

Les périphrases verbales du persan et la typologie des périphrases

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Introduction

- **Inflectional periphrasis**: the use of multiple words to fill (what can be conceived as) cells in an inflectional paradigm
- The Persian situation is interesting because very different periphrastic constructions are used within a single system
 - ☞ Typologically different varieties of periphrasis can easily be compared
- Canonical typology (Corbett, 2007):
 - Identify criteria for calling a construction periphrastic
 - Use the criteria as dimensions in a typological space
- At least two important dimensions:
 - **degree of syntagmatic cohesion**: canonical periphrases are less cohesive than words, more cohesive than ordinary syntactic constructions.
 - **paradigm integration**: canonical periphrases do not fit in a paradigm of syntactic construction, but they fit in an inflectional paradigm.

Synthetic conjugation

TAM	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
indicative present	mi-xar-i UBD-buy.S1-2SG	ne-mi-xar-i NEG-UBD-buy.S1-2SG
indicative bounded past	xarid-i buy.S2-2SG	na-xarid-i NEG-buy.S2-2SG
indicative unbounded past	mi-xarid-i UBD-buy.S2-2SG	ne-mi-xarid-i NEG-UBD-buy.S2-2SG
subjunctive present	be-xar-i IRR-buy.S1-2SG	na-xar-i NEG-buy.S1-2SG
imperative	be-xar IRR-buy.S1	na-xar NEG-buy.S1
infinitive	xarid-an buy.S2-INF	na-xarid-an NEG-buy.S2-INF
present participle	xar-ande buy.S1-PRS.PTCP	—
perfect participle	xarid-e buy.S2-PRF.PTCP	na-xarid-e NEG-buy.S2-PRF.PTCP

Five periphrastic constructions

- (1) **Passive: perfect participle + *šodan* 'become'**

In tâblo foruxte mi-šav-ad.

this painting sold UNBD-become.S1-3SG

'This painting is sold.'

- (2) **'Complex forms': perfect participle + *budan* 'be'**

a. Maryam in tâblo=râ foruxte bud.

Maryam this painting=DDO sold be.S2.3SG

'Maryam had sold this painting.'

b. Maryam in tâblo=râ foruxte=ast.

Maryam this painting=DDO sold=be.PRS.3SG

'Maryam has sold this painting.'

- (3) **Future: *xâstan* 'want' + bare past stem**

Maryam in tâblo=râ xâh-ad foruxt.

Maryam this painting=DDO want.S1-3SG sell.S2

'Maryam will sell the painting'

- (4) **Progressive: *dâštan* 'have' + finite verb**

Maryam dâr-ad in tâblo=râ mi-foruš-ad.

Maryam have.PRS-3SG this painting=DDO UNBD-sell.S1-3SG

'Maryam is selling the painting.'

Degree of syntagmatic cohesion

The passive is quasi-analytic

- Inflectional **prefixes** are carried by the auxiliary.

(5) In *tâblo foruxte ne-mi-šav-ad*.
this painting sold NEG-UNBD-become.S1-3SG
'This painting is not sold.'

- The relative order is flexible.

(6) In *tâblo šod robude va foruxte*.
this painting become.S2 stolen and sold
'It is this painting which was stolen and sold'

- **Adverbials** can intervene between *šodan* and the participle.

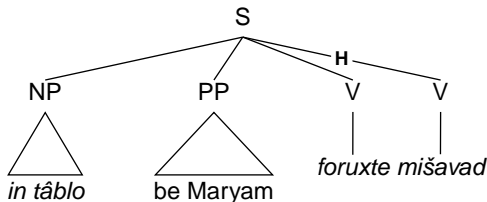
(7) In *tâblo foruxte hatman šode ast*.
this painting sold **certainly** become be.S1.3SG
'This painting has certainly been sold.'

- The **participle** can be fronted.

(8) **Foruxte** fekr mi-kon-am [*tâblo ___ šod*].
sold thought UNBD-do.S1-1SG painting become.S2
'I think that if the painting is sold (...).'

The passive is quasi-analytic

- Order flexibility calls for a flat structure



- Similar to the situation of copular constructions

- (9) a. Maryam râzi az Omid=ast.
Maryam satisfied of Omid=COP.3SG
'Maryam is very satisfied with Omid.'
- b. Maryam az Omid râzi=ast.
Maryam of Omid satisfied=COP.3SG
- c. az Omid Maryam râzi=ast.
of Omid Maryam satisfied=COP.3SG
- d. Maryam râzi=ast az Omid.
Maryam satisfied=COP.3SG of Omid

Complex forms

- Five series of forms based on the copula *budan*
- Only three of the series have a clear synthetic counterpart
- The copula can be a full word or a clitic

simple present <i>mi-xar-ad</i> UNBD-buy.S1-3SG	complex present <i>xarid-e=ast</i> buy.S2-PRF.PTCP=be.PRS.3SG
simple bounded past <i>xarid</i> buy-S2	complex bounded past <i>xarid-e bud</i> buy.S2-PRF.PTCP be.S2
simple subjunctive <i>be-xar-ad</i> IRR-buy.S1-3SG	complex subjunctive <i>xarid-e bāš-ad</i> buy.S2-PRF.PTCP be.SBJV-3SG
— — —	complex unbd. past <i>mi-xarid-e=ast</i> UNBD-buy.S2-PRF.PTCP=be.PRS.3SG
— — —	complex perfect <i>xarid-e bud-e=ast</i> buy.S2-PRF.PTCP be.S2-PRF.PTCP=be.PRST.3SG

Recently morphologized forms

- The complex present and unbounded past, historically based on a clitic copula, are no more periphrastic:

- All prefixes precede the participle.

(10) Sâlhâ Maryam be madrase **ne-mi**-rafte=ast.
years Maryam to school NEG-UNBD-gone=be.PRST.3SG
'For years, Maryam went to school'

- The participle-auxiliary sequence can not be interrupted.

(11) *Rafte **hatman**=ast.
left certainly=be.PRST.3SG
'(S)he has certainly left.'

- The participle can not be extracted

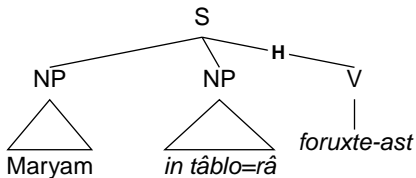
(12) *Mi-rafte sâlhâ Maryam be madrase=ast.
UNBD-gone years Maryam to school=be.S1.3SG

- Morphophonological idiosyncrasies specific to these forms

(13) a. **predicative construction** b. **complex present**
mord'e=ast → mord'ast mord'e=ast → mord'e:
corpse=be.PRST.3SG died=be.PRST.3SG
'It is a corpse.' '(S)he has died.'

Analyses for recently morphologized forms

- Single word analysis



- Appropriate exponents are added to the inflectional system.

III	II	I	IV	V
<i>na-</i>	<i>mi-</i>	stem-selection	<i>-e</i>	<i>-am</i>
<i>ne-</i>			<i>-ande</i>	<i>-i</i>
<i>be-</i>			<i>an</i>	<i>-ad/∅/-ast</i>
			<i>-e</i>	<i>-im</i>
				<i>-id</i>
				<i>-and</i>

Other complex forms

- When the auxiliary is a full word, negation attaches to the participle. . .

(14) a. **Na**-rafte bud. b. *Rafte **na**-bud.
NEG-gone be.PST gone NEG-be.PST
'(S)he hadn't left.'

- . . . the sequence is rigidly ordered and can not be interrupted. . .

(15) * Maryam Omid=râ bud dide.
Maryam Omid=DDO be.S2 seen
(intended) 'Maryam had seen Omid.'

(16) * Maryam Omid dide hatman bud
Maryam Omid seen certainly be.S2
(intended) 'Maryam had certainly seen Omid.'

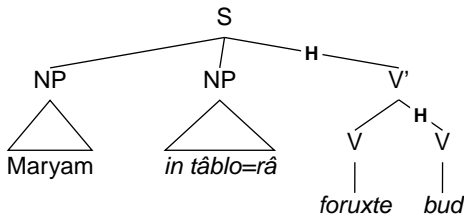
- . . . but participle extraction is possible

(17) **Foruxte** fekr ne-mikonam [___ **bâš-ad** tâblo=râ].
sold thought NEG-do be.SBJV-3SG painting=DDO
'I don't think that s/he has sold the painting.'

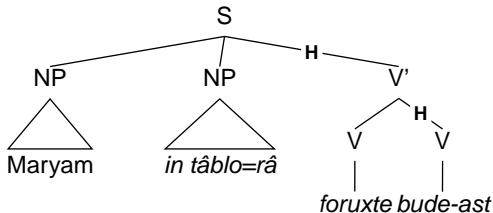
Analysis for other complex forms

- Forms based on the full copula are multi-word combination, but more cohesive than in the passive.

☞ Verbal complex formation



- The complex perfect combines both situations.



The future: an inflectional compound?

(18) Maryam in tâblo=râ xâh-ad foruxt.
Maryam this painting=DDO want.S1-3SG sell.S2
'Maryam will sell the painting.'

- The two parts look like word parts, not true words
 - The auxiliary is a present without *mi-*, an otherwise unattested form in contemporary Persian
 - The other form is a bare stem, otherwise occurring only in impersonal constructions
- Negation occurs before the auxiliary

(19) Maryam Omid=râ na-xâh-ad did.
Maryam Omid=DDO NEG-can.S1-3SG see.S2
'Maryam will not see Omid.'

- The order is rigid.

(20) a. *Maryam Omid=râ did xâh-ad
Maryam Omid=DDO see.S2 can.S1-3.SG

The future: an inflectional compound?

- The verb sequence be interrupted only by pronominal affixes

(21) *Maryam Omid=râ xâh-ad hatman did.
 Maryam Omid=DDO can.S1-3.SG certainly see.S2

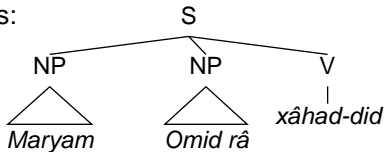
(22) Maryam xâh-ad-aš did.
 Maryam want.S1-3.SG-PAF.3.SG see.S2
 'Maryam will see her/him.'

- Neither verb can be fronted.

(23) a. *Xâh-ad Maryam Omid=râ did.
 can.S1-3.SG Maryam Omid=DDO see.S2

b. *Did Maryam Omid=râ xâh-ad.
 see.S2 Maryam Omid=DDO can.S1-3.SG

- The analysis fitting the data most closely is a compounding analysis:



The progressive: verb + finite clause

- Combines a finite form of the verb *dâšťan* 'have' with a second finite verb.

(24) Maryam *dâr-ad* in *tâblo=râ* *mi-foruř-ad*.
Maryam have.PRS-3SG this painting=DDO UNBD-sell.S1-3SG
'Maryam is selling the painting.'

- Closely resembles a head-finite complement construction.

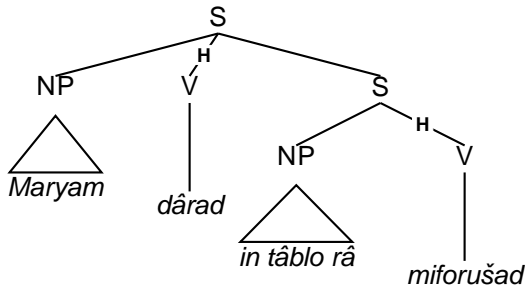
(25) Maryam *mi-dân-ad* (ke) Omid in *ketâb=râ* *be*
Maryam IPF-know.S1-3.SG that Omid this book=DDO to
Sârâ dâd.
Sara give.S2
'Maryam knows that Omid gave this book to Sara.'

- NB: subjects of finite clauses can be controlled in Persian.

(26) Maryam *mi-xâh-ad* (ke) *be sinemâ* *be-rav-ad*.
Maryam IPF-want.S1-3.SG (that) to theatre IRR-go.S1-3.SG
'Maryam wants to go to the movies.'

The progressive: verb + finite clause

- The progressive auxiliary takes a subjectless and completizerless finite clause as complement
- Thus, it enters a lexically specified subset of the set of constructions open to verbs taking finite complement clauses.



'Maryam is selling this painting.'

Interim conclusion

- Degrees of analyticity

Quasi-analytic	head-complement structure, some distributional idiosyncrasies	passive, progressive
True periphrasis	limited syntactic flexibility	complex forms (nonclitic copula)
Quasi-synthetic	no syntactic flexibility two lexemes involved	future
Synthetic combination	ordinary synthetic morphology	complex forms (clitic copula)

Paradigm integration

Dimensions of paradigm integration

- Criteria from Haspelmath (2000), Ackerman and Stump (2004) and Spencer (2006)
 - **Noncompositionality**: Some features of elements of the construction may be in contradiction with features of the construction as a whole.
- ☞ Familiar example: degree in English periphrastic superlatives

[DEG <i>pos</i>]	[DEG <i>comp</i>]	[DEG <i>super</i>]
smart	smarter	smartest
intelligent	more intelligent _[DEG <i>pos</i>]	most intelligent _[DEG <i>pos</i>]

- **Distributed exponence**: Exponence of features of the construction may be distributed on the elements of the construction.
- ☞ Familiar example: subject agreement in French auxiliated forms

(27) Les feuilles sont mortes.
DEF.PL leaf(F)-PL be.PRS.3.PL die.PP-F-PL
'The leaves are dead.'

Dimensions of paradigm integration, continued

- **Intersectivity**: The construction may express features that are expressed synthetically elsewhere in the paradigm.

☞ Familiar example: periphrastic passives in the perfect in Latin

	[VOICE <i>active</i>]	[VOICE <i>passive</i>]
[PERFECT -]	amo	amor
[PERFECT +]	amavi	amatus sum

- **Underexhaustivity**: The head of the construction may lack certain forms that other lexemes in the same category have.

☞ Familiar example: French periphrastic future

- (28) a. Paul va partir.
Paul go.PRS.3SG leave.INF
'Paul is about to leave.'
- b. *Paul a décidé d' aller
Paul have.PRS.3SG decide.PPL DE go.textscinf
partir.
leave.INF

The passive

- **Noncompositionality** **yes**: the participle expresses [PERFECT +], but the construction does not. Note that in contrast to what happens in many languages, there is no motivation for a passive participle.

(29) a. Maryam tâblo=râ xarid-e va be Omid dâd.
Maryam painting=DDO buy.S2-PRP and to Omid give.S2
'Having bought the painting, Maryam gave it to Omid.'

- **Distributed exponence** **no**: all morphosyntactic features are expressed on the auxiliary.
- **Intersectivity** **no**: voice is not expressed anywhere in the synthetic inflectional system.
- **Underexhaustivity** **no**: the passive auxiliary has a full inflectional paradigm.

Complex forms, 1 of 4

- Forms with a full word copula express [PERFECT +]:

☞ The complex bounded past is the perfect form of the past

- (30) Qabl az inke Omid be-res-ad, Maryam birun
before from that Omid SBJV-arrive.S1-3SG Maryam out
rafte bud.
gone be.S2
'Maryam had left (before Omid arrived).'

☞ The complex subjunctive is the perfect subjunctive

- (31) a. Fekr mi-kon-am Maryam mariz bâšad.
thought UNBD-do.S1-1SG Maryam sick be.SBJV
'I think Maryam is sick.'
- b. Fekr mi-kon-am Maryam mariz bude bašad.
thought UNBD-do.S1-1SG Maryam sick been be.SBJV
'I think Maryam has been sick.'

Complex forms, 2 of 4

- The complex unbounded past has an evidential value (Windfuhr, 1982; Lazard, 1985; Jahani, 2000)
 - Refers to an unbounded past event
 - Signals that the speaker only has indirect evidence for what he or she is asserting

- (32) a. (Banâ bar gofte-ye Omid) Maryam dar sâl-e 1950 in
According to-EZ Omid Maryam in year-EZ 1950 this
xâne-râ mi-sâxte=ast.
house-DDO UNBD-built=be.S1.3SG
'According to Omid, Maryam would have been building
this house in 1950.'
- b. Maryam dar sâl-e 1950 in xâne-râ mi-sâxt.
Maryam in year-EZ 1950 this house-DDO UNBD-built
Maryam was building this house in 1950.'

Complex forms, 3 of 4

- The complex perfect is **both** perfect **and** evidential

(33) (Az qarâr), qabl az inke Omid be-res-ad,
apparently before from that Omid SBJV-arrive.s1-3SG,
Maryam birun rafte bude ast
Maryam out gone been be.s1.3SG
'Apparently, Maryam had left before Omid arrived.'

- The complex present is **either** (present) perfect **or** (bounded past) evidential.

(34) Maryam tâze reside=ast.
Maryam new arrived=be.s1.3SG
'Maryam has just arrived.'

(35) (Banâ bar gofte-ye Omid) Maryam in xâne-râ dar
According to-EZ Omid) Maryam this house-DDO in
sâl-e 1950 xaride=ast.
year-EZ 1950 bought=be.s1.3SG
'According to Omid, Maryam bought this house in 1950.'

Complex forms, 4 of 4

	PRESENT	PAST		SUBJUNCTIVE
		DIR. EV.	IND. EV.	
BOUNDED	***	bounded past	complex present	simple subjunctive
UNBOUNDED	simple present	unbounded past	cpl. unbd. past	
PERFECT	complex present	complex bnd. past	complex perfect	complex subjunctive

- Since PERFECT is sometimes expressed synthetically, the last row must be part of the inflectional system.

☞ The truly periphrastic complex forms are intersective

Classifying periphrastic complex forms

- **Noncompositionality** **no**: the participle expresses [PERFECT +] even in isolation; TAM features of the auxiliary are interpreted transparently.
- **Distributed exponence** **yes**: the participle expresses perfect and polarity, the auxiliary expresses agreement and the rest of TAM.
- **Intersectivity** **yes**: see previous slides.
- **Underexhaustivity** **yes**: the truly periphrastic complex present is missing.

NB A truly periphrastic complex present would be like the complex present but either with a full word form of the copula, or with an extractable participle. None is possible.

- (36) * Maryam in tâblo=râ foruxte hast.
Maryam this painting=DDO sold be.PRS.3SG
(intended) 'Maryam has sold this painting.'

The future

(37) Future: *xâstan* 'want' + bare past stem

Maryam in tâblo=râ xâh-ad foruxt.
Maryam this painting=DDO want.S1-3SG sell.S2

'Maryam will sell the painting'

- **Noncompositionality no**: the forms realize no morphosyntactic feature except for subject agreement, so there is nothing to lose.
- **Distributed exponence no**: all inflection is on the auxiliary.
- **Intersectivity no**: future is never expressed in another way.
- **Underexhaustivity yes**: the future auxiliary does not even have a single form that corresponds to a normal paradigm cell.

The progressive

- Only three TAM combinations: indicative present, unbounded past, complex unbounded past.
- Both verbs agree with the subject in person and number.

- (38) a. Dâr-am in tâblo=râ mi-foruř-am.
 have.PRS-1SG this painting=DDO UNBD-sell.S1-1SG
 ‘I am selling the painting.’
- b. *Dâr-am in tâblo=râ mi-foruř-ad.
 have.PRS-1SG this painting=DDO UNBD-sell.S1-3SG

- Analysis:
 - The progressive auxiliary identifies its morphosyntactic features with those of its complement.
 - Because of the progressive meaning, only unbounded aspect forms are possible.

The progressive: unclassifiable

- **Noncompositionality ???**: some exponents are redundant but all express a feature of the construction.
- **Distributed exponence ???**: not really ; rather, cumulative exponence.
- **Intersectivity ???**: undecidable on straightforward empirical grounds (depends on whether one wants to call progressive a morphosyntactic feature).
- **Underexhaustivity yes**: the auxiliary is defective, though arguably this defection is a consequence of its semantics.

Conclusions

construction	noncomp.	dist. exp.	intersect.	underexh.
passive	+	-	-	-
perfect	-	+	+	+
future	-	-	-	+
progressive	?	?	?	+

- No simple correlation between syntagmatic and paradigmatic aspects of periphrasis
- No hope of a single, general approach to periphrasis
 - ☞ The notion of periphrasis corresponds to a typological space rather than a construction type.
 - ☞ See Bonami and Samvelian (2009)'s formal approach: 4 different analyses for the 4 different constructions.
- Some criteria are not applicable in the general case: should be rethought

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