	someone-obl	makes [to] lamb
'The fountain, which transforms you into a lamb, ...'			

Table 12 Left Dislocation in Relative Clause - Kirtleme niyo, Zirtlemeyo (:66-67)

O	Intr.	S	V
no çiy-o	k1	tiy-	-yê kenê,
this thing-EZdesc	Rel	you	are-doing
'The stuff that you are doing, ...'			

This would be a good place to step back and look at the cognitive linguistical relevance of clause structures. Dooley defines the relationship between Relevance Theory on pragmatic functionalism. Relevance Theory “focuses on the relationship between meaning and context, both text-external and text-internal context (the latter is sometimes called ‘co-text’)” and discourse analysis adds structure to this correlation (2009:3).<sup>39</sup> However, it would be fair to say that Relevance Theory also deals with the

<sup>38</sup> Levinsohn argues that non-restrictive relative clauses are “tend to be found only in certain groups of languages” (2006:24). In Levinsohn, Stephen 2006. Checking Translations for Discourse Features. Dallas: GIAL. JoT 2/2, 23-29. Online: URL: <http://www.sil.org/siljot/2006/2/48005/siljot2006-2-03.pdf> [accessed 2013-04-14].

<sup>39</sup> Dooley, Robert A. 2009. *Relevance Theory and Discourse Analysis: Complementary Approaches for Translator Training*. Dallas: GIAL. Online: URL: <http://www.gial.edu/GIALens/vol2-3/Dooley-Relevance-theory.pdf> [accessed 2013-04-14].

lower-level grammatical issues like – but not only – relative clauses, because they are important to build up a pool of mutual knowledge between the communicators. Through such supportive material the inner cohesion of a text is essentially put forward regarding the referent. Blass views textual cohesion as a superficial symptom of *coherence relations*. Coherence relations “are merely a superficial indication of something deeper, which itself is the key to textuality”. (Blass 1990:19)<sup>40</sup>. Although this *inter-textuality* is in focus of both Relevance Theory and discourse analysis, Relevance Theory is more – not only – interested in the inner consistency of communication expressed in speech and texts, than in the lower-level grammatical features on the word or clause level. An “effective vertical intertextuality” is focused on clarity of intention (text matter), governance of mode (genre) and a commitment to the cause (discourse; Hatim & Munday 2004:87).<sup>41</sup> Therefore relative clauses are necessary to transport background information along the main story line in the main clause.

### Information Structure

Information structure asks about information which is added to the given one. In such the flow of information is an important issue to information structure. In semantics the question is *what* is added, whereas in discourse analysis the pragmatic structure of *where* information is added and *how* it relates to what is already there. (Dooley & Levinsohn 2000:31; addressed in footnote 19). The relation of additional to given information is expressed in *sentence articulation*, *point of departures*, *tail-head linkage*, *foreground information* and supportive *backgrounding*, as well as *highlighting* and *marked prominence*. These text discourse features are of interest now.

### Sentence Articulation

The focus now is on the questions, “how is the topic continued” and “how is the focus of the sentence handled”? In text discourse we are looking at:

- a) the *topic-comment* or *predicate* focus,
- b) the *identificational-comment* or *argument* focus, and
- c) the *thetic* comment or *sentence* focus.<sup>42</sup>

The latter is based on the *thetic* comment that is an easy statement, or an event reporting (What happened?), or a presentational statement (something is there). Topic is the entity that the utterance is primarily about (Dik 1978:130).<sup>43</sup> Comment is the focus, depending on the context of an utterance. Focus and topic are examples of *pragmatic roles* (Comrie 1989:62)<sup>44</sup>, named in analogy to semantic roles such as agent and patient. In analogy to grammatical relations they are also called *pragmatic functions* (Dik 1978:128) or *pragmatic relations*.

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<sup>40</sup> Blass, Regina 1990. *Relevance Relations in Discourse: A Study with Special Reference to Sissala*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>41</sup> Hatim, Basil & Munday, Jeremy 2004. *Translation: An advanced resource book*. New York: Routledge.

<sup>42</sup> Another linguistic school, the Prager functionalist, calls this the *Thema-Rhema Gliederung* [Engl.: theme-rheme division]. Whereas the theme is the known, the rheme is the new information referring to the theme. In the English speaking world this approach became popular as the topic-comment sentence articulation.

<sup>43</sup> Dik, Simon 1978. *Functional Grammar*. Amsterdam: North-Holland.

<sup>44</sup> Comrie, Bernard [1981] 1989. *Language universals and linguistic Typology*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Chicago: University of Chicago.

In Zazaki *topic* always precedes the *comment*, and it is thus following a universal pattern of most S-O-V languages (Dooley & Levinsohn 2000:32). The unknown or new information given in the comment (rheme) is in reference to the topic and moves the audience a step further. It thus feeds the cognitive demand of the audience to progress the story. In many cases the additional comment is important to the speaker to bring his audience on the same cognitive level of mutual knowledge and understanding during the development of the main story line.

We see in the story *Axayo, Axay niyo?* [There is an agha, isn't it] (:65; A, 3a) that the participants were introduced as major actors in the setting. The pronoun *nina* “their” and the noun *kêverê* “door” in the phrase *kêverê nina* ‘their door’ refer back to the introduced participants (*zew mêrdekê beno, çeniya cı bena* ‘was a man, and his wife’; *ibid.*). The comment is built up by the new information referring to the topic (here *nina* ‘their’ the couple) through the verb *koyeno* ‘(it) is knocked’ (3ms-Pres). The whole construction means ‘*their door is knocked on*’. In A, 3b) the “wife” is introduced, but because of the *background-insertion* in A, 2 she is re-introduced here. Opening the door is her action – thus a comment on her. In A, 3c) the Verb *weynena* ‘(she) sees’ refers to her as comment. A, 3d) functions as subordinate clause to A, 3a-c (Werner & Werner 2007:18).

Table 13 Topic-comment - *Axayo, Axay niyo?* (:65)

A,3a	Rozê one.day	kêverê door-EZ	nina their(near)	koyeno, is.knocked	T/C	
	‘One day it is knocked on their door,’					
A,3b		çeniyeka cı wife-EZ his	kêveri door-OBL	akena, opens	T/C	
	‘his wife opens the door,’					
A,3c		[--]		weynena Sees	T/C	
	‘(she) sees’					
A,3d	k1 thatCOMPL	hire three	camêrdi {...} men	saziyê cı guitar-EZ their	desta , çınayo in.hands, cloth-EZ	pako pıra. clean/fine on
	‘three well-clothed men with their intruments at hand.’					

In Gilaki a topic-comment clause articulation by maintaining the established topic is presented in Lockwood and Nabhani (2007:6).

The other form of sentence articulation is an *identificational* articulation<sup>45</sup>, which asserts one concept, whereas the rest of the information is presupposed (Dooley & Levinsohn 2000:32). The argument focus is sometimes introduced with the particle *ki* or as a subordinate clause (Werner & Werner 2007:18). In Southern Zazaki the argument focus appears quite often as exemplified in the

<sup>45</sup> Also called *argument focus*.

folktale *Lazeko Zerez* [The Paltridge Boy] (:63-64). The main actor undergoes some unexpected and more closely described experience.

Table 14 Identificational Articulation (Argument focus)

	S	V-Past-3ms	Adj
herunda	xodı	biyo	wisk.
suddenly	he (his body)	became	stiff
'... and suddenly his corpse become stiff.'			

Lockwood and Nabhani are presenting a very similar construction introduced by *ki* (2007:6-7).

Table 15 Identificational Articulation (Argument focus)

	S-Refl -3.Sg	Com-V	V
ki	khudesh	tæ'ærif	kudi
that	himself	description	do.Past -Impfv
'... that (he) himself was describing.'			

The last structure of sentence articulation called *thetic* or *presentational* is about the *sentence focus*. As Lambrecht notes, it reflects the subject and expresses sentence focus to introduce participants (1998:39). In Southern Zazaki the default unmarked situation is presented in the introduction of the participants and the presentation of the narrative setting.

Table 16 Sentence articulation - Folktale starting formulae

<b>Cakê beno cake nêbeno,</b>	zew mêrdekê	beno,
small.place-IND exists small.place-IND not-exists	one man-IND	exists
'Somewhere lived a certain man.'		

Lockwood and Nabhani mention that thetic articulation in Gilaki is “found frequently at the beginning of thematic groupings” (2007:7).

## Points of departure

Points of Departure (PoD) are preposed adverbial elements (Roberts 2003:13), which by definition anchor new information into established information (Dooley & Levinsohn 2000:35). Thus, a PoD is “backward-looking in the sense of locating the anchoring place within the existing mental representation, but is forward-looking in that it is the subsequent part of the sentence which is anchored in that place” (Roberts 2003:13).

In Southern Zazaki there are *temporal*, *referential*, *echo* and *spatial* PoDs. Such a variation of PoDs is also found in Gilaki and Farsi. Following PoDs are very productive in Southern Zazaki folktales (Werner & Werner 2007:20-21):

- *wextdê veri zi; dewrdê veri zi* ‘in former times’ are discontinuity markers giving background information. Their use is pre-posed and they mark additional information. (temporal PoD).

- *rozê* ‘one day’ is a discontinuity marker. It marks the starting point of an event and a new thematic unit. If it occurs in between an event line it is marking foreground information. (temporal PoD).
- *a wini* ‘thus’ functions also as developmental marker (see Werner 2007:6, 12, 13) in narrative. As a connective its use is ambivalent. (temporal PoD).
- *ya* ‘hey’ functions as attention getter marker. It raises interest by interrupting the expected word sequence in a sentence (referential PoD).
- *wija / wuja / uza di* ‘there; suddenly’ is a) a spatial marker (function ‘there’), b) a temporal marker (function ‘suddenly’). This PoD is standing in marked position (pre-posed). Note: Many spatial adverbs have also a figurative meaning (e.g. as temporal adverbs).

Table 17 Point of departure (:65)

<b>Wextdê veri zi, dewrdê veri zi</b>	zewê axa	biyayê,
time-dEZ before also, epoch-dEZ before also	one-IND agha	be-IMPF
‘In former times, long ago there was an agha,’		

Ya	<b>axa</b>	ez- o.
sure	agha	I-am
‘Sure, <b>agha</b> am I.’		

## Tail-Head Linkage

If the author refers back to the previous clause by repeating the last verb or noun, we call this a marked situation. In Dooley's words tail-head linkage “consists of the repetition in a subordinate clause, at the beginning (the ‘head’) of a new sentence, of at least the main verb of the previous sentence (the ‘tail’)” (Dooley & Levinsohn 2000:8).<sup>46</sup> This clause articulation frequently appears in oral material (Longacre & Thompson 1985:209-213),<sup>47</sup> as demonstrated in the Southern Zazaki folktales. However, in Zazaki the “head” is not used in a subordinate clause. The example below shows a verbal tail-head linkage.

Table 18 Tail-head linkage (:65)

nalek	cirê	<b>birnnenê;</b>	<b>birnnenê, ...</b>
calf	to-them	slaughter-PRES-PL	slaughter-PRES-PL
‘They <b>slaughter</b> the calf for them;’			‘slaughter ...’

Another frequently used tail-head linkage in Southern Zazaki narratives is build by the verb *şino* ‘go’ used as highlighting of progress in a story.

<sup>46</sup> As in English: ...*he arrived at home. When he arrived at home, ...*

<sup>47</sup> Longacre, Robert E. & Thompson, Sandra A. 1985. Adverbial Clauses, in Timothy Shopen (ed.): *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*, 171-234. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Table 19 Tail head linkage - Gormahmed (:9)

No            **şino;**    **şino,**    no raştê            zew    merdîmî    yeno.  
 He            goes;    goes,    straight ahead    a        man        appears.  
 ‘He goes; he goes and straight ahead he approaches a man.’

... no    moncla    ra xatır            wazeno    u    **şino;**    **şino,**    raştê            hirê    merdîma    yeno.  
 ... he    ants            to good-bye    wishes    and    goes,    goes,    straight-ahead    Three    men        come.  
 ‘... saying good-bye to the ants he moves forward, until he reaches three men.’

Lockwood and Nabhani present a tail-head linkage in their data between both verb and object. They conclude that “tail-head linkages in Gilaki always have the same verbal aspect” (2007:8).

Table 19 Tail head linkage - Gilaki Lockwood & Nabhani (2007:8)

unere            tæbibi            bæværid  
 3.Sg.Ben    doctor -Indef    Perf- bring.Pres -2/3.Pl  
 ‘They would bring a doctor for him.’

tæbibi            æværid  
 doctor -Indef    bring.Pres -2/3.Pl  
 ‘They bring a doctor.’

Most PoDs in Southern Zazaki function as discontinuity markers. Temporal, spatial and PoDs of renewal are the most frequently used. Tail-Head linkages also occur most often by repetition of the verb. The verbs *şino* ‘go’ is likewise used to bring the hearer / reader forward in the cognition of the story line. It is combined with other verbs in pre-postal position such as *şino vineno* ‘(go) see’, *şino geyreno* ‘(go) run’. The hearer / reader realizes progress in the main event line.

### Foreground Information and Backgrounding (folktales and narratives)

Foreground information and backgrounding are the main literary techniques to move from the main event or story line to supportive material. From a cognitive linguistical point of view it is the speakers or writers stylistic artistry to bring the hearer / reader in a culturally adapted form to full understanding of the narratives communicational act. The development of the concepts of foregrounding and automatization goes back to Prague school linguists (Havranek 1964:3-16).<sup>48</sup> The normal or standard progress in the main event line is considered to be “automatized” as foreground. Backgrounding, instead, makes the reader conscious of a particular linguistic form such that the linguistic form itself attracts attention, and is felt to be unusual or “de-automatized”. House mentions alliteration, onomatopoeia, puns, assonance, and wordplays as such stylistic tools (1977:52).<sup>49</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Havranek, Bohuslav [1932] 1964. The Functional Differentiation of the Standard Language, in Garvin, Paul L. (ed. and transl.): *A Prague School Reader on Aesthetics, Literary Structure and Style*, 3-16. Washington: Georgetown University Press.

<sup>49</sup> House, Juliane 1977. *A Model for Translation Quality Assessment*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr.

In other words, *foreground* information moves the events of a story forward and performs the event line. Events on the storyline are distinguished from non-event supportive material, called *background* information, which does not itself narrate the main events (Werner & Werner 2007:23). Werner describes the process pictorially, as the “flesh (background) to the bones (foreground)” principle of discourse (Werner 2011:50).<sup>50</sup> The event-line presents the skeleton, whereas the non-event line enriches the narrative body with flesh to enhance the narrative. It is mainly through the verbal tense system and connectives that the audience is lead through the processing of fore- and background information. The audience, thus, is able to follow the main flow of information presenting the story line. Hopper states that it is “quite common for languages to realize the foreground and backgrounding distinction through specialized verb morphology” (1979:216).<sup>51</sup> The standard narration tense is disrupted by other tenses that stand out.

Narratives in Zazaki use the change in tense and aspect to move the audience between the main event line and the supportive material. The present tense signifies the standard event line. It is thus called *narrative* or *historical present* because it

- a.) makes the story more dramatic or vivid (Wolfson cited in Crandall 2002:35) or
- b.) is grounded in a past tense which underwent a conjunction reduction, which optionally reduces repeated occurrences of the same tense to the present (Kiparsky cited in Crandall 2002:35).

Wolfson’s study about the “conversational historical present” fits with the use of the present tense in Zazaki because the speaker / writer get the option of alternating between both tenses and refer back to events with the past tense. Crandall mentions that the alternation of background information in the past tense is not always given. Sometimes the main event line and the supportive material are represented in historical present (2005:36). However, a distinction has to be made concerning folktales and narratives of personal experience (Werner 2011:57-59). In Southern Zazaki narratives and folktales it is obvious that

narratives that are told in imperfective aspect (historical present), like folktales, fables, and anecdotes, have background information more often coded by other coding material than by change of tense and aspect, because the imperfective aspect does not offer many senses. (:60).

Reports are told in the perfective and their main tense is “past time event” (e.g. *va* ‘told’) which is, as a literary technique, interrupted through the change of aspectual form. Here Werner goes further than Crandall in the discursive distinction of the Zazaki dialects. The general distinction of the use of the imperfective and the perfective rule is also addressed by Crystal when he states, “PERFECTIVE aspect ... a situation is seen as a whole, regardless of the time contrasts which may be a part of it ... IMPERFECTIVE ... draws attention to the internal time structuring of the situation” [emphasis in

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<sup>50</sup> Werner, Brigitte 2012. Coding of Background Information in Zazaki Narrative (SIL International) [Zaza Romaniinda Temel Bilgirlerin Kodlanması (Uluslararası SIL)], in Varol, Murat & Elaltuntaş, Ömer Faruk (eds.): *1. Bingöl Symposium on the Zaza Language* (13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> May 2011) [1. Uluslararası Zaza Dili Sempozyumu (13-14 Mayıs 2011).], 49-68 [Turkish translation: 69-87]. Bingöl: Bingöl Üniversitesi Yayınları.

<sup>51</sup> Hopper, Paul 1979. Aspect and Foregrounding in Discourse, in Givón, Talmy (ed.): *Syntax and Semantics, Discourse and Syntax* 12, 213-241. New York: Academic Press.

original. EW.; 1997:283].<sup>52</sup> Further research should prove if there is a deeper lying principle of a text discursive genre adaptation in all Zazaki dialects.

Southern Zazaki folktales are told in the *imperfective aspect* or as mentioned above the “historical present” (e.g. *o şino keye* lit. ‘he goes home’). Instead *imperfective progressive* is used in oral conversation of daily affairs (*oyo şino keye* ‘he is going home’; :51). The main event line passed on in present tense is disrupted by signal words like adverbial phrases and conjunctions to emphasize background information. Literary techniques representing examples for background informations are additional explanations, anticipation, intertextuality and flashback<sup>53</sup>. The latter is expressed in Hayig’s Southern Zazaki folktales:

Table 20 Flashback - *Axayo, Axay niyo?* (2007:65)

Wextê veri zi, dewrdê veri zi,	ekı	zewê	axa biyayê,
Time before too, epoch before too,	if	someone	agha <b>was-being (Past-Imperfect)</b>
ew cı dima		sazbendê	cı biyê.
and his after		musicians-of	his <b>were (Simple Past)</b>
‘In earlier times, if someone was an agha, he usually had his musicians with him.’			

Table 21 Flashback - *Keçel Ahmed* (2007:22)

No	oxbeto ki	ameyo	serre dı,	pêroy	pir rê	vano:
He	things that	<b>came</b>	<b>head at</b> ,	all	Father to	[he] says
‘He tells his father all what has happened, he says: [...]’						

Table 22 Flashback - *Lazê Axay* (2007:28)

wuza dı	qısay axay	yena ney viri.	Axay	cı	neyrê	vat bı: [...]
suddenly	word-of agha	comes to his mind	agha-of his	him	<b>had told (Past Perfect)</b>	
‘Suddenly he remembers the words of the agha. The agha once had told him:[...].’						

One example of flashback in Gilaki is expressed in a cross reference to former times by Lockwood and Nabhani (2007:5):

<sup>52</sup> Crystal, David 2003. *A Dictionary of Linguistics & Phonetics*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. Oxford: Blackwell.

<sup>53</sup> *Flashback* is related material, in which some events that occurred earlier are interrupting the chronological sequence of the narrative (Hollenbach, Bruce & Watters, Jim 1998. Study Guide on Pragmatics and Discourse. NOT 12/1, 13-35. Dallas: SIL International. p. 16.).

Table 23 Flashback - Lockwood & Nabhani (2007:5)

itæ	æz	gheseha'i	ki	[mære	yade	un	zæman	
one	of	story -Pl -Indef	Compl	1.Sg.Acc/Dat	memory -Gen	that	time	
	[ki	kuchæk	bum]	væ	itæ	pili-æmjan	dæshtime	ki
	Compl	small	Cop.Past -1.Sg	and	one	great aunt	have.Past -1.Pl	Compl
[æmære	tærif	kudi]]	gheseye	leili	o	majnun	bu	
1.Pl.Acc/Dat	description	do.Past -Impfv	story -Gen	Leili	and	Majnun	was	
‘One of the stories that reminds me of the time that I was small and when we had a Great Aunt who used to tell us (stories) was Leili and Majnoon.’								

The use of imperfective is another literary technique to mark background information or a narrator’s intrusion in Gilaki (:8-9).

Background information can also be introduced by the connectives *huma* ‘but’ and *çiki* ‘because’. Both hint towards additional thoughts but they do not drive the event on. Backgrounding represents an essential part of cognitive adjustment by the speaker / writer towards the audience. The mental representation of a full speech act is completed within the additional task of backgrounding added to foreground information (Dooley & Levinson 2000:41-42). The distinction in primary and secondary events is sometimes helpful to understand the salience of information. Primary events take full conspicuity of an utterance, whereas secondary events acquire less attention (:42). Connectives perform such hierarchical structures by levelling out different ranks of information.

Table 24 Backgrounding by connectives - *huma* (:65)

Hima	ê	nê-zanê	hewna	axa	kam-o.
But	they	don’t know	still	agha	who-is
‘But they still didn’t know who the agha is.’					

In *'Elicanek u Warda Xoya* [Elicanek and his sister] the use of *çiki* ‘because’ is obviously a marker for backgrounding to support the reader / hearer with material that he could not access from somewhere else.

Table 25 Backgrounding by connectives - *çiki* (:3)

Çıkı	hirê	serri	pê sero	no	xele	karreno,	hima	xele	nê-ruweno.		
Thus/because	three	years	each-other	upon	he	wheat	sows	but	the	wheat	not-grows
‘Thus he sows wheat, three years in succession, but the wheat doesn’t grow.’											

Lockwood and Nabhani found the connector *væ* ‘and’ which they claim of Farsi influence. However their hypothesis is that this connective sometimes serves as a backgrounding particle and then takes over the meaning of ‘and not only that’. Their data did not allow for enough evidence to prove that (2007:13-14).

## Highlighting or Marked Prominence

Another text discursive feature is ‘highlighting’. Highlighting is a technique to emphasize something. It is performed by a global or local VIP strategy, the word order, discourse *irrealis* (collateral information), the use of special word classes, or by speech articulation (e.g. intrusion, polyphonic or autophonic speech). In Southern Zazaki three main concepts are used for highlighting: emphasis by word order, word class usage and speech articulation (Werner & Werner 2007:26):

Table 26 Highlighting and marked prominence

<b>emphasis by word order</b>	<b>word class usage</b>	<b>speech articulation</b>
- Point of departure	- Connectives as development markers, additives, adversatives/contrastives, argumentatives	- Represented speech as narrator’s intrusion or authorized by personal eyewitness ( <i>Qahwe</i> )
- Tail-Head Linkage	- Attention getters, effect particles	- Represented speech: changing from polyphonic to autophonic origin
- Connectives as development markers, additives, adversatives/contrastives, argumentatives in <i>marked</i> position	- Spacers and other particles used to mark highlighting	- Including indirect speech (rare) to direct speech
- Change of word order in represented speech ( <i>axa</i> fronting in A,33g)		
- logical propositional structure change from default to <i>marked</i>		

Relevance Theory helps to understand the cognitive processes in text discourse on information structure. The main event line keeps the hearer / reader informed about the progress of the story. The topic is commented by additional information. The attention of the hearer / reader is directed by markers which link new information to the given. Points of Departure like *wuza* ‘there, suddenly’, *ya* ‘yeah’, *wextê veri* ‘in earlier time’, and others are leading the audience to new conclusions about the process of the story. Tail-Head linkage erects on the one hand the interest of the audience, on the other side it is a common tool in Southern Zazaki to move the story line on. The other tools of information structure, like foreground information, backgrounding, flashback and highlighting lead the audience to assumptions that raise their cognitive expectation and lead to conclusions that go beyond the explicit utterance. Such implicite draws on conclusions are essential to folktales. On the higher level of textual cognition innercultural ethics and morals are implicitly passed on from generation to generation. Culture is thus enculturated. On the sentence level implicite conclusions make it easier to move the story line on, since

previousl previously given story information can be presumed. The audience is able to add new information easily to the pool of the given information. The speaker / writer can progress and peek out for the climax or even different peeks of the story line (e.g. the fate of the hero).

I will close with a summary on the text discourse features of Southern Zazaki. Much more could have been said about participants reference (activation; re-activation, center of attention), represented speech (direct vs. indirect), information structure (clause structure, embedded information), and the marking of

## Summary

I will close with a summary on the text discourse features of Southern Zazaki. Much more could have been said about participants' reference (activation; re-activation, center of attention), represented speech (direct vs. indirect), information structure (clause structure, embedded information), and the marking of narrative development (opening; coda; climax; ending, final statement). Such is left to future presentations.

The *Zaza* ethnicity inhabits the area of the Euphrates and Tigris headwaters in East Anatolia. It is estimated that they are 3-4 Mill. people. They underwent a long history of mainly independent co-existence, harsh oppression and migration processes. Those developments led to a split in half of the population living in the Diaspora, the big cities either in the West of Turkey or in Europe, mainly Germany, Sweden and France (few in the US and very few in Australia). Another split is in regard to the religious conversion from Alevism to Islam of more than half of the people group (the Southern and Eastern Group). Southern Zazaki belongs to a numerically equally split dialect continuum of a Northern, Southern and Eastern / Central dialect, which follow similar literary techniques. Folktales as part of a long oral-aural history differ from oral daily life conversation in their use of text discursive features. Reasons for that are found in their ongoing repetition leading to derivations by mixing, repeating, and the ongoing changes due to culture and language shift. Turkish, Arabic, Kurmanji and Armenian left their traces in Zazaki and so did Zazaki in those languages. The strong affinity to the larger Kurmanji speaking people group and other "Kurdish" ethnicities led many Zaza to state they are "Kurdish" and Zazaki is a dialect of "Kurdish" or Kurmanji. This leads to an ongoing political struggle between both groups and additional challenges regarding the standardization processes of Zazaki.

*Text discourse* comprises the research of textual features which form and signal the cohesive structures on the clause, paragraph, text that is on the *inner-* and *intertextual* level. In this study the genre of *folktales* in the Southern Zazaki dialect (Werner & Werner 2007; Werner 2011) was described and compared to Northern Zazaki (Mamekiye dialect; Crandall 2002), Gilaki (dialect of *Rasht*; Lockwood & Nabhani 2007) and partially to Farsi (Alavi & Lorenz 2003). The *relevance theoretic* approach of cognitive linguistics (Sperber & Wilson 1995) and the *text discursive* studies of Dooley and Levinson (2000; 2006) were taken into account. Relevance theory addresses communication from cognitive studies and emphasizes an inferential-ostensive understanding between the speaker and his audience. The coding-decoding process precedes the fully enriched speech act, which has only to be

received by the hearer / reader. In this “positive” theory of communication, inference is always possible compared to the IT model of communication (e.g. dynamic equivalence, literal model).

Southern Zazaki folktales, as fictional and oral-aural traditions follow both unique and shared text discursive applications with Gilaki, Farsi and other “Southern Caspian Sea languages” (e.g. Mazandarani, Talyshi). The genre of folktales went through different processes due to their oral-aural passing on. In general folktales are mixed with other stories, they are changed due to culture and language shift, and they are adapted towards the particular audiences. In consequence the intonation, emphasis in climax, function and even the resulting morals can differ from version to version and over the years. However a basic story line, the choice of participants (actors) and the main resulting morals are mainly fixed. Entering and final phrases signal to the audience the start and end. Since they change from one Zazaki dialect to the other one feels at home with the phrase accordingly. Morals are the same in most Zazaki folktales; they deal with family cohesion, hospitality, the social structure regarding honour, prestige, obedience and solidarity. The folktales reflect the conception of the world by the Zaza people. They describe their relationship to their ethnically and religiously different neighbours (Armenians, Kurmanji speaking people, Arabs, Jewish people, Christians), their perception of the “other world” or “afterworld”, and the religious and spiritual attempts to connect with the unseen powers which are considered to be real.

Text discourse differentiates between narrative and information structure. Narrative structure includes those technical features which are passing on the main event line and those that interrupt the information flow by emphasizing something or filling in the main event line with additional information. Narrative structure deals with order of constituents (general vs. marked order), dislocation (left- and right disl.) and clusters of sentences (relative, interrogative). Information structure describes those oral or literary techniques that signal the flow of information (temporally, participant focus, change of focus), the move between foreground information and backgrounding, highlighting or marked prominence. We looked at both structures individually.

The order of constituents in Zazaki follows the main Iranian languages cluster. This is realized in the intransitive case by the S-V pattern and the transitive case S-O-V and the ditransitive case S-O-V-Goal or S-IO-O-V constituent order, whereas Gilaki and Farsi follow in the latter case a S-O-IO-V pattern. Pre-posed elements lead the audience (hearer, reader) to follow the flow of information. Post-posed elements give additional information to bring the audience on a level of understanding with the speaker / writer. In oral speech both elements are more often used, whereas in writing post-posed elements – at least in written Southern Zazaki folktales – are less used to guarantee a more fluent flow of information. Right- and left-dislocation are another text discursive feature to get the audience’s attention by interrupting information flow. Both dislocation as oral and literary techniques are often used in Southern Zazaki folktales. Clause organization is another indication to narrative structure. Clauses can be divided in main clauses (the ones on the central string), subordinate (adverbial) clauses, and relative clauses (both restrictive and non-restrictive). Southern Zazaki uses relative clause as a way to deliver additional information. In the data of this study all relative clauses were restrictive or identifying. This contrasts to Gilaki and Farsi which both also offer non-restrictive relative clauses.

Sentence articulation is addressed in *information structure*. Information is passed on by the topic / focus and the comment, grounding in the theme and rheme sentence cluster introduced by the Prague school of linguistics. We looked at the *topic-comment* or *predicate* focus, the *identificational-comment* or *argument* focus, and the *thetic* comment or *sentence* focus. In Zazaki topic always precedes the comment. The rheme / comment or new information follows the topic to process the audience cognitively in the main event line of the narrative or folktale. In Southern Zazaki folktales the argument focus is quite often used to identify the topic closer. The *thetic* or *presentational* sentence articulation is about the *sentence focus*. The default unmarked situation is presented in the introduction of the participants and the presentation of the narrative setting.

*Points of Departure* anchor new information into established information. In Southern Zazaki as in Gilaki and Farsi there are temporal, referential, echo and spatial PoDs. In tail-head linkage the author refers back to the previous clause by repeating the last verb or noun. This clause articulation is a marked situation which frequently appears in oral material. In Southern Zazaki folktales the “head” is not used in a subordinate clause. Narratives in Zazaki use the change in tense and aspect to move the audience between the main event line and the supportive material. The present tense in the *imperfective aspect* presents the standard event line and is called a *narrative* or *historical present*. Reports, instead, are told in the perfective and thus the tense is “past time event”. Southern Zazaki folktales are told in the “historical present”. Literary techniques for backgrounding are additional explanations, anticipation, intertextuality and flashback. Connectives are another way to backgrounding. In Southern Zazaki folktales highlighting or marked prominence is presented in the emphasis by word order, the word class usage and speech articulation.