TEXT DISCOURSE FEATURES IN SOUTHERN ZAZAKI (ÇERMIK/SIVEREK 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. Fırat) / 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 Fırat; one has to consider that the naming of children in Zazaki was forbidden in the past1. 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.2

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 (Heni), 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 Hanafi rite and their dialect is called Southern Zazaki. This group is often referred to as Dımlılı / Dımlılı / Dimili / Dunbelî3 (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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2 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 Malmisanj (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 - DİDEF) all over Europe and in Turkey. The foundation and development of cultural associations, seminars 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 Sodrî 1995-1998 Germany; vatê 1997- Stockholm / Istanbul). However, through this development the religious and dialectical split of the three main groups became more obvious, and an obstacle.

3 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). 2nd 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. kerds ‘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 (11th-13th 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 Zoroastrianism into an Alevi and Sunni group around the 16th 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)4, Hadank (1932; Zazaki dialects)5, Terry Todd (1985/2002; Southern dialect), Ludwig Paul (1998; Zazaki dialects)6. Early works by Zaza scholars are written by Zülfü Selcan (1998; Northern dialect)7, Fahri Pamukçu (2001; Southern dialect)8, Gagan Çar (1997)9 and Malmisanj (1983, 1984; Eastern dialect)10. 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)11 and tested in the 1990s with this group of


writers. Alternatively the vate group, very actively publishing around Malmisanj uses the Kurmanji alphabet proposed by Bedir Khan (~1931). 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. It is mainly used for all people groups or “mountaineers” of the Tauros, Zagros, and Elbourtz mountain ranges (see footnote Fehler! Textmarke nicht definiert.). 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). 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,

\footnote{14} 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, Diyarbakar – Amet, Bagdad – Bagdad, 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. Kormuşkan; forty day vs. eight day feasting; etc.), tribal and social structures (e.g. Mir kingdoms in the Kurmanji speaking group vs. Sheikhdom and Aghadom within the Zaza), and Sufism orientation (e.g. Naqshebandi, Mevlana, Bektashi, Nur etc.) differentiate both people groups.
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. 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\textsuperscript{17} 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 \textit{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\textsuperscript{18}. In contrast relevance theory as a cognitive linguistical 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) 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.

\textsuperscript{16} 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 \textit{adequate} contextual effects at \textit{minimal} processing cost.” [emphasis in Orig. E.W.]. In Gutt, Ernst-August 1991. \textit{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. \textit{Relevance, Communication and Cognition}. 2\textsuperscript{nd} ed. Oxford: Blackwell, 125. The successful and positive view of communication in Relevance Theory is considered a paradigm shift in communication theory.

\textsuperscript{17} 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. \textit{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.


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). 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 Hayıgs folktale book Mahmeşa. I will refer to this book without the author and publishing date. The text discoursive research is based on a study on Southern Zazaki discourse from 2007 by Werner and Werner. I will also rely on a study of text discourse in Northern Zazaki Dersim dialect (Crandall 2002). Other books in Zazaki are also taken into account, as well as a paper on text discourse in Gilaki (dialect of Rasht and environs) and some Farsi narratives. General remarks on Zazaki folktales, oral-aural traditions and narratives are necessary. I need to emphasize that my observations are out of my ethnocentristic 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.

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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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). 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: Istanıka mına 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.).

Zazaki folktales are distinct from personal narratives in style because they represent a long history of being passed down from one generation to another. 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. The main lessons in Zazaki folktales are about

28 This corresponds with English: “- and they all lived happily ever after.” or German: “Und wenn sie nicht gestorben sind, so leben sie noch heute.” [Engl.: “And if they did not die, they still live.”].
29 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.
30 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 Xası. 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).  

**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). 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).

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ceniye</td>
<td>kêveri</td>
<td>akena,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td>door-obl</td>
<td>open-PRES-3SF</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘His wife opens the door.’

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).

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33 Payne critized 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>IO</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>whereabouts keyi</td>
<td>ninarê</td>
<td>çay</td>
<td>ano,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the host</td>
<td>them-to</td>
<td>tea</td>
<td>brings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wëherê keyi ninarê, the host brings tea to them.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>IO</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mi</td>
<td>doxtær æmu ...</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>ruznameye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.Sg.Gen cousin(f)</td>
<td>this newspaper -Acc</td>
<td>to hand -Gen people ...</td>
<td>reach.Pres -3.Sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘My cousin delivers these newspapers to the people.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>IO</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mo’allem</td>
<td>pul-râ</td>
<td>be-man</td>
<td>dâd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the teacher</td>
<td>money</td>
<td>to me</td>
<td>gave-3.Sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘The teacher gave me the money.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To emphasize a constituent of a clause it can be put in front, a stylistic technique called fronting (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:36; Walter 2004:10434).

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.35 The speaker offers new information only based on text-discoursive 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.comp</th>
<th>S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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35 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.
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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>S.comp-Cop</th>
<th>LocAd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ê</td>
<td>çi kutikiyê,</td>
<td>zerre dî.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td>what dogs-are</td>
<td>inside in</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 discoursive 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>IO</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma</td>
<td>na naleka xo</td>
<td>cirê</td>
<td>bibirrnim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we</td>
<td>this calf-of refl</td>
<td>to-them</td>
<td>slaughter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘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). However, such

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assumptions are not unchallenged; Lambrecht speaks of right-dislocation as an antitopic construction to put the propositional information on hold (Lambrecht 1998:203)\(^{37}\). Payne summarizes the issue based on practical and text discoursive 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)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R-disloc; subject</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>S.comp</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>... bese ken-o</td>
<td>wuza de</td>
<td>bman-o</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>able do –pres-3ms</td>
<td>there at</td>
<td>remain-subj-3s</td>
<td>that</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘... he can remain there, that horse.’

Dislocation is referent oriented, which means that it helps the audience to clearly identify the referent. Hayıg 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 *Kırtleme niyo, Zırtlemeyo* [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 - Kırtleme niyo, Zırtlemeyo (:66)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>L-disloc; subject</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>S.comp</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no çiyo ki tiyê kenê,</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>kirtleme</td>
<td>niyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this thing, rel you-are doing</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>kirtleme.style</td>
<td>is-not</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘The stuff which you are doing, this isn’t kirtleme at all.’

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>L-disloc; object</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>Opostp</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iniyo kî kesi keno kavîr,</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>è im ra</td>
<td>aw</td>
<td>şîmeno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>well rel someone do lamb</td>
<td>he</td>
<td>that well from</td>
<td>water</td>
<td>drinks</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘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.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R-dislloc; object Acc/Dat</th>
<th>V Pres</th>
<th>O - Gen</th>
<th>Adj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rægzæniye</td>
<td>æværidi</td>
<td>rægzæne</td>
<td>varediye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phlebotomist</td>
<td>bring</td>
<td>phlebotomist</td>
<td>skilled</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘(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). 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): *Sh'hata* *ka* ‘hour that’, meaning ‘at the time when’ and *wexto* *kt* ‘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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>Intr.</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>VP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iniyo</td>
<td>k1</td>
<td>kesi</td>
<td>keno kavir,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| the fountain-
| desc | Rel | someone-obl | makes [to] lamb |

‘The fountain, which transforms you into a lamb,...’

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>O</th>
<th>Intr.</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no çiy-o</td>
<td>k1</td>
<td>tiy-</td>
<td>-yê kenê,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| this thing-
| desc | 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). However, it would be fair to say that Relevance Theory also deals with the

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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)⁴⁰. 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). ⁴¹ 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. ⁴²

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).⁴³ Comment is the focus, depending on the context of an utterance. Focus and topic are examples of pragmatic roles (Comrie 1989:62)⁴⁴, 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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⁴² Another linguistic school, the Prager functionalist, calls this the Thema-Rhema Gliederung [Engl.: theme-rheme division]. Whereas the theme is the known, the theme is the new information referring to the theme. In the English speaking world this approach became popular as the topic-comment sentence articulation.
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 mèrdekê beno, çeniya ci 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)**

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A,3a</td>
<td>Rozê kêverê nina koyeno, T/C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one.day door-EZ their(near) is.knocked</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘One day it is knocked on their door,’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A,3b</td>
<td>ceniyeka ci kêveri akena, T/C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wife-EZ his door-OBL opens</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘his wife opens the door,’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A,3c</td>
<td>-- weynena T/C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sees</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘(she) sees’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A,3d</td>
<td>kî hire camêrdi {…} saziyê ci desta , çînayo pako pira. T/C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>thatCOMPL three men guitar-EZ their in.hands, cloth-EZ clean/fine on</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘three well-clothed men with their intruments at hand.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\(^{45}\), 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

\(^{45}\) Also called *argument focus.*
folktales *Lazeko Zerez* [The Paltridge Boy] (:63-64). The main actor undergoes some unexpected and more closely described experience.

Table 14 Identificational Articulation (Argument focus)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>V-Past-3ms</th>
<th>Adj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>herunda</td>
<td>xodi</td>
<td>biyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suddenly</td>
<td>he (his body)</td>
<td>became</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘… 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S-Refl -3.Sg</th>
<th>Com-V</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ki</td>
<td>khudesh</td>
<td>tæ’ærif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that</td>
<td>himself</td>
<td>description</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘… 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cakê beno cake nêbeno,</th>
<th>zew mêrdekê beno,</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>small.place-IND exists</td>
<td>small.place-IND not-exists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one man-IND exists</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘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 wıni ‘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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wextdê veri zi, dewrdê veri zi</th>
<th>zewê axa biyayê,</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>time-dEZ before also, epoch-dEZ before also one-IND agha be-IMPF</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘In former times, long ago there was an agha,’

Ya axa ez- o.  
sure agha I-am  
‘Sure, agha 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). This clause articulation frequently appears in oral material (Longacre & Thompson 1985:209-213), 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nalek cirê birnnê;</th>
<th>birnnê, …</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>calf to-them slaughter-PRES-PL</td>
<td>slaughter-PRES-PL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘They slaughter the calf for them;’

‘slaughter …’

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

---

46 As in English: ...he arrived at home. When he arrived at home,....
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)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>unere</td>
<td>tæbibi</td>
<td>bæværid</td>
<td>3.Sg.Ben</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tæbibi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Indef</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘They would bring a doctor for him.’

‘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 šîno ‘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 šîno vineno ‘(go) see’, šîno 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). 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).

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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). 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 background distinction through specialized verb morphology” (1979:216). 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


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. The latter is expressed in Hayg’s Southern Zazaki folktales:

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

Wextê veri zi, dewrdê veri zi, ekî zêwê axa biyayê,  
Time before too, epoch before too, if someone agha *was-being* (*Past-Imperfect*)

ew cî dîma sazbendê cî biyê.  
and his after musicians-of his *were* (*Simple Past*)

‘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 dî, pêroy pir rê vano:  
He things that *came head at*, all Father to [he] says

‘He tells his father all what has happened, he says: […]’

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

wuza dî qisay axay yena ney viri. Axay cî neyrê vat br: [...]  
suddenly word-of agha comes to his mind agha-of his him *had told* (*Past Perfect*)

‘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):

---


53 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  | ghesaha’i  | ki  | [møre       | 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 Majnoon 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 hima ‘but’ and çıkı ‘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 - hima (: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 çıkı ‘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 - çıkı (: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 vae ‘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*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>emphasis by word order</th>
<th>word class usage</th>
<th>speech articulation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Point of departure</td>
<td>- Connectives as development markers, additives, adversatives/contrastives, argumentatives</td>
<td>- Represented speech as narrator’s intrusion or authorized by personal eyewitness (<em>Qahwe</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Tail-Head Linkage</td>
<td>- Attention getters, effect particles</td>
<td>- Represented speech: changing from polyphonic to autophonic origin</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Connectives as</td>
<td>- Spacers and other particles used to mark highlighting</td>
<td>- Including indirect speech (rare) to direct speech</td>
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<td>development markers,</td>
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<td>additives,</td>
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<td>adversatives/contrastives,</td>
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<td>argumentatives</td>
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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 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 discoursive 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 discoursive 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 discoursive 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 discoursive 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.