

## Small Clauses in Persian

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### Abstract

The Persian morpheme *ra* has attracted the attention of many linguists including Karimi (1989), Dabir-Moghaddam (1990) and Ghomeshi (1996) among others. Karimi takes *ra* as the accusative case marker, the presence of which on subjects and objects of prepositions render the sentence ungrammatical. According to Ghomeshi (1996), it marks DPs functioning as VP-level topics. Dabir-Moghaddam (1990) analyzes *ra* as the secondary topic marker in the Halidayian Functional grammar framework. In none of these analyses, this morpheme appear on deep subjects. In this article, it is highlighted that *ra* may also mark subjects, just in case it occurs in the right grammatical configuration. More specifically Persian has the category of small clause in which an NP marked with *ra* is the subject of the small clause rather than object of the matrix sentence. This is an unprecedented hypothesis in Persian linguistic literature. I also present a minimalist account of the construction in question.

**Keywords:** Subject, Small Clause, Tense, Case, Feature, Semantic, Complement, Object, Coordination, Constituency Test.

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**Introduction**

Persian is a pro-drop SOV language in which all major categories, except verbs, take their complements to the right. Verbs exhibit a discrepancy with regard to the head parameter, taking their clausal complements to the right, but phrasal complements to the left [Samiian 1983; Karimi 1989; Darzi 1996]. Noun phrases in this language are not morphologically marked for Case. However, specific objects are marked with *ra* which, following Karimi (1989), is assumed in this paper to be the accusative Case marker

- (1). æli (\*ra) be hæsaæn (\*ra) an ketab \*(ra) dad-ø  
 Ali (AC) to Hassan (AC) that book (AC) gave-3SG  
 Ali gave the book to Hassan.

There is disagreement among Iranian linguists on the grammatical category of complements to verbs such as *danestæn* (consider, lit: know), *be šomar aværdæn* (consider), *pendaštæn* (consider), *yaftæn* (find), *gozareš kardæn* (report, lit: report

- (2). mæn bæhram-ra aqel mi-pendašt-æm  
 I Bahram-AC wise IND-considered-1SG  
 I considered Bahram wise. (Soheili 1976:157)

In this paper, section 1 discuss the controversy over English sentences corresponding to (2) claimed to involve the so-called Small Clause Construction in the GB literature. In section 2, contrary to Meshkat-al-Dini (1987), Gholam-Alizadeh (1995) and others present arguments to support the hypothesis that the construction in question involves a small clause with the NP

for specific NPs not governed by an Infl or a preposition. The function of *ra* is not in itself a well-settled question [See Karimi 1989; Dabir-Moghaddam 1990; Browning and Karimi 1990; Ghomeshi 1997]. However, it is a generally accepted view that specific objects take *ra* in this language. This is illustrated in (1) below in which the presence of this element on the subject or on the indirect object and its absence on the specific direct object makes the sentence ungrammatical.

do), *xandæn* (call/name) among others. Sentences such as (2) adopted from Soheili-Isfahani (1976) have been analyzed differently by different linguists.<sup>1</sup>

marked by *ra* as its subject. In section 3, I propose a minimalist analysis of the construction in question. Section 4 concludes the paper.

**1. The Controversy Over Small Clauses**

The structure of sentences corresponding to (2) in English and other languages has been studied and debated in the GB literature. Linguists such as

Stowell (1981, 1983) and Chomsky (1981), among others, analyze the corresponding construction in (3a) as involving an SC with the structure assigned to it. The bracketed AP in (3a) is regarded an SC as the sentence is assumed to have a propositional semantics parallel to (3b). In (3a), the NP *John* is

- (3) a. They consider [<sub>AP</sub> John [<sub>A</sub> intelligent]] (Chomsky 1981:111, 35)  
 b. They consider that John is intelligent.

According to Webelhuth (1995:30), the implicit assumption in the LGB framework (Chomsky 1981) was that the properties of lexically related items, including their thematic and subcategorization information, should not differ from one another in unpredictable ways. He mentions that the major motivation for bracketing the AP as in (3a) derives from the behavior of subjects and *lexical regularity*, and said: “The degree of markedness of a stem S increases to the extent that (i) the argument structures and (ii) the subcategorization frames of the lexical items containing S are distinct and cannot be related by a general rule.” (Webelhuth 1995:30 & 37). Since the stem *consider* occurs in both sentences, it is preferable to unify these two uses of the verb as much as possible.

Grammatically, string *John intelligent* has been a matter of debate among linguists. The grammatical category of the small clause, according to Stowell (1981), is a projection of its predicate as shown in (3a). In fact, the two issues, i.e. the structure of sentences such as (3) and the grammatical category of the strings such as *John intelligent*, are intertwined.

treated as the structural subject of an SC that is exceptionally Case-marked by the matrix verb under government (Chomsky 1981, 1986) or moves to get its Case feature checked in the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995).

Mean while, Williams (1983) proposes a predication analysis of this construction with the structure in (4) below. Under Williams' (1983) proposal, the matrix object NP of the construction at hand does not constitute with the predicative AP. The DO is the matrix object and the subject of the XP predicate (here the AP) at the same time, but not a structural subject at any level of syntactic representation. This is the crucial difference between the two proposals.

- (4). I [<sub>VP</sub> consider [<sub>NP</sub> John] [<sub>AP</sub> intelligent]]

Chomsky (1981:33) rejects the structure assigned to the sentence in (4) saying it violates the Projection Principle as verbs such as *consider* take a clausal complement. Arguing against the analysis according to which the NP *John* and the AP are sisters to the head verb on a par, he maintains that these two constituents form a small clause the structural subject of which is *John*.

## 2. Persian Small Clauses

Like in English, the corresponding construction in

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Persian as claimed in this paper, involve a small clause that has received differently by different scholars. Unlike most grammatical categories that have been more or less recognized in Persian, it is only Darzi (1996), who maintains that Persian has the category of small clause, though some of my arguments in that study will be shown later in this paper not to be that persuasive.

Within the Hallidayan Functional Grammar, Bateni (1969:97) treats the NP XP string in the

- (5) mæn mi-pendašt-æm [ ke bəhram aqel æst]  
 I IND-considered-1SG that Bahram wise be.3SG  
 I considered Bahram to be wise. (Soheili 1976:157)

Finally, like Meshkat-al-Dini (1987), in his discussion of the grammatical functions of APs, Gholam-Alizadeh (1995) proposes that APs may also function as the complement to objects in

construction at hand as complement to the main verb, namely the predicator in the Functional Grammar terms.

Within the traditional generative grammar of the Aspects model of Chomsky (1965), Moyne and Carden (1974) and Soheili-Isfahani (1976), treated the sentence in (2) as the output of the subject-to-object raising transformation applied to the underlying structure given in (5).

Persian sentences like (6) below, in which the absence of the AP renders the sentence ungrammatical.

- (6) a. anha pesær-e xod-ra [<sub>AP</sub> besyar aqel] mi-pendar-ænd  
 They son-EZ self-AC very wise IND-consider-3PL  
 They consider their son very intelligent. (Gholam-Alizadeh 1995:109)
- b. ma u-ra xošhal yaft-im  
 we he-AC happy found-1PL  
 We found him happy. (Meshkat-al-Dini 1987:111)

Gholam-Alizadeh (1995:110) proposes a ternary branching VP for (6a) in which the object *pesær-e xod-ra* (their son) and the AP are sisters to the head verb on a par. This is similar to Williams' (1983) analysis of corresponding English sentences, though there is no discussion of the predication theory in Gholam-Alizadeh's (1995) analysis.

The subsections propose three arguments in favor of the SC analysis of the proposed Persian construction. In (2.1), I show that Darzi's (1996) constituent based argument in favor of the small clause analysis of the construction may be supported if another alternative analysis lost sight in his study is also ruled out. In (2.2), I show that

the accusative marked NP/DP in this construction behaves like a subject and not an object with regard to the interpretation of the bare reflexive *xod* (self) in Persian. This is itself an interesting observation which shows that structural subjects in Persian may also be marked for accusative Case just in case they are governed by a head verb. In (2.3), a semantic argument is presented to support the hypothesis that Persian does have the category of small clause. In (2.4), it is shown that although Darzi's (1996) argument in favor of the small clause analysis is on the right track, it needs a parametrization of the binding category as suggested in Webelhuth (1995) to explain why the small clause is not the binding domain for anaphors contained inside its predicate.

- (7). u [<sub>SC</sub> hæsæn-ra aqel] væ [<sub>SC</sub> æli-ra divane] mi-dan-æd  
 he Hassan-AC wise and Ali-AC crazy IND-know-3SG  
 He considers Hassan wise and Ali crazy.
- (8). u [<sub>SC</sub> pesær-e xod-ra æli] væ [<sub>SC</sub> doxtær-æš-ra sara] nam-id-ø  
 he son-EZ self-AC Ali and daughter-his-AC Sara name-PST-3SG  
 He called his son Ali and his daughter Sara.

However, one may present a counter argument to the effect that the sentences (7)-(8) involve coordination of two TPs with the head verb of the first conjunct being gapped under

### 2.1. Evidence from Constituency Tests

According to Darzi (1996), a piece of evidence in support of the SC analysis of the NP XP string in the Persian construction under investigation comes from constituency tests. Under Williams' (1983) proposal the NP and the XP in this construction do not, but under the SC analysis of this string they do, form a constituent at one level of derivation. Now, under the generally accepted view in the literature that in coordinate structures the two conjuncts are constituents, the sentences in (7)-(8) which involve coordination of two NP XP strings support the hypothesis that NP XP string in the construction at hand forms a constituent, namely an SC, that excludes the verb.

- identity with the second verb. As such, these sentences may have the structures shown in (9)-(10), respectively.

- (9). [<sub>TP</sub> u hæsæn-ra aqel GAP] væ [<sub>TP</sub> æli-ra divane mi-dan-æd]  
 he Hassan-AC wise and Ali-AC crazy IND-know-3SG  
 He considers Hassan wise and Ali crazy.

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- (10). [<sub>TP</sub> u pesær-e xod-ra æli GAP] væ [<sub>TP</sub> doxtær-æš-ra sara nam-id-ø]  
 he son-EZ self-AC Ali and daughter-his-AC sara name-PST-3SG  
 He called his son Ali and his daughter Sara.

Such a counter argument may not be maintained. The Persian proform *hæm hæminton* (so-Aux) can replace a T' (or VP for the purpose of discussion) as illustrated in (11b) in which the proform has replaced *ketab ra be hæsen dad* (gave the book to Hassan) and is semantically understood to refer to this string. The sentence in (11b) shows

that the proform has replaced all the constituents of the sentence except the subject. The other sentences (11c, d, e, f) in which the proform is accompanied by a constituent of the VP are ungrammatical. This shows that we are dealing with a T' (or VP) proform.

- (11) a. æli ketab-ra be hæsen dad-ø  
 Ali book-AC to Hassan gave-3SG  
 Ali gave the book to Hassan.
- b. æli ketab-ra be hæsen dad-ø hosein hæm hæminton  
 Ali book-AC to Hassan gave-3SG Hossein so-Aux  
 Ali gave the book to Hassan, so did Hossein.
- c. \*æli ketab-ra be hæsen dad-ø hosein hæm be hæsen hæminton
- d. \*æli ketab-ra be hæsen dad-ø hosein hæm ketab-ra hæminton
- e. \*æli ketab-ra be hæsen dad-ø hosein hæm ketab-rabe hæsen æminton
- f. \*æli ketab-ra be hæsen dad-ø hosein hæm hæminton dad-ø

Now, the sentence in (12) in which *hæm hæminton* has replaced the entire bracketed string and has the interpretation assigned to it indicates that the proform substitutes everything except the subject of the first conjunct. The sentences in (9)-(10) may not be analyzed as involving coordination of two TPs. In other words, (12) may

be accounted for under the structure represented in (7) but not the one in (9). This is because, it is under (7) that everything other than the first subject forms a constituent. As such, we conclude that (7) and (8) do not involve coordination of two TPs.

- (12). u [hæsæn-ra aqel væ æli-ra divane mi-dan-æd] hosein hæm hæmintor  
 he Hassan-AC wise and Ali-AC crazy IND-know-3SG Hossein so-Aux  
 He considers Hassan wise and Ali crazy so does Hossein.

Also, one may propose that (7)-(8) involve coordination of two VPs with the subject of the second sentence being a pro coindexed, with the subject of the first conjunct the verb of which is gapped. The structure of the sentences in (7)-(8) may then be represented as in (13)-(14). Or (7)-(8) involve coordination of two VPs with matrix subject being extracted from their Specs as a case

of across-the-board extraction along the lines of Larson (1988) for English. I will not take any stand as to the base position of the subject in Persian has no bearing on my analysis. However, I show that the sentences in (7)-(8) do not involve coordination of two VPs in which the first verb is gapped.

- (13). u<sub>i</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> hæsæn-ra aqel GAP] væ [<sub>VP</sub> æli-ra divane mi-dan-æd]  
 he Hassan-AC wise and Ali-AC crazy IND-know-3SG  
 He considers Hassan wise and Ali crazy.

- (14). u [<sub>VP</sub> pesær-e xod-ra æli GAP] væ [<sub>VP</sub> doxtær-æš-ra sara] nam-id-ø  
 He son-EZ self-AC Ali and daughter-his-AC Sara name-PST-3SG  
 He called his son Ali and his daughter Sara.

While taking (15)-(16), the sentence in (15) in which the embedded subject is understood to be coreferential with the subject of the first conjunct is grammatical but, (16) in which the subject of the second conjunct is overt with a referential property is ungrammatical. The contrast between (15) and (16) may be explained that *hæm hæmintor* (so-Aux) may replace all the constituents of the

sentence except the subject. So we can conclude that (15) involves coordination of two VPs whereas (16) involves coordination of two TPs. More generally, I would like to claim that sentences (15) involve coordination of two T  $\Leftrightarrow$  s/VPs even in the absence of the proform and the NP/DP preceding it.

- (15). æli [<sub>VP</sub> dær-ha-ra xub tæmiz] væ [<sub>VP</sub> anha-ra ræng kærð-ø],  
 Ali door-PL-AC well clean and they-AC paint did-3SG  
 hæsæn hæm hæmintor  
 Hassan so-Aux  
 Ali cleaned the doors and painted them, so did Hassan.

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- (16).\* [<sub>TP</sub> æli dær-ha-ra xub tæmiz] væ [<sub>TP</sub> reza anha-ra ræng kærd-ø],  
 Ali door-PL-AC well clean and Reza they -AC paint did-3SG  
 hæ-sæn hæm hæm-intor  
 Hassan so-Aux  
 Ali cleaned the doors and Reza painted them, so did Hassan.

So far we have pretty strong evidence that *hæm hæm-intor* (so-Aux) is a T ⇔/VP proform. Based on this observation, I show that fronting of NPs marked with *ra* in coordinated VP constructions. As such, I will conclude that the structure assigned to (7)-(8) is correct and the sentences do not involve coordination of two VPs.

Based on our discussion on the structure of sentences in (15) and (16), the sentences in (17a) and (18a), in which the light verb of the first conjunct is gapped, involve coordination of two VPs. These sentences involve fronting of the object of the first conjunct, marked with *ra*, are ungrammatical.<sup>2</sup>

- (17) a. æli [<sub>VP</sub> dær-ha-ra xub tæmiz] væ [<sub>VP</sub> anha-ra ræng kærd-ø]  
 Ali door-PL-AC well clean and they-AC paint did-3SG  
 Ali cleaned the doors and painted them.

- b.\* [dær-ha-ra]<sub>i</sub> æli [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> xub tæmiz] væ [<sub>VP</sub> anha-ra ræng kærd-ø]  
 door-PL-AC Ali well clean and they-AC paint did-3SG  
 Ali cleaned the doors and painted them.

- (18) a. sara [<sub>VP</sub> šiše-ha-ra xub tæmiz] væ [<sub>VP</sub> zærf -ha-ra xošk kærd-ø]  
 Sara window-PL-AC well clean and dish-PL-AC dry did-3SG  
 Sara cleaned the windows well and dried the dishes.

- b.\* [šiše-ha-ra]<sub>i</sub> sara [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> xub tæmiz] væ [<sub>VP</sub> zærf -ha-ra xošk kærd-ø]  
 window-PL-AC Sara well clean and dish-PL-AC dry did-3SG  
 Sara cleaned the windows well and dried the dishes.

However, fronting the NP marked with *ra* in (7)-(8) repeated here in (19a) and (20a) do not render the sentences ungrammatical. This is shown in (19b) and (20b) respectively. The

grammaticality of these sentences indicates that (7) and (8) do not involve coordination of two VPs, rather more likely involve coordination of two SCs.



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(19) a. u [<sub>SC</sub> hæ-sæn-ra aqel] væ [<sub>SC</sub> æli-ra divane] mi-dan-æd  
 He Hassan-ACwise and Ali-AC crazy IND-know-3SG  
 He considers Hassan wise and Ali crazy.

b. [hæ-sæn-ra]<sub>i</sub> u [<sub>SC</sub> t<sub>I</sub> aqel] væ [<sub>SC</sub> æli-ra divane] mi-dan-æd  
 Hassan-AC he wise and Ali-AC crazy IND-know-3SG  
 He considers Hassan wise and Ali crazy.

(20) a. u [<sub>SC</sub> pesær-e xod-ra æli] væ [<sub>SC</sub> doxtær-æš-ra sara] nam-id-ø  
 He son-EZ self-ACAli and daughter-his-AC Sara name-PST-3SG  
 He called his son Ali and his daughter Sara.

b. [pesær-e xod-ra]<sub>i</sub> u [<sub>SC</sub> t<sub>i</sub> æli] væ [<sub>SC</sub> doxtær-æš-ra sara] nam-id-ø  
 son-EZ self-AChe Ali and daughter-his-AC Sara name-PST-3SG  
 He called his son Ali and his daughter Sara.

**2.2. Evidence from Bare Emphatic Reflexive *Xod* (self)**

In Darzi (1996:207), the distribution of the bare emphatic reflexive *xod* (self) in Persian provides evidence in support of the hypothesis of the present research, but no argument was presented.

In Persian, the bare emphatic reflexive *xod* which is neutral with respect to number and person may only take the structural subject as its

antecedent, regardless of its linear precedence relation with other constituents in the clause (c.f. Ghomeshi 1996, 1997 for a detailed discussion of *xod*). Coindexing this element with any NP other than the subject renders the sentence ungrammatical. This is illustrated in (21)-(22) in which the symbol ^ stands for alternative positions in the clause where *xod* may occur.<sup>3</sup>

(21). u<sub>i</sub> ^ hæsan-ra<sub>j</sub> xod<sub>i</sub>/\*j/\*k be æli<sub>k</sub> ^ nešan dad-ø  
 he Hassan-AC self to Ali show gave-3SG  
 He himself showed Hassan to Ali.

(22). Ma<sub>i</sub> ^ anha-ra<sub>j</sub> xod<sub>i</sub>/\*j/\*k be ostad-ha<sub>k</sub> ^ mo'ærrefi kærð-im  
 We they-AC self to professor-PL introduction did-3PL  
 We ourselves introduced them to the professors.

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However, in the construction at hand, the accusative marked NP may be the antecedent of the bare emphatic reflexive as illustrated in (23)-(24). This apparent counter example may only be

explained if the surface object is the structural subject at one level of representation, binding the emphatic element.

(23). mæn u-raj xodj mærd-e xubi mi-dan-æm æmma pesær-æš-ra næ  
 I he-AC self man-EZ good IND-consider-1SG but son-his-AC not  
 I consider him himself, but not his son, a nice man.

(24). anha æxlaq-raj xodj yek fazilæt æmma su'e 'estefade æz an-ra  
 they morality-AC self a virtue but wrong use of it-AC

maye-ye bædbæxti mi-dan-ænd  
 cause-EZ misery IND-consider-3PL  
 They consider morality itself a virtue but misuse of it the cause of misery.

**2. 3. Evidence from Ambiguity**

The second original piece of evidence in support of the analysis in this paper comes from the ambiguity of transitive sentences involving a VP adverb. It is to be noted that a large class of

adjectives in Persian function as adverbs, too. The sentences in (25)-(26) which lack a verb taking an SC are unambiguous. In these sentences, the adverb modifies the head verb and they do not have the interpretations in (ii).

(25). æli in mæhælle-ra xub mi-šenas-æd  
 Ali this neighborhood-AC well/good IND-know-3SG  
 (i) Ali knows this neighborhood well  
 (ii) Ali knows this good neighbourhood.

(26). hæsaen mæs'æle-ra dorost hæl kærd-ø  
 Hassan problem-AC correct(ly) solution did-3SG  
 (i) Hassan solved the problem correctly.  
 (ii) Hassan solved the correct problem.

However, the sentences claimed in this study to involve an SC exhibit ambiguity if the predicate of the claimed SC is a phrase that can function as

both an adverbial phrase and an adjectival phrase. In the former case, i.e. the adverbial function, it modifies the main verb, whereas in the latter case,

i.e. the adjectival function, it is understood as the predicative adjective phrase of the accusative marked NP. This is illustrated in (27)-(28) and interpretations given in (a) and (b).

- (27). u hal-e hojjaj-ra xub gozareš kærd-ø  
 he health condition-EZ pilgrims-AC good/well report did-3SG  
 (a). He reported the pilgrims' health condition well.  
 (b). He reported the pilgrims' health condition as being good.

- (28). u ræftar-e æli-ra herfe'i gozareš kærd-ø  
 he behavior-EZ Ali-AC professional(ly) report did-3SG  
 (a). He described Ali's behavior professionally.  
 (b). He described Ali's behavior as being professional.

The different interpretations of (27)-(28) suggest that these sentences are structurally ambiguous. The interpretations in (27a) and (28a) can be explained if *xub* and *herfe'i* are taken to be adverbial adjuncts of the main verb describing the way the referent of the subject reported or described the event expressed by the verb. However, the interpretation in (27b) and (28b) may be explained if they are *xub* and *herfe'i* taken as adjectival phrases predicated of NPs marked with *ra*. These interpretations make the SC analysis of the NP AP string plausible.

analysis of the NP XP string in corresponding Spanish sentences, Darzi (1996), indicated that an anaphor inside the XP may, but a pronoun in this position may not, be bound by the NP marked with *ra* in (29)-(30) as indicative of the fact that the NP XP string forms a constituent that is the governing category of the anaphor inside the XP. This is possible, according to Darzi (1996), under the SC analysis of the NP XP string in the construction under discussion. Note that the underlying assumption in Darzi's (1996) analysis is the definition of governing category in terms of structural subject/SUBJECT.<sup>4</sup>

#### 2. 4. Darzi's (1996) Argument Based on Binding

Following Contreras' (1987) argument for the SC

- (29). u [<sub>SC</sub> danešju-ha-ra<sub>i</sub> došmæn-e yekdigær<sub>i</sub> ] mi-dan-æd  
 he student-PL-AC enemy-EZ oneanother IND-know-3SG  
 He considers the students one another's enemy.
- (30). \* u [<sub>SC</sub> daneshju-ha-ra<sub>i</sub> došmæn-e anha<sub>i</sub> ] mi-dan-æd  
 he student-PL-AC enemy-EZ they IND-know-3SG  
 He considers the students one another's enemy. (Darzi, 1996:207)

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This argument, however, leaks in that the matrix subject may also take the anaphor *yek digær* (each other) if they agree in number and person. This is illustrated in (31) where the anaphor may

take either the accusative marked NP or the matrix subject as its antecedent. The grammaticality of (31) may not be explained under Darzi's (1996) analysis.

- (31). anhaj [sc danešju-ha-raj došmæn-e yekdigær<sub>i/j</sub>] mi-dan-ænd  
 they student-PL-AC enemy-EZ oneanother IND-know-3PL  
 They consider the students one another's enemy.

More importantly, Darzi (1993,1996) argued that Persian strictly follows Specified Subject Condition in raising constructions though it violates the Tensed Sentence Condition. As such, under his analysis, coindexing the anaphor in (31) with the matrix subject should have rendered the sentence ungrammatical as there is an intervening specified subject in (31). This subject prevents the NP “the enemy” to be bound by the matrix subject, whereas (31) is grammatical. However, if , the matrix clause

is taken to be the governing category of the anaphor inside the predicative XP, then the anaphor may take either the matrix subject or the claimed structural subject of the SC as its antecedent. This is what we also find in other constructions. The anaphor contained in the indirect object (32) may take the direct object or the subject as its antecedent rendering the sentence ambiguous. Such a relation does not obtain if the indirect object contains a pronominal as shown in (33).

- (32). anhai danešju-ha-raj be yekdigær<sub>i/j</sub> mo'ærrefi kærð-ænd  
 they student-PL-AC to oneanother introduction did-3PL  
 They intriduced the students to one another.

- (33). \*anhaj danešju-ha-raj be anhaj<sub>i/j</sub> mo'ærrefi kærð-ænd  
 they student-PL-AC to they introduction did-3PL  
 \*They<sub>i</sub> introduced [the students] <sub>i</sub> to them.

As such, we conclude that Darzi's (1996) binding theoretic argument in support of the construction at hand is not persuasive. So we are faced with a paradox. On the one hand we would like to treat the accusative marked NP in sentences claimed to involve an SC as a structural subject on

the other hand, the NP in question does not behave like a structural subject for binding theory.

In his discussion of long distance binding, Webelhuth (1995:193) states that Icelandic, Danish, Gothic and Russian do not respect the SSC for reflexives. In these languages a reflexive may

be bound across a specified subject. Moreover, he notes that Icelandic and Italian reflexives may be bound across a finite (subjunctive) clause, in violation of the TSC. Chinese, Japanese and Korean which lack morphological realization of

AGR (element), according to Weibelhuth, are other languages which seem to permit long distance binding across tensed clauses. In the Japanese sentence in (34), *zibun* (self) is bound by the matrix subject rather than the embedded subject.

- (34). John<sub>i</sub>-wa [Bill-ga zibun<sub>i</sub>-o nikundeiru]-to omotte iru  
 John<sub>i</sub>-Top Bill-NOM self<sub>i</sub>-AC hates that thinks  
 John<sub>i</sub> thinks that Bill hates him<sub>i</sub>. (Weibelhuth 1995:194:19b)

The reflexive fact about these languages seems to have to do with the AGR. According to Weibelhuth (1995:195), one of the approaches to the observed variation of the locality domain is that the definition of local domain be parameterized such extent that individual languages may choose

different values of local domain. "Such an approach is advocated, e.g. in Yang (1987), Harbert (1986, 1991), Koster (1987 a), Manzini and Wexler (1987), and much other work." He then cites the five-valued definition of Governing Category in (35), from Manzini and Wexler (1987):

- (35).  $\gamma$  is a governing category for  $\alpha$  if  $\gamma$  is the minimal category that contains  $\alpha$  and a governor for  $\alpha$  and
- (a) can have a subject, or, for  $\alpha$  =anaphor, has a subject  $\beta$ ,  $\beta \neq \alpha$  ; or
  - (b) has an INFL; or
  - (c) has a Tense; or
  - (d) has a "referential tense" or
  - (e) has a "root" tense
- (if, for  $\alpha$  anaphoric, the subject  $\beta'$  ( $\beta' \neq \alpha$ ) of  $\gamma$ , and of every category dominating  $\alpha$  and not  $\gamma$ , is accessible to  $\gamma$ ). (Weibelhuth 1995:195:21)

According to Weibelhuth (1995), English reflexives observe value (35a), while Danish reflexives observe value (35c). We are now in a position to solve the problem of long distance binding in the Persian small clause construction. Considering the fact that (i) an anaphor is, but a pronoun is not, bound within ordinary clauses in Persian, and (ii) that there is no evidence that Persian has exceptional clauses, and (iii), that

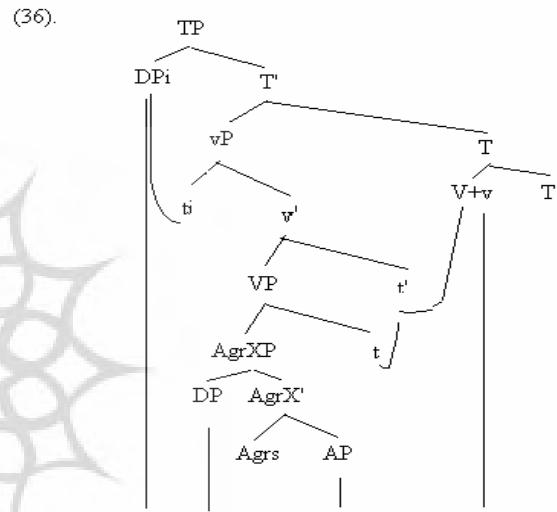
Persian violates the TSC in raising constructions where the clausal complement of a raising predicate has no independent referential tense, I would like to suggest that Persian observes value (35d). As such, , Darzi's (1996) binding theoretic argument for SC is saved.

So far, I have supported Darzi's (1996) analysis with two original arguments for the SC analysis of the construction in question.

3. The Minimalist Analysis

Within Chomsky's (1992) Minimalist Program, all modes of structural Case assignment are recast in X-bar theoretic terms. Following Haegeman (1994), I assume that SC is actually a projection of an Agr Phrase. I also take sentence as the projection of head T along most recent development in the literature. TP in Persian is taken to be head final with no argumentation. This is just to account for the SOV order of Persian simplex clauses. However, the issue is crucial and requires a thorough investigation. The head T and the subject of the SC are selected from the numeration with uninterpretable accusative Case features. The structure of the Persian clause at hand might then roughly be that in (36) with some movement operations represented. In (36), XP stands for the predicate phrase of the old SC. I propose that the DP originates as the subject of the SC and then gets its uninterpretable Case feature checked by the uninterpretable Case feature of the head  $\nu$  under Agree. Or the DP may move to the Spec of AgrOP where it comes into Spec-head

relation with the AgrO complex that includes [AgrO  $\nu$ +V+ AgrO]. The derivation will crash if the Case features of the subject of the SC is not checked. The movement of the DP to Spec AgrOP may be preferable in that the main verb and the predicate of the SC seem to form one single constituent upon gapping as in (37).



mənbəhram-ra aqel mi-pendar-æm  
 I Bahram-AC wise IND-consider-1sg  
 I consider Bahram wise.

(37). u pesær-æš-ra aqel mi-dan-æd mæn doxtær-æm-ra GAP  
 S/he son-his-AC wise IND-consider-3SG I daughter-my-AC  
 S/he considers her/his son wise and I my daughter.

4. Conclusion

In this paper, I examined the so-called small clause construction in Persian and tried to show that the surface accusative marked NP of the construction forms a single constituent with the NP/AP predicate. I also showed that the surface object of

the construction in question behaves like a structural subject as far as the distribution of the bare emphatic reflexive *xod* (self) is concerned. Moreover, the evidence from ambiguity indicated that the SC analysis is well grounded. Finally, I proposed a Minimalist account of the construction.

DP marked with *ra* originated as the subject of a small clause and got its uninterpretable Case feature checked by the uninterpretable accusative Case feature of the head *v* under Agree or by the [AgrO *v* V AgrO] complex with which it came into Spec-head relation after movement to spec AgrOP. The construction in question, in fact, corresponds to subject-to-object raising of traditional transformational grammar of the Aspects model. Exceptional Case marking and small clause constructions involve raising of an NP to the Spec of AgrOP where it comes into Spec-head relation with the AgrO complex that includes [AgrO *v* V AgrO]. The complex [AgrO *v* V AgrO] then raises to head T.

(38). They never mentioned **it** to the candidate that the job was poorly paid

(39). I blame **it** on you that we can't go. (Webelhuth 1995:38)

In each of these examples, as Webelhuth (1995) notes, the expletive can be replaced by a referential NP as in (40)-(41) respectively.

(40). They never mentioned **the low salary** to the candidate

(41). I blame **our problems** on you.

### Notes

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1. Examples cited from other sources may be slightly modified for consistency. I am using the following notations in glossing: AC=accusative, NOM=nominative, IND=indicative, PL=plural, SG=singular, PST=past, EZ=Ezafe morpheme

The ECM construction was the subject of hot debates in the 60's and 70's. Postal (1974) was a strong proponent of the view that subject-to-object raising does exist, while proponents of GB theory considered such a process a violation of the theta criterion as the object position was assumed to be a theta position. In Chomsky (1995), however, after about 20 years, it is acknowledged that the accusative marked NP in ECM and small clause constructions raises into the higher clause for Case theoretic reasons. In fact, Webelhuth (1995) presents a variety of examples such as those in (38) and (39) in which a complement position is shown to be a non-theta position filled by an expletive.

(particle that links some some lexical heads bearing the feature [+N] to their postmodifiers.

2. I am not concerned about the explanation of this sentence with regard to Ross' (1967) Coordinate Structure Constraint.

3. The only restriction on the bare emphatic reflexive seems to be that it has to follow its antecedent.

4. In Darzi (1996), the matrix verb in (29) and (30) is mistakenly marked for 3 PL, which is corrected in here.

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## فاعل دارای حالت مفعولی در زبان فارسی

علی درزی<sup>۱</sup>

فارسی زبانی ضمیر انداز با ترتیب فاعل، مفعول و فعل است که در آن همه گروههای نحوی اصلی به جز گروه فعلی، هسته ابتدا هستند. فعلها در این میان رفتار دوگانه‌ای از خود نشان می‌دهند به طوری که در حالت بی‌نشان متممهای غیر فعلی آنها پیش از هسته فعل و متممهای جمله‌ای آنها پس از هسته فعل قرار می‌گیرد (سمیعان ۱۹۸۳، کریمی ۱۹۸۹، درزی ۱۹۹۶). گروههای اسمی در این زبان دارای حالت آشکار نیستند. اما مفعولهای مشخص نشانه «را» دارند که به پیروی از کریمی (۱۹۸۹) آن را نشانه آشکار حالت مفعولی در نظر می‌گیریم. وجود را بر روی گروههای اسمی فاعل یا متمم منجر به ساختی غیر دستوری می‌شود. در این مقاله در پی آنیم که ثابت کنیم گروه اسمی با نشانه «را» در جملات موسوم به ساخت تمیز همچون «من بهرام را عاقل می‌پندارم» در واقع فاعل یک خرده جمله است. از این رو، ضمن اثبات وجود این مقوله در زبان فارسی نشان می‌دهیم که فاعل نیز در این زبان می‌تواند به شرط وقوع در جایگاه نحوی مناسب نشانه «را» را بپذیرد. در بخش یک این مقاله به مجادله بر سر خرده جمله می‌پردازیم. در بخش دو، خرده جمله را در ساخت تمیز در فارسی نشان می‌دهیم. در بخش سه تحلیلی کمینه‌گرا از این ساخت ارائه می‌دهیم و در نهایت بخش چهار پایان مقاله خواهد بود.

واژگان کلیدی: فاعل، خرده جمله، زمان، حاکمیت، حالت، مشخصه، معنایی، متمم، مفعول، همپایگی، آزمون‌سازهای، انعکاسی، مرجع، بازبینی، تطابق، مشخص، کمینه‌گرا، ملاک نقش معنایی، گشتار، حالت نمایی استثنایی.

۱. استادیار دانشگاه تهران