### Split Headedness in Persian

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### Introduction

Word order typology of Persian?

- Head-final / Left-branching: SOV
- Head-initial / Right-branching: Prepositions, N-Rel, N-Gen
  - "Persian is operand-operator language ..., but exceptionally it has OV word order" (Comrie, 1989: 98; see also Mahootian, 1997: 5)



### Mixed Headedness

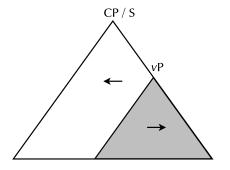
- Roberts (2000) suggests Pashto has mixed headedness
  - Functional categories: head-initial
  - Lexical categories: head-final



### Mixed Headedness

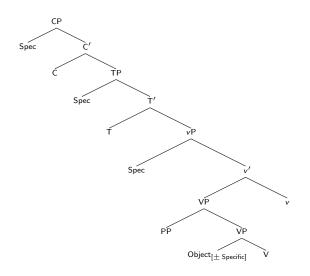
- Roberts (2000) suggests Pashto has mixed headedness
  - Functional categories: head-initial
  - Lexical categories: head-final
- Application to Persian
  - Karimi (2005) and Dehdari (2006)







# Karimi (2005: 7)





## Statistically significant V – O correlations

### Dryer's (1992) extensive survey of 625 languages

V Correlate	O Correlate
Complementizer	S
Interrogative	S
Adverbial Subordinator	S
Tense Aux	VP
'want'	VP
V	Manner Adv
V	PP
Copula V	Pred
Adposition	NP
Article	NP
N	Rel
N	Gen
Adj	Standard of Comparison



# Head – Dependent relations in Persian

Relation	Head Initial	Head Final
Complementizer – S	X	
Interrogative – S	X	
Adverbial Subordinator – S	X	
Tense Aux – VP	X	
'want' – VP	X	
Perf Aux – VP*		X
Passive Aux – VP*		X
V – Manner Adv		X
V – PP		X
V – O		X
Copula V – Pred		X
Adposition – NP	X	
Article – NP	X	
Numeral – NP*	X	
N – Rel	X	
N – Gen	X	
Adj – Standard of Comparison	X	

<sup>\*</sup>Not investigated in Dryer (1992).



## Examples

(1) a. enteğāl dāde <u>šodænd</u> transfer give-PSPT become-3.P 'They were transferred.'

(Kayhan online 1383-04-22 AP)



### Examples

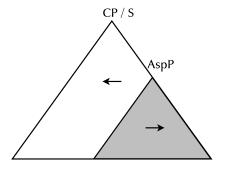
(1) a. enteğāl dāde <u>šodænd</u>
transfer give-PSPT become-3.P
'They were transferred.' (Kayhan online 1383-04-22 AP)

(2) a. tæzækkor dāde šode <u>bud</u>
notice give-PSPT become-PSPT was
'Notice had been given.' (Kayhan online 1383-03-13 AP)

b. možde dāde šode <u>bud</u> news give-PSPT become-PSPT was 'News had been given.'

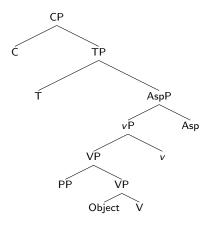
(Kayhan online 1383-03-10 AP)







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### **Issues**

Future Auxiliary:



#### Issues

#### Future Auxiliary:

- (3) a. (ānhā) <u>xāhænd</u> zæd they FUT-3.P hit 'They will hit.'
  - b. be zæmin xāhænd zæd to earth FUT-3.P hit 'They will overthrow.'

(Kayhan online 1383-05-27 AP)

c. be zæmin zæde <u>xāhænd</u> šod to earth hit-PSPT FUT-3.P become 'They will be overthrown.'

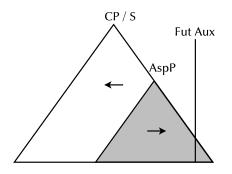
(Kayhan online 1383-07-26 AP)



- (4) a. tæmām <u>xāhæd</u> šod complete FUT-3.S become 'It will be completed.'
  - b. tæmām šode <u>xāhæd</u> bud complete become-PSPT FUT-3.S was 'It will have been completed.'

(Kayhan online 1383-08-25 AP)

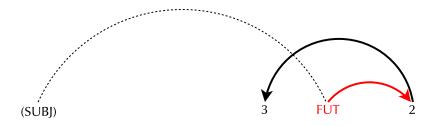




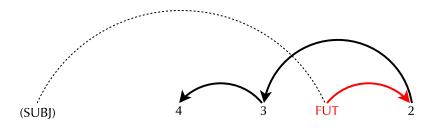




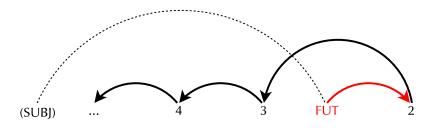














### Conclusions

- Split-headed explanation accounts for wider range of phenomena than simple head-initial or head-final accounts
- CP / S: head-initial
- AspP: head-final
- Future Auxiliary: V2<sup>R</sup>



### Further Research

• Other Iranian languages (see Stilo, 2005)





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# **Appendix**

### Roberts' (2000: 63) Functional vs. Lexical Categories

Category	Direction of Head
NP	final
VP	final
AspP	final
PP	initial
NegP	initial
CP	initial
DP	initial
ModalP	initial
AgrP	initial

