Forty years after Frommer;
post-predicate elements in Persian

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Workshop: Post-predicate elements across the languages of Western Asia: theoretical and empirical approaches

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1. Introduction

- *(1) mi-xā-d*   *be*   *madrese*   *be-r-e*
  - IND.want.PRS.3SG   to   school   SUBJ-go.PRS-3SG
  - 'He wants to go to school'.

- *(2) mi-xā-d*   *be-r-e*   ***be madrese***
  - IND.want.PRS.3SG   SUBJ-go.PRS-3SG   to school
  - 'He wants to go to school'.

2. Frommer 1981

Table 1. Overall frequency of post-predicate elements and non-destination elements (Frommer 1981: 127)

Genre	Percent of total VX	Percent of non-destination VX
Spoken informal	17%	10%
Spoken formal	13%	11%
Written informal	6%	1.2%
Written formal	4%	0.9%

Table 2. Overall frequency of post-predicate goals (Frommer 1981: 131)

Genre	Percent of total VX
Spoken informal	82.8%
Spoken formal	39.5%
Written informal	52.3%
Written formal	53.8%

Table 3. Overall frequency of post-predicate goals with specific predicates (Frommer 1981: 133)

Predicate	Percent of total VX
raftan (to go)	87.1%
āmadan (to come)	91.4%
gozāštan (to put)	100%
bordan (to carry)	75%

The hierarchy of post-posibility (Frommer 1981: 172):

- Goal (without preposition) > Goal (with preposition) > PP (non-Goal, including IO) > DO (with râ) and ADV (without preposition) > SU > DO (without râ)
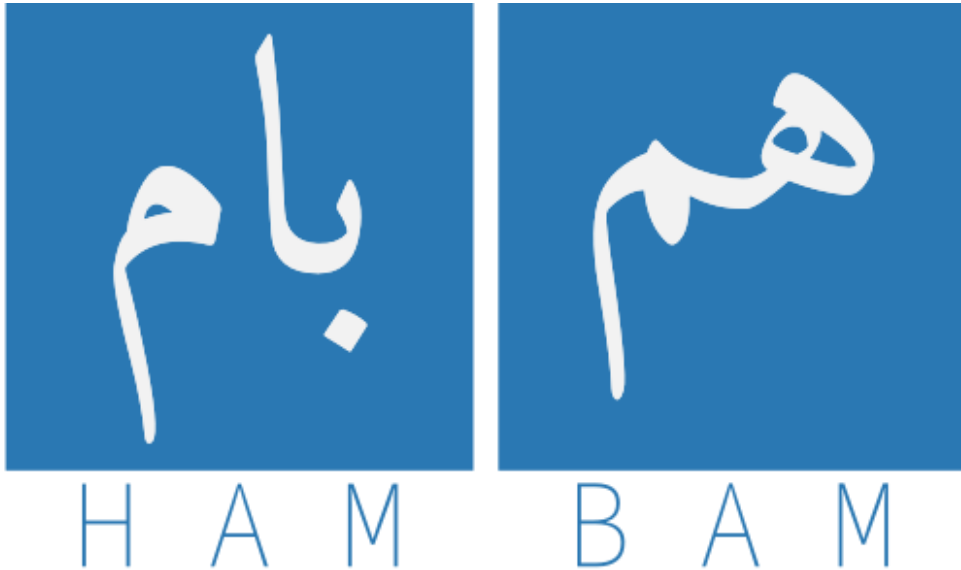
Table 4. Post-predicate elements hierarchy (Frommer 1981: 172)

Constituent type	Number	VX	% VX
Goals with prepositions	134	117	87.3%
Goals without prepositions	69	51	73.9%
Prepositional arguments (not goals)	526	95	18.1%
Objects with 'rā'	224	21	9.4%
Adverbs without prepositions	1270	96	7.6%
Subjects	1083	52	4.8%
Objects without 'rā'	422	6	1.4%
Total	3728	438	%12

Table 5. The frequency of non-focused elements in post-predicate position
(Frommer 1981: 172)

Constituent type	% non-focused
Goals without prepositions	8.5%
Goals with prepositions	15.7%
Prepositional arguments (not goals)	77%
Objects with 'rā'	83.3%
Adverbs without prepositions	89%
Subjects	90.4%
Objects without 'rā'	100%

3. HamBam: the Hamedan-Bamberg corpus of contemporary Persian

Data from HamBam

Total length	3224	100%
Number of analyzed tokens	1553	48%
Number of non-classified tokens	1671	52%
Rate of post-predicate elements (all roles)	374	24%

Table 7. Post-predicate elements of different roles based on HamBam corpus

Constituent type	Total	VX	% VX
Caused goals	62	55	89%
Goals	213	168	79%
Stimulus	15	5	33%
Comitative	47	12	26%
Benefactive	14	3	21%
Other obliques	261	54	21%
Locations	147	30	20%
Instruments	27	4	19%
Become complements	22	4	18%
Recipients	25	4	16%
Ablative	48	4	8%
Direct objects	440	18	4%
Addressees	47	2	4%
Copula complements	172	0	0%

3-1 Caused goals and goals

(3) *rad*   *kard-e*   *bud-am*   ***tuy=e***   ***čub***

- send   do.PST.PCPL do.PST-1SG   in=EZ   wood
- 'I had sent it into wood.'

(4) *in*   *râ*   *be-gozār*   ***ruy=e***   ***sar=at***

- this   RA   IMP-put   on=EZ   head=2SG
- 'Put this on your head.'

(5) *tuy=aš*   *āb*   *rixt-e*   *bud-im*

- inside=3SG   water   pour-PCPL   do.PST-1PL
- 'We poured water in it.'

(6) *in*   *pāy=aš*   *rā*   *kuče*   *bo-gzār-ad*

- this   foot=3SG   RA   alley   SUBJ-put-3SG
- '(if) He puts his foot in the alley (lit. If he goes out.).'

Table 8. Overall frequency of post-predicate caused goals with specific predicates

Caused motion predicate	Total	VX	Percent of total VX
āvordan (to bring)	11	11	100%
gozāštan (to put)	12	11	92%
bordan (to carry)	11	10	91%

Goals

(7) raft-am   ***doktor***
- go.PST-1SG   doctor
- 'I went to doctor.'

(8) par-id-and   ***ruy=e***   ***miz***
- jump-PST-3PL   over=EZ   table
- 'They jumped over the table.'

(9) doktor   raft-am

- doctor   go.PST-1SG

- 'I went to doctor.'

Table 9. Overall frequency of post-predicate goals with specific predicates

Motion Predicate	Total	VX	Percent of total VX
raftan (to go)	84	69	82%
āmadan (to come)	32	26	81%

3-2 Stimulus

(10) *dāšt-an*   *mi-keš-id-an*   *birun*   **barāy=e**   **tamir**
- have.PRS-3Pl   ND-pull.PRS-3PL   out   for=EZ   fix
- 'They were pulling (it) out for fixing.'

3-3 Comitative

(11) *bāz*   *zendegi*   *mi-kon-am*   ***ba=hašun***
- again   life   IND-do-1SG   with=3PL
- 'I live with them again.'

3-4 Benefactive

(12) *mā ham xod=emān rā negāh dar-im* **baray=e xod=eman**

- We too we=3PL RA keep have-1PL for=EZ self=3PL
- 'We take care of ourselves for ourselves.'

3-5 Other obliques

- (13) *hasudi*   *na-kon-and*   ***be***   ***ham-digar***
-       envy   NEG-do-3PL   to   each-other
-       'They don't envy to each other.'

3-6 Locations

- (14) *tavaqqof*   *dāšt-e*   *ast*   ***tu***   ***Andimešk***
-       stop   have.PST.-PCPL   be.PRS.3SG   in   Andimeshk
-       'He stopped in Andimesh.'

3-7 Instrument

- (15) *bad*   *ešāre*   *kard*   ***bā***   ***dast***
-       Then   refer   do.PST.3SG   with   hand
-       'Then he referred with his hand.'

3-8 Become complements

- (16) *dah*   *ruz*   *šod*   ***davāzdah***   ***ruz***
-       Ten   day   become.PST.3SG   twelve day
- '(The promised) ten days become twelve days.'

3-9 Recipients

- (17) *āqāh=e*　　　　　　　*ke*　　*zad-e*　　　　　*ast*　　　　　***be=heš***
- 　　man=DEF　　　　　that　　hit.PST-PCPL　　　be.PRS.3SG　　to=3SG
- 　　'The man who hit him.'

3-10 Ablative

- (18) *dast=aš*   *rā*   *greft*   ***az***   ***man***
-      hand=3SG   RA   take.PST.3SG   from   me
-      'He took his hand from me.'

3-11 Direct objects

Direct objects	Total	VX	Percent
Nominal, all	369	16	4%
Nominal, human	37	2	5%
Nominal, body part	25	3	12%
Nominal, animate	5	0	0%
Nominal, inanimate	121	0	0%
Nominal, indefinite	226	10	4%
Definite	212	6	5%
Nominal, definite	168	6	4%
Pronominal (1,2,3,4)	45	1	2%
DO with RA	238	8	3%
DO without RA	190	6	3%
Do with Preposition	7	4	57%
All forms	440	18	4%

3-12 Addresses of speech verbs

- (19) *vali*   *na-gu*   ***be***   ***rezā***
-     but   NEG-tell   to   Reza
-     'But, don't tell to Reza.'

3-13 Quotes

- (20) *goft-im*   *āqā-ye*   *Sarāvaki*
-     tell.PST-1PL   Mr.=EZ   Saravaki
-     'We told: Mr. Saravaki!'

3-14 Subjects

- (21) *bord-eš* ***āqā=he***
- Take.PST=3SG man=DEF
- 'The man took it,'

4 The comparisons

Tokens	HamBam	Frommer (spoken informal)
Rate of post-predicate elements (all)	24% (without subjects) 17% (with subjects)	??? (without subjects) 17% (with subjects)
Goals and caused-goals	77%	83%
Prepositional arguments	18%	18%
Adverbs	21%	8%
DOs with RA	3%	9%
DOs without RA	3%	%1
Subjects	3%	5%

HamBam-Frommer
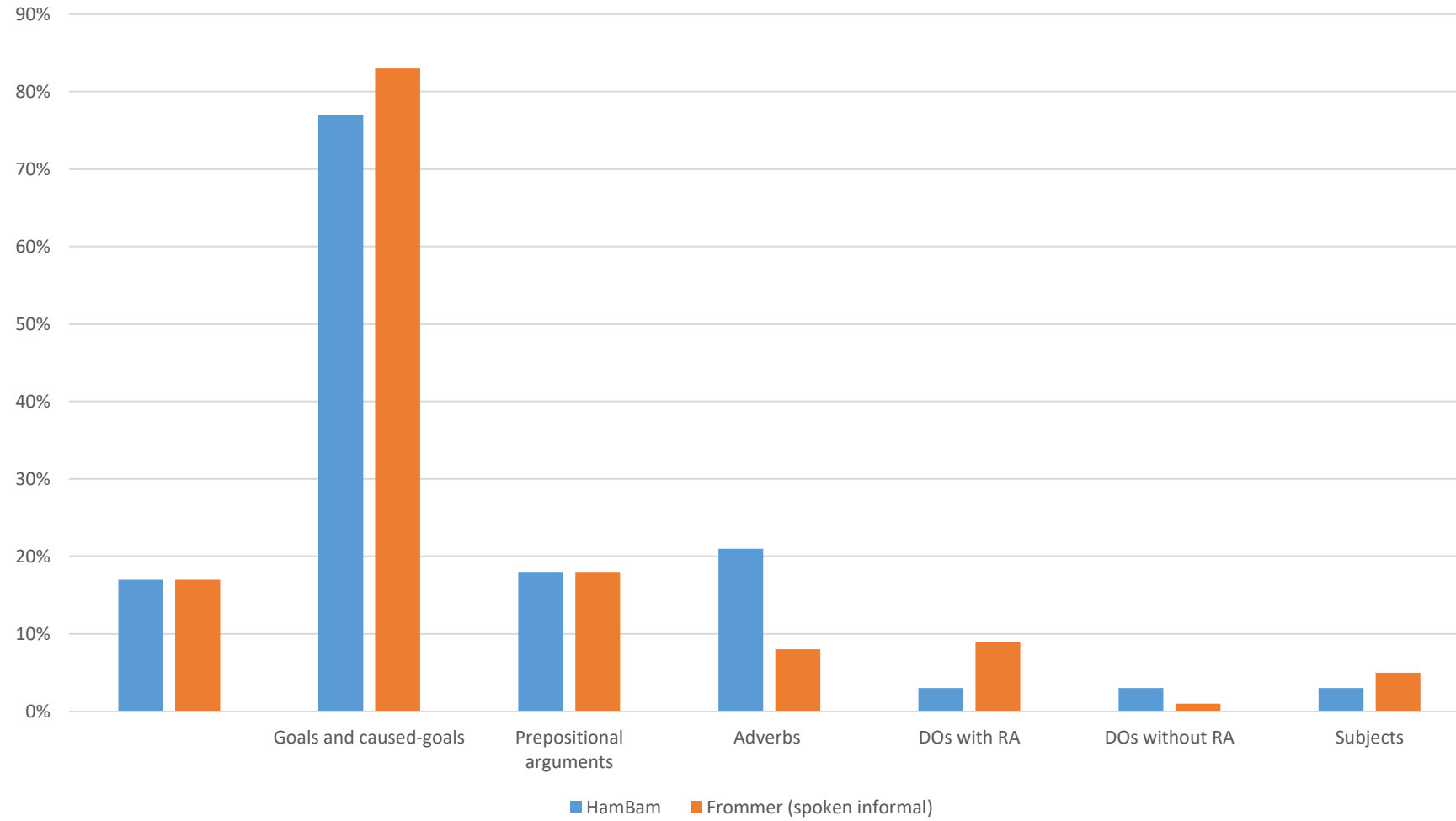
5 With or without prepositions

Constituent type	Total	VX	VX, P-less	XV, P-less
Caused goals	62	55	(33/55) 60%	(2/7) %29
Goals	213	168	(105/168) 63%	(24/45) %53
Comitative	47	12	(0/12) 0%	(1/35) %3
Locations	147	30	(13/30) 43%	(78/147) 53%
Stimulus	15	5	(2/5) 40%	(2/15) 13%
Benefactive	14	3	(0/3) 0%	(0/11) 0%
Instruments	27	4	(0/3) 0%	(0/23) 0%
Recipients	25	4	(1/4) 25%	(1/21) 5%
Ablative	48	4	(0/4) 0%	(2/44) 5%
Addressee	47	2	(1/2) 50%	(1/47) 2%

P-less constituents
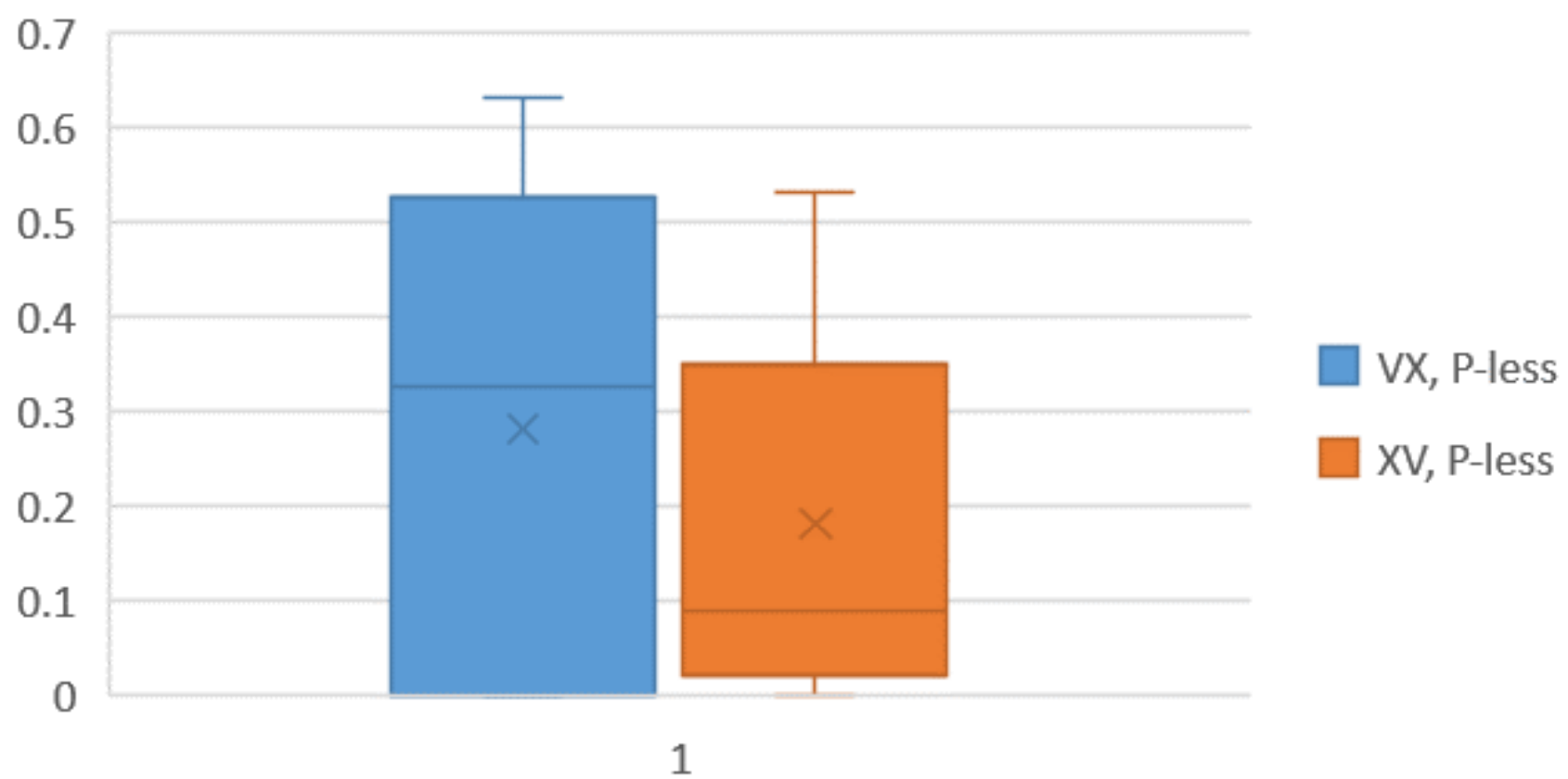
Constituent type	VX, P-less	XV, P-less
All	28%	18%
Goal, Caused Goal	62%	41%

6. Weight

Heaviness
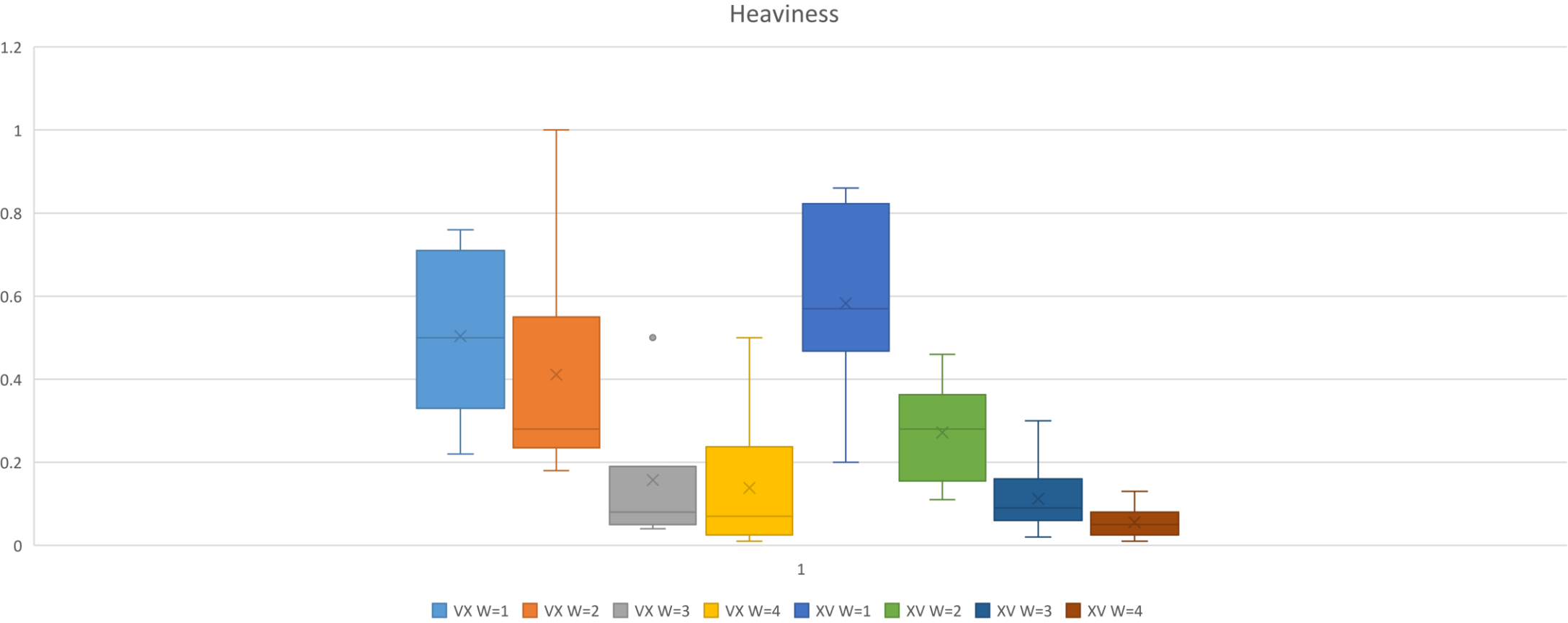
Weight	W=1	W=2	W=3	WW=4
Post-predicate	(218/363) 50%	(102/363) 41%	(28/363) 16%	(15/363) 14%
Pre-predicate	(609/1173) 58%	(367/1173) 27%	(142/1173) 11%	(55/1173) 5%
Total	(218/827) 26%	(102/469) 22%	(28/170) 16%	(15/68) 22%

7. Information structure
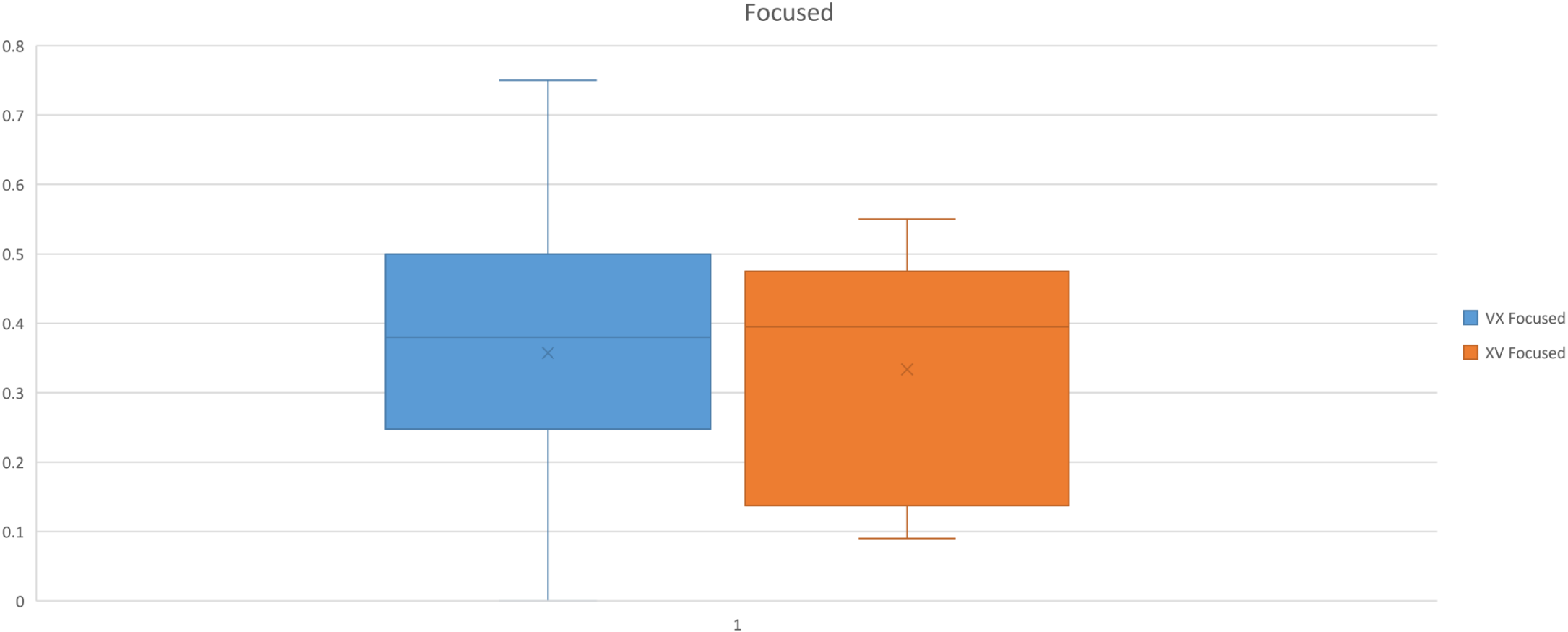
Focused	VX	XV
All	36%	33%
Goal, Caused Goal	42%	18%

Table 17. The interaction of information structure and P-less constituents

Role	VX Focused all	VX Focused; P-less	XV Focused	XV Focused; P-less
Caused Goal	47%	40%	14%	71%
Goal	36%	37%	22%	56%

8. Animacy
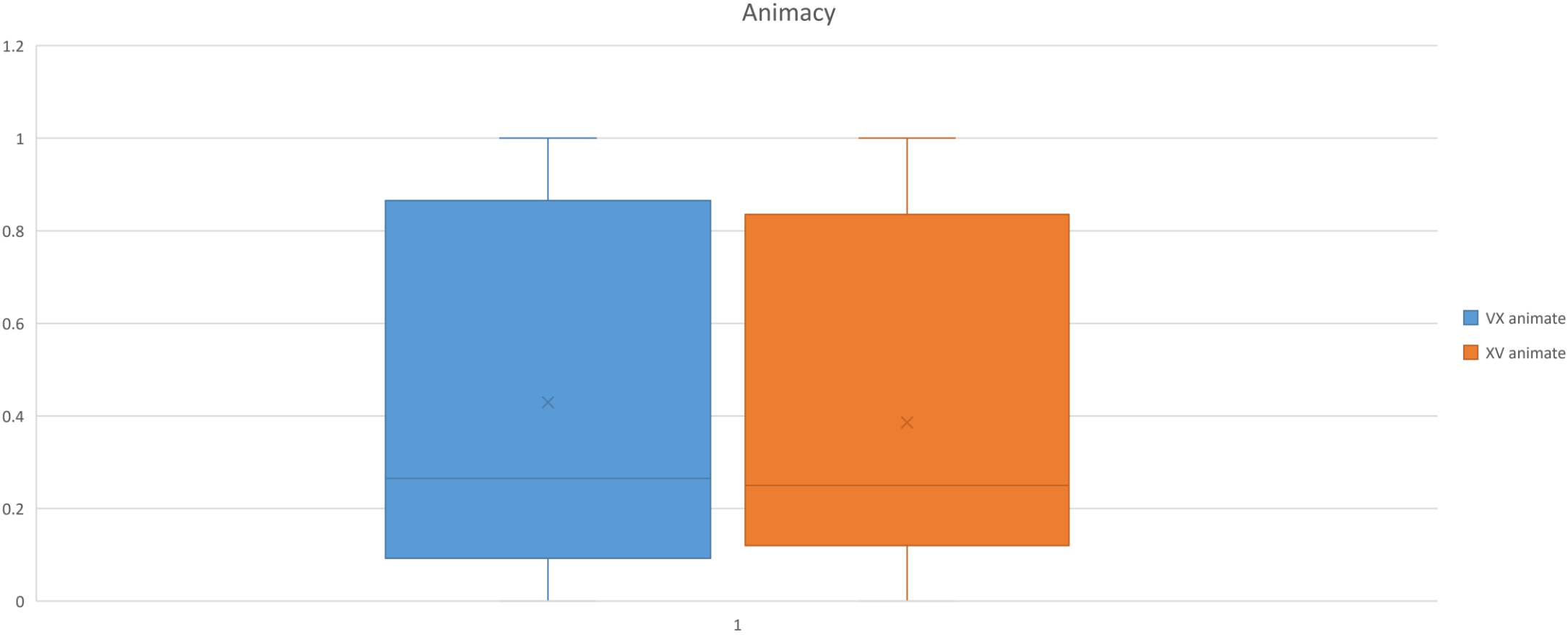
Table 19. The interplay of animacy and position

Animacy	VX animate	XV animate
All	43%	39%
Goal, Caused Goal	10%	28%

9. Western Asia Transition Zone (WATZ)
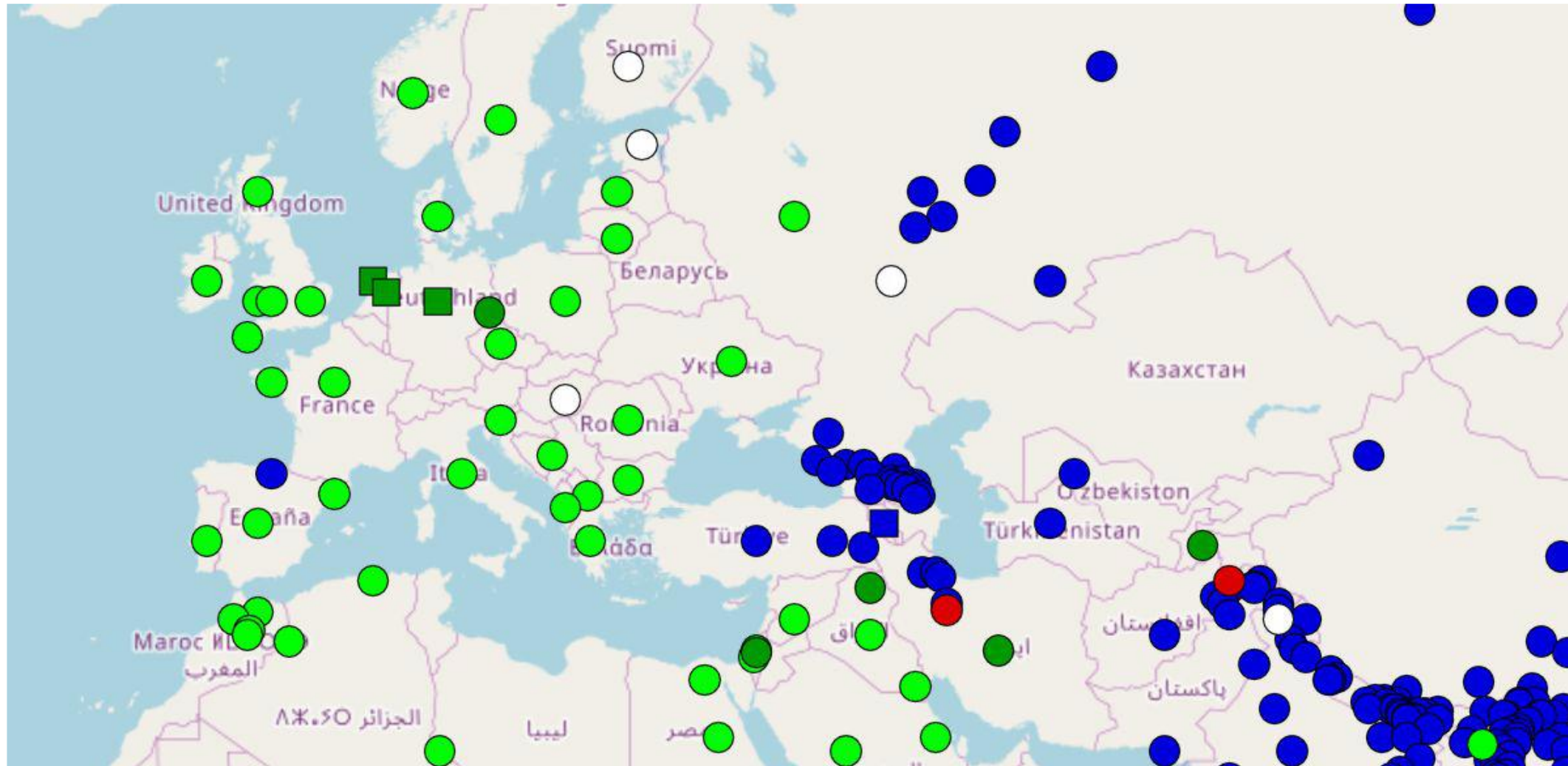
Language genera in WATZ

- Iranian
- Indo-Aryan (Domari)
- Armenian
- Nakh-Daghestanian(Udi)
- Kartvelian
- Turkic
- Semitic

Areal considerations

The **WOWA corpus** grew out of the project *Post-predicate elements in Iranian and neighbouring languages: Inheritance, contact, and information structure*. It contains data that were collected and annotated by the researchers involved in that project, as well as others contributed by associated researchers.

The principle aim of **WOWA** is to provide an accessible and transparent source of data for corpus-based approaches to word order typology, focussing on the languages spoken in the region designated here as Western Asia.

The data sets are successively being made available, with 25 online as of March 2022.

Getting started with WOWA ——————

corpus overview (!)	—/— (TBA)	*archive*
all coded values	—/— (TBA)	*archive*
all source texts	—/— (TBA)	*archive*

Citing WOWA ——————————————
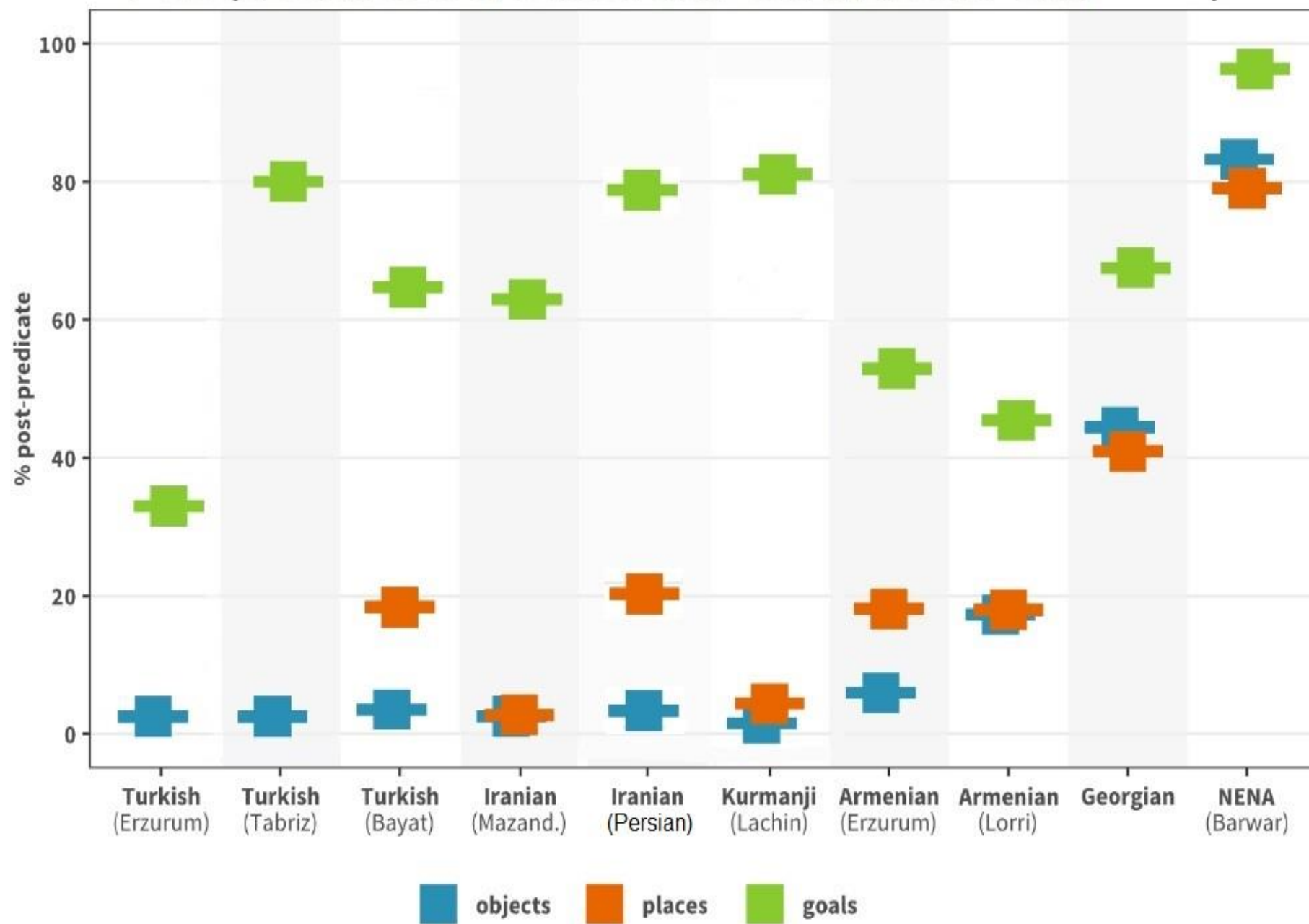
Haig, Geoffrey & Stilo, Donald & Doğan, Mahîr C. & Schiborr, Nils N. (eds.). 2021. *WOWA — Word Order in Western Asia: A spoken-language-based corpus for investigating areal effects in word order variation*. Bamberg: University of Bamberg. (multicast.aspra.uni-bamberg.de/resources/wowa/) (date accessed) (date accessed)
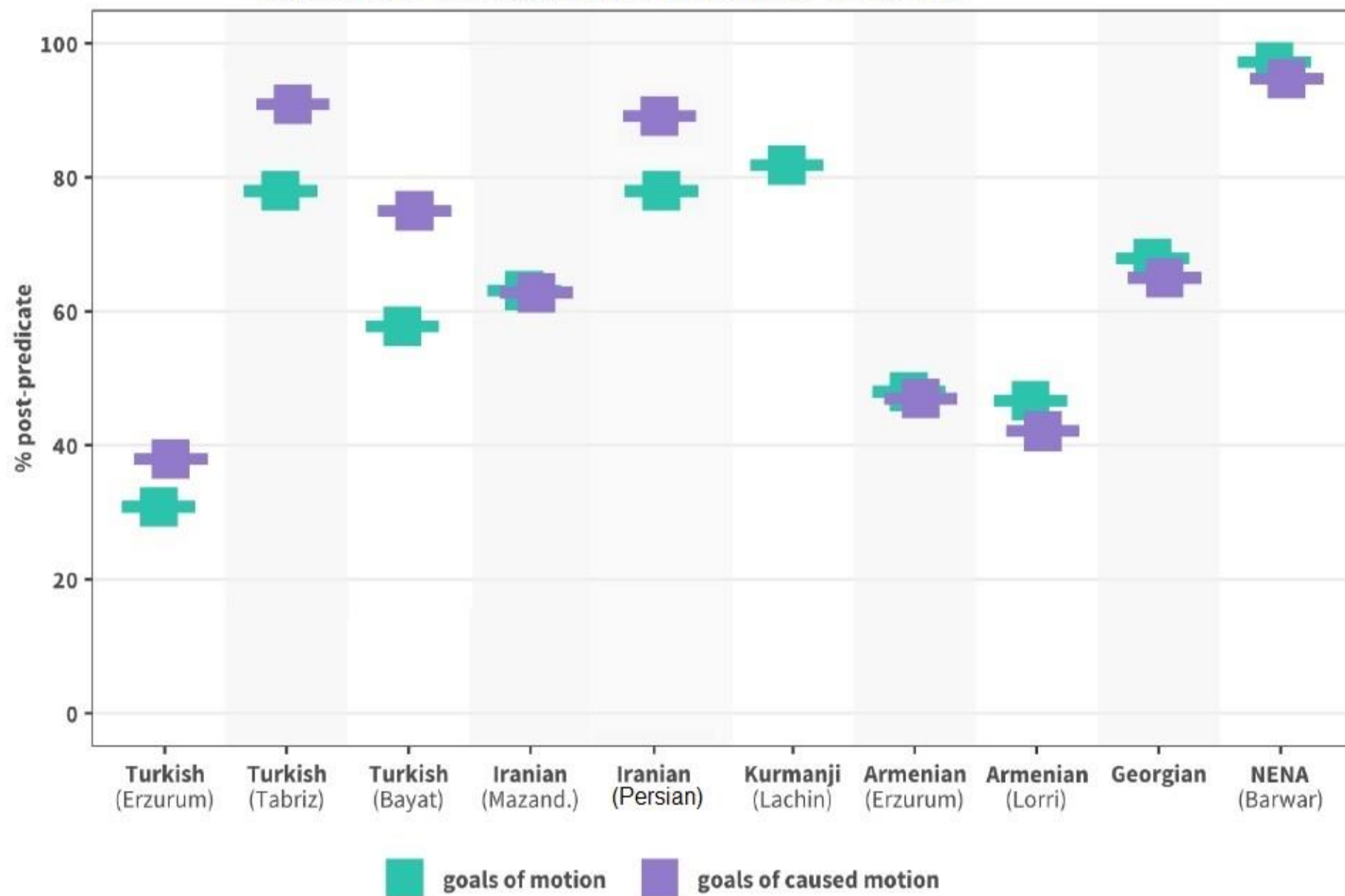
download citation

The doculects

Oghuz (Gagauz)

Laz (Arhavi)
Oghuz (Erzurum)
Pontic Greek (Romeyka)
Oghuz (Ankara)
Kurdish (N., Ankara)
Kurdish (N., Muş)
Zazakî (Çewlîg)
Zazakî (Siwêreg)
NENA (Jewish, Dohok)
NENA (Christian, Barwar)
Kurdish (S., Bijar)
Gorani (Gawrajū)
Kurdish (C., Sanandaj)
NENA (Jewish, Sanandaj)
Arabic (Khuzestan)
Balochi (Koroshi)
Oghuz (Qashqai)
Kholosi (Kholos)
Kumzari (Musandam)
Balochi (Coastal)

Georgian (Colloquial)
Tat (Daykuščʉ)
Kurdish (N., Lachin)
Talyshi (Lerik)
Oghuz (Tabriz)
Mazandarani (Kordxeyl)
Balochi (Turkmen)
Oghuz (Bayat)
Vafsi (Gurchani)

● Turkic
◆ Iranian
⬠ Kartvelian
▲ Semitic
■ Armenian
◆ Hellenic
▼ Indo-Aryan

Post-predicate DO, PLACE and GOAL, nouns only

Motion vs. caused motion GOALs

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Thank you