The Verb "ha" in Laki Language from the Perspective of the Head-complement Parameter; A Typological Approach

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Abstract—The present article examined the function of one of Greenberg's implicational universals in the Laki language from a typological point of view and studied the word order in sentences with adposition in this language. In data analysis, the unique function of the verb "ha" became the main focus of the research. The analyses illustrated that, unlike other verbs of this language, in the sentences with adposition, in some grammatical features, this verb has the character of verb-final. In order to study this phenomenon, the article first identified and determined different linguistic elements that are the source of this unique function in different contexts. Then, referring to some important explanations of language typology, it explained the cause of this linguistic phenomenon and indicated that some motivation or forces are involved in explaining the different behavior of the verb "ha".

Index Terms—head parameter, verb-initial, verb "ha", typological explanations, Laki language

I. INTRODUCTION

In typology, the subject of implicational universals that is studied in the area of word-formation and syntax, was introduced by Joseph Greenberg. He states that implicational universals differ from unrestricted universals in that they do not assert that all languages belong to one type. That is, they indicate the situation for only some types. In fact, Greenberg speaks about a systematic diversity of languages and introduces implicational universals. He shows that in this type of universals, there is a relationship between "if" and "then". For example, if a language is SOV, then it is postpositional (Croft, 2003, p. 53). Implicational universals in typology are equivalent to parameters in Generative Grammar (While unrestricted universals in typology are equivalent to the principles in Generative Grammar). These parameters or implicational universals are the basis for classifying languages into different groups.

In the classification of languages based on the head parameter, linguists pay more attention to the verb phrase and the order of the sentence components. Accordingly, languages such as English and French are considered as the head-initial, and languages such as Japanese and Korean are considered as the head-final. In head-initial languages, the verb is placed before the object, the complement, and the adjuncts. Whereas, in head-final languages the verb is placed after the object, the complement and the adjuncts (Rezaei, 2011). Most of the linguists consider Persian to be the language of the head-final because of the structure of the sentence and the verb phrase in it. There are arguments for and against this issue. For example, Moinzadeh (2005) considers Persian to be the language of the head-initial. But Karbaschi and Darzi (2009) in the article "the position of the head of the Persian inflectional phrase" illustrate that the inflectional phrase is at the end of the sentence.

Moinzadeh (2005) believes that most of the syntactic groups of Persian language such as noun phrases (NP), adjective phrases (AP) and adverbial phrases (adv. p) with prepositional phrase (PP) are considered as the head-initial and are analyzed on this basis, however, most of the grammarians and linguists have considered this language as the head-final based on the sequence of constituent elements that produce the SOV construction. Given the fact that most Persian language phrases (XPs) are head-initial, he argues if an analysis can be made for verb phrases, which does not give a significant advantage to the SOV sequence over the SVO, Persian can be analyzed primarily as the language of head-final. (Rezaei, 2011) concludes that at the beginning of the evolution, Persian was probably a complete head-final language (in harmony with its mother Indo-European language) and now in a systematic process of change, it is moving towards a head-initial language.

It was observed that in terms of the position of the head (verb), there is no consensus on the Persian language as the most important language of Iranian languages. Now, the main purpose of writing this article is to examine another language from the sub-branch of Iranian languages, Laki. It is registered as an independent Iranian language. According to linguistic studies, this language variety, has earned the title of "language". Laki has different dialects and accents. This language belongs to the northwestern languages of the sub-branches of Iranian languages (Kazemi, 2005).

According to one of Greenberg's implicational universals, if a language is SOV then it is postpositional, and it seems that in Laki language, the position of the verbal heads in sentences that have a prepositional phrase is mainly verb-initial. But the verb "ha" in Laki is controversial in this respect and it behaves in a special way. Therefore, in this article, the author intends to answer the following questions that firstly, what is the status of Laki language in terms of the verbal

head parameter and how is the verb "ha" different from other Laki verbs? Secondly, in which linguistic elements can these differences be seen and finally, what is the probable cause or reasons for this particular performance? Therefore, the present study is conducted in an analytic method and is explained in the framework of language typology by providing examples and evidence from Laki language.

II. RELEVANT STUDIES

Some studies on the place of verb in the verb phrases have been conducted in various languages, especially in the languages of the Indo-European family. Kiparski (1996) states that the OV word order has been mostly replaced by VO, while its reverse form is rare in languages. In fact, a change to VO has happened in some branches of the IndoEuropean family, and Finno-Ugric. He indicates that the Germanic languages have also conformed to this trend. Zwart (1992) believes that SOV languages are head initial. Mohammad Ebrahim Jahromi (2004) has examined the structure of verb phrases in standard Persian. She considers the verb to be an element that has many morphological, syntactic, and semantic features and it is these characteristics that create the verb phrases.

However, in the case of Laki language, two researches have been done related to the subject of the article, the first of which is Moradkhani (2009) and the second is Jahani (2013). In her master's thesis, Moradkhani (2009) has examined the morphology and syntax of Laki Hersini's language (one of the Laki accents used in Harsin). In the syntactic review section, Moradkhani has shown that the verb structure in the Laki language of Harsin is the head-final by mentioning some examples. This study is one of the few studies done on the position of the verb phrases in the Laki language but apart from dialectal differences (Laki Harsini, Noorabadi and Kuhdashti, etc.), it seems that the structure of the verb in Laki language casts doubt on this conclusion. Jahani (2013) is another study that has been done in this regard. Describing some of Laki's structures based on the X-bar theory, she shows that this theory confirms the three levels of v″, v′ and v in Laki language and she has shown that this theory works well in the Laki language syntax. She concludes that in unmarked situations, the verb is in the final position.

III. HEAD PARAMETER

There are two types of universals in languages, which are principles and parameters. Principles are common to all languages. But as mentioned in the introduction, the parameters are not universal. Each parameter has two values. One of these two-value parameters is the head-complement parameter. Based on this parameter, there are two types of structures for world languages, according to which some languages are head-initial and others are head-final. There seems to be only two different possibilities and every language must either be the head-initial or the head-final. But the fact is that in different languages, the position of the head cannot be determined with certainty. In head-initial languages, the verb is placed before the object, complement, and adverbs, and the preposition is usually used. In head-final languages, the verb is placed after the object, the complement and the adjuncts, and mainly the postposition is used (Dreyer 2001, quoted by Rezaei, 2011). Greenberg raises the issue in the form of one of his implicational universals on the use of adposition and states that languages that are verb-final in the sentences with the prepositional phrases use the postposition.

We will now take a brief look at the types of verbs to examine the Laki language based on them. Farahzad (1389) divides the main sentences of the Persian language into three categories based on the verb. Sentences with intransitive verbs, sentences with transitive verbs and sentences with linking verbs (p. 17). The first type of sentences do not need an object. The second type of sentences require an object or a complement and the third type of sentences have linking verbs. The same types are seen in Laki's sentences. Zomorodi, et al. (2014) believe that linking verbs include the following two types: static verbs such as "is" indicate a fixed state of an attribute or state and dynamic verbs such as "become" that express a change of adjective or mood.

IV. THE HEAD PARAMETER FOR VERBS IN SENTENCES WITH PP

A. Verbs in Sentences with PP

In the Laki language, prepositional phrases play an important role in sentence construction, as sub-categories of the verbs. Our goal is first to determine the position of the verb in the sentences with the prepositional phrase so that we can then examine the verb "ha". Therefore, in this section, we provide the following evidence. For each sentence, the function or meaning of the words is mentioned below them and then the translation of the sentence is written. We first examine the sentences that have a prepositional phrase and their verbs are intransitive:

1- owen   če-n   ere   sinema

    they   went -3p pl   postposition to   cinema

    (They went to the cinema.)

2- æli   hæt   ere   mal

Ali   came   postposition to   home

(Ali came home.)

Sentences 1 and 2 are verb-initial. Here are some examples of transitive sentences:

3- me   toop - æ - m   ayšt   ær   hawa

I   ball - def- 1p sg   throw   postposition in to   air

(I threw the ball in to the air.)

4- reza   sæg - æy - æ   mor-e: e   dær

Reza   dog   his def   take-3p sg   postposition to   out

(Reza takes his dog out.)

5- sara   gol- æ   ney-ay   e   goldon

Sarah   flower-def   put-3p sg   postposition in   vase

(Sarah put the flower in the pot.)

These three sentences indicate that the pp is placed after the verb, and that the Laki language uses the postposition in these cases. Here are some sentences with linking verbs:

6- me   ha - m   e   kelas

I   is - 1p sg   postposition in   class

(I am in the class.)

7- Pænir   e   yaxčal   bi

cheese   preposition in   fridge   was

(The cheese was in the fridge.)

8- reza   e   mal   ni- yæ

Reza   preposition in   home   not- is

(Reza is not at home.)

9- me   ær   e:ræ   bi - m

I   preposition in   here   was - 1p sg

(I was here.)

Sentences 6 to 9 have a linking verb. Sentence 6, like the previous sentences, is the verb-initial and the sentence has a postposition. But sentences 7, 8 and 9 show the verb-final character and the postposition is used in them. In all sentences, the same verb is used (is/was) and the difference between these three verb-final sentences and sentence 6, which is verb-initial, is only about tense and polarity. Many of Laki's verbs were examined in the same way to determine the position of the verb in this language.

30 most common verbs were analyzed in the sentence and the analysis in this section showed that sub-categories of verbs play a role in determining the position of the verb and when there is a pp in a sentence, the position of the verb is not the verb-final. If we consider such sentences as the verb-final, they will inevitably become ungrammatical. The following sentence has become ungrammatical for this reason:

10- * me   ketaw - æ   æ   æli - m   da

I   book- def   preposition to   Ali - 1p sg   gave

(I gave the book to Ali.)

But it is grammatical when it is verb-initial:

11- me   ketaw - æ - m   da   æ   æli

I   book- def - 1p sg   gave   preposition to   Ali

(I gave the book to Ali.)

Therefore, it can be said that the intransitive, transitive, and linking verbs with pp create the verb-initial character and the pp moves to the position after the verb. This fact was confirmed by examining the verbs. Of the total sentences, 18 were verb-initial, 12 cases also had both verb-initial and verb-final characters. But no verb-final was observed in the

corpus (Except for the verb "ha", which is the main purpose of the study). Therefore, it can be said that some verbs, together with the prepositional phrase, have the feature of the verb-initial and others have both verb-initial and verb-final features and they can be categorized as follows:

TABLE 1:
THE HEAD-COMPLEMENT PARAMETER FOR VERBS IN SENTENCES WITH PP

row	head-complement	verbs	number
1	head-initial	če:n (to go), hæten (to come), berden (to carry), aweden (to bring), ræsin (to receive), dowin (to run), basten (to tie), dayn (to give), dayn (to beat), neyayn (to put), rešonen (to pour), pašonen (to sprinkle), šekonen (to break) ,qaronen (to shout) qižonen (to scream), čerikonen (to scream), gerten (to take), gerten (to get),	18
2	head-final	-	0
3	head-initial and head-final	hwæten (to sleep), veten (to say), hwarden (to eat), di:n (to see), xerin (to buy), šošten (to wash), kolonen (to cook), xanin (to laugh), ayšten (to throw), persin (to ask), ništen (to sit), kišayn (to pull)	12
		total	30

The results of this part of the study showed that whenever verbs come with a pp, they have the same behavior in terms of the verb-initial and verb-final. But the most important linking verb, "ha," behaves differently. This verb, together with the prepositional phrase, is head-final and only in certain contexts (the positive present tense and future tense) is head-initial. We are now trying to answer the question that is the main question of the article, why does this verb behave differently?

B. The Verb "ha"

In Laki, the verb "ha" that means "is" in the simple present tense has the following inflectional features:

TABLE 2:
INFLECTIONAL FEATURES ON VERB "HA" IN PRESENT TENSE

person	number	
	singular	plural
1st	hæ-m (I am)	hæ-ym (we are)
2nd	hæ-yn (you are)	hæ-yno (you are)
3rd	hæ-se (he/ she/ it is)	hæ-n (they are)

According to the above table, this verb is used in the form of "hæ". But it can be seen in the form of "ha" in the sentences with pp.

TABLE 3:
INFLECTIONAL FEATURES ON VERB "HA" IN PRESENT TENSE IN SENTENCES WITH PP

person	number	
	singular	plural
1st	ha-m (I am)	ha-ym (we are)
2nd	ha-yn (you are)	ha-yno (you are)
3rd	ha (he/ she/ it is)	ha-n (they are)

C. Comparison with Persian

Laki language is spoken in Iran. Laki and Farsi are both subdivisions of Indo-European languages. Here we have compared the use of the verb "ha" with its equivalent in Persian, which means "is" and we see it in the table below:

TABLE 4:
COMPARISON OF THE USE OF THE VERB "HA" WITH ITS EQUIVALENT IN PERSIAN

row	Laki sentences with adposition	Persian sentences with adposition	meanings
1	imæ ha-ym e mal	ma hastim (tu) xune	we are at home
2	*imæ e mal hæ-ym	ma (tu) xune hastim	we are at home
3	imæ e mal ni-men	ma (tu) xune nistim	we are not at home
4	*imæ ni-men e mal	ma nistim (tu) xune	we are not at home

It can be seen that all 4 sentences are grammatical in Persian. But the second and the fourth sentences of Laki are ungrammatical. If the second sentence is produced in the form of verb-final, it is ungrammatical. That is, in the simple present tense, it cannot be verb-final. The fourth sentence is also in the simple present tense, but in negative form. So, it cannot be verb-initial.

D. More Evidence

To show how the verb "ha" is different from other verbs, we refer to more examples. The following table shows some

examples of the use of the verb "ha":

TABLE 5:
EXAMPLES OF USE OF THE VERB "HA" IN LAKI LANGUAGE

row	Laki sentences	meanings
1	ketaw-æ ha sær me:z	The book is on the desk.
2	æli ha lo hæsæn	Ali is with Hassan
3	pænir-æ ha nom yaæxčal	The cheese is in the fridge.
4	owen ha-n e mal	They are at home.
5	æli ha nom mašin ?	Is Ali in the car?
6	æž e: vazeiyat-æ razi hæ-y ?	Are you satisfied with this situation?
7	ailæl e park ni-yen	The children are not in the park.
8	æli e kelas ni-yæ ?	Is n′ t Ali in the class?
9	reza e madresæ ni-yæ	Reza is not in the school.
10	to æž e: mozu-æ xošhal nin ?	Aren't you happy about that?
11	æ:mæd e bazar bi?	Was Ahmed in the market?
12	æ:mæd e bazar no-wi?	Was n′ t Ahmed in the market?
13	Kaškay to e mal bo-ya -yn	I wish you were at home

By examining the above sentences, it became clear that the verb "ha" in the following cases is different from other verbs. This verb in the emphatic situation (emphatic question) is a verb-final (Sentence 6). This negative verb also has the characteristic of the verb-final (7 and 9). In the form of a negative question, it is also verb-final (10). In past tenses, it is also verb-final (11 and 12). In optative mood, it is also verb-final (13). Therefore, it can be said that the features of tense (all past tenses), mood (negative indicative and optative), polarity (negation) and emphatic state (negative-question) affect verb-final order. The verb "ha" only at the positive simple present tense (and future whose form is like the present tense) is head-initial. Now that we have identified these effective factors, we will try to find out why this linguistic phenomenon occurs and explain the reason for the different behavior of the verb "ha" with a typological approach. We will do this in the next section.

V. DISCUSSION

According to Croft (2003) a principle is related to the expression of function in form. It is called iconicity or iconic motivation (p. 102). Iconicity refers to one to one correspondence between forms and functions. More semantically, is represented by more morphologically (Spencer, 1991, P. 225). He states the principle that semantically more implies morphologically more, is called construction iconicity. Spencer writes natural morphologists believe that historical changes will take place in the direction of less iconic toward more iconic. Therefore, according to Table 5 in these sentences, first an attempt is made to achieve the principle of iconicity. This language adds a negative maker morpheme to make the negation of the verb. Sentences 7 and 9 in Table 5 confirm this. It also adds two morphemes to the structure to make the past tense of the verb negative, and also to show the optative mood, it adds two morphemes to the structure. Sentences 12 and 13 of Table 5 show this. As a result, the structure of the verb becomes more complex and longer. This is done to achieve the principle of iconicity. But there is another typological principle called text frequency. According to Zipf′s Low, high frequency is the reason of small magnitude and Haiman (1985) believes that text frequency is economic motivation. In fact, the verb "ha" is short and frequent and like other common verbs, it is seen as a verb-initial. But in contexts of emphatic-question, in question-negative, and in past tenses and in optative mood, it has the feature of head-final. The verb "ha" only in the positive simple present and future tense is the head-final. Therefore, the reason for this behavior is due to the principle of frequency and the long forms of the verb remain head-final.

Economy is a principle that linguistic expressions shall be minimized where possible (Croft, 2003, p. 102). Therefore, in the case where the verb "ha" is still positive, and no negative suffix is added, and no past tense morpheme is also added, it is more economic and like other verbs, it is seen as the head-initial. When these suffixes are added, the negative verb and the negative-question verb become naturally longer and heavier. So, they are seen in the form of verbs-finals. As a result, positive question sentences are verb-initial and question-negative sentences are verb-final. It is worth mentioning that the common verbs of Laki are usually composed of one or two phonemes and have a short form and confirm the economic principle. Some of them are: æ (is), dæ (quiet), se (look), be (give), ne (don′t give) that confirms this. Finally, about the function of the verb "ha" in sentences with the preposition we should say that the common verb allows the prepositional phrase to go to the post-verb position to make processing easier and better. The more economical the language, the better the processing. Croft (2003) states that economy is a processing consideration. Processing efficiency for speakers and hearers is increased by shortening the forms (p. 116). So, we can say that the verb "ha", which is both high frequency and economical, tries to achieve the principle of processing.

VI. CONCLUSION

The present article examined the head-complement parameter with emphasis on the position of the verb in the Laki language, specifically the verb "ha" and studied the verb and its place in sentences with the prepositional phrase. This article shows that in this type of sentences, the head-complement parameter about the verb is often the verb-initial.

Observing both verb-initial and verb-final character in many sentences with the prepositional phrase indicates that this phenomenon may be due to the transition from the feature of the verb-final to the characteristic of the verb-initial over the time. Therefore, it can indicate the transition stage. Hence, it can be argued that in this respect, Laki is similar to other Indo-European languages and the obtained results are in line with the results of Kiparski's (1996) study on German languages and Rezaei (2011) on Persian language.

   The findings of this paper also showed that the function of the verb "ha" in sentences with pp in the Laki language differs from other verbs in this language in terms of the position of the verb. After reviewing and determining the cases that show the different performance of this verb, we tried to find out the reasons for these differences. From a typological point of view, the findings of this study show that the verb "ha" is the head-initial only in the positive simple present and future, to achieve the three principles of text frequency, processing, and economy. But in the above-mentioned grammatical features, it is seen as the head-final to achieve the principle of iconicity. In other words, the verb 'ha" to follow these three motivations or three important principles, has the verb-initial feature. But in some special contexts, to achieve iconicity, has the characteristics of the verb-final. These motivations are constantly competing to prove themselves and explain the linguistic phenomenon in question so that they have also been called competing motivations.

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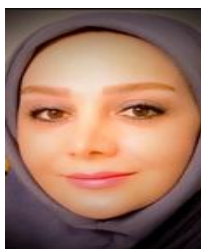
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