

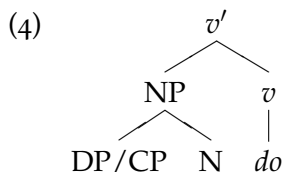
An antisymmetric approach to Persian CP complements
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Persian belongs to a class of typologically head final languages in which the surface position of CP arguments to the right of the verb (2a) differs from the canonical preverbal position of DP arguments (1a). In Persian, the distribution of bare CPs (i.e. those CPs not embedded in a DP (cf. 3)) is also more restricted than that of their DP counterparts. While DP arguments may scramble further leftward and may also occur postverbally (1b), CPs may occur to the right of the verb exclusively; as the ungrammaticality of (2b) reflects, a CP complement is ungrammatical in any preverbal position. (3) shows that the same restriction does not apply to DP embedded CP complements.

- (1) a. man ketāb-ro xund-am diruz
I book-ACC read-1SG yesterday
'I read the book yesterday.'
- b. (ketāb-ro) man xund-am diruz (ketāb-ro)
book-ACC I read-1SG yesterday (book-ACC)
'The book, I read yesterday.'/'I read it yesterday, the book.'
- (2) a. (DP/PP) V CP
man be giti goft-am [CP ke un ketāb jāleb-e]
I to Giti said-1SG that that book interesting-be.3SG
'I told Giti that that book is interesting.'
- b. *(CP) (DP/PP) (CP) V
*man be giti [CP ke un ketāb jāleb-e] goft-am
I to Giti that that book interesting-be.3SG said-1SG
- (3) man [DP in-o [CP ke in ketāb jāleb-e]] be giti goft-am
I this-ACC that this book interesting-be.3SG] to Giti said-1SG
'I said this that this book is interesting to Giti.'

Within the Persian literature, the currently prevalent assumption (Darzi 1996, Karimi 2005, Aghaei 2005, a.o.) that VP is underlying head final fails to provide an interesting explanation for why only complements of the syntactic category CP occur exclusively to the *right* of the verb, in contrast to their DP counterparts. Instead, it necessitates that a stipulation—i.e. linearize CP complements to the right, all other complement categories to the left—be incorporated into the linearization procedure.

Another problem for the view that Persian is verb final is presented by the phrase structure of the language's morphosyntactically complex predicates. On Folli et al.'s (2005) analysis of these predicates, which consist of a nonverbal (here, nominal) component plus an inflected light verb, the CP is a complement of the nonverbal element, and the whole resulting phrase is the complement of *v*, as shown in (4).



However, CP complements in Persian occur to the right of the entire complex predicate, i.e. to the right of the finite light verb. The examples below show the position of a DP argument and a CP argument with respect to the two components of the complex predicate.

- (5) a. man [DP giti-ro] **da'vat** **kard-am**
 I Giti-OBJ invitation did-1SG
 'I invited Giti.'
- b. man **fekr** **mi-kon-am** [CP ke giti-ro da'vat kard-am]
 I thought DUR-DO-1SG that Giti-OBJ invitation did-1SG
 'I think that I invited Giti.'

Reconciling the proposed phrase structure in (4) with the surface position of CP arguments would seem to necessitate at least one of the following possibilities: (i) (local) extraposition of the CP, (ii) leftward movement of the CP followed by some combination of remnant movements, or (iii) a higher base adjunction site for CPs.

On the other hand, the current consensus that CP complements of the verb in Persian originate in the internal argument position provides a straightforward explanation for their transparency for extraction (6b) and the corresponding optionality of the complementizer morpheme *ke* (6), as well as the fact that Principle C violations result from coreference between subject and indirect object pronouns and an R-expression in the CP (not shown).

- (6) a. man mi-dun-am [CP (ke) Kimea un ketāb-o xaride]
 I DUR-KNOW-1SG that Kimea that book-OBJ bought.PART
 'I know that Kimea bought that book.'
- b. un ketāb-o_i [man mi-dun-am [CP (ke) Kimea *t_i* xaride]]
 that book-OBJ I DUR-KNOW-1SG that Kimea bought.PART
 'As for that book, I know that Kimea bought it.' Karimi (2001:84,9)

Assuming the possibility of reconstruction, these facts argue in favor one of the two former approaches, over accounts that base generate CP arguments as adjuncts (such as have been proposed for Hindi and German by e.g. Cardinaletti 1990; Srivastav 1990, 1991; Bayer 1995, 1996, 1997).

In this paper, I argue for a fourth possibility—that the position of CP's reflects the underlying position of all verbal arguments. I propose an analysis of the full range of clausal complement configurations—postverbal bare CP complements, preverbal DP-embedded CP complements, and extraposed DP-embedded CP complements associated with a preverbal 'dummy' DP—under the following restricted set of syntactic assumptions: (i) all complements originate to the right of their embedding verbs and (ii) all movement is leftwards only. While DPs and CPs are shown to pattern together in all other relevant respects, they differ with respect to their case licensing properties. Since only CP arguments do not receive Case, and since Case is assumed to be checked in a local relationship with the case assigning functional projections located to the left of the verb, CPs never occur to the left of the finite verb, at any stage in the derivation. These assumptions about case assignment, along with the premise that all objects originate to the verb's right, provides a straightforward explanation for both the difference in directionality of DP's and CP's—while they both originate to the right of the verb, DP's must move to the left of the verb to be licensed; CP's need not—and the extraction and complementizer optionality facts; CP's behave as if they are in argument position, because they are in argument position.

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