

THE “INDIFFERENCE-*ke* CONSTRUCTION” IN MODERN CONVERSATIONAL PERSIAN*

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Abstract

This paper deals with a construction in Persian called here the Indifference-*ke* Construction (or IKC). This construction has the structure A *ke* B, where A is a clause (minimally a verb), *ke* is a particle, and B is a verb, a reduplication of the verb in A. The IKC has a certain intonation pattern and includes both the propositional attitude (that of indifference) and the propositional content at the same time. Analysis of the interaction between the IKC and compound verbs, scrambled sentences and various T/A/Ms (Tense/Aspect/Moods) concludes: The reduplicated element is always a V⁰. This article treats the phonological, syntactic and semantic/conceptual components of the IKC based on the theoretical framework of Jackendoff's Parallel Architecture. These components are related through interfaces and none of them is considered to be the basic or underlying one.

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper deals with a construction in modern conversational Persian.¹ This construction, in which a propositional content coexists with a propositional attitude, is viewed as a lexical entry with a phonological, a syntactic and a semantic/conceptual component. The attitude expressed by the construction is that of “indifference” and “defiance” directed towards a proposition which has a mental representation in the minds of the interlocutors and which is also part of the construction itself. This construction is declarative and has a specific intonation pattern. I have called this construction the Indifference-*ke* Construction (IKC). An example is given in (1).²

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¹The dialect investigated in this paper is informal conversational Persian, an SOV language (e.g. Dabir-Moghaddam 1982; Greenberg 1963; Karimi 2003), spoken in Tehran, the capital city of Iran, and the data used are based on the judgments of seven native speakers of Persian, including myself.

²List of the abbreviations used in the examples:

- (1) Speaker 1 (= S1): *puya ræft*.
 Puya leave.PAST.3SG
 'Puya left.'

Speaker 2 (= S2): *ræft ke ræft*.
 leave.PAST.3SG PTC leave.PAST.3SG
 'It's not important to me that he left.'

In (1), S2 uses the IKC to state her indifference with regard to S1's proposition (i.e. 'Puya left'), this proposition being (partly) present in S2's utterance. In other words, through using the IKC, S2 says that she does not care about what Puya did. As is seen from example (1), the construction uses the particle *ke*, which is surrounded by two identical verbs, that is, the verb following *ke* reduplicates the one preceding it. The reduplication produces the attitude to be conveyed by the construction. The indifference expressed through the IKC is stronger, more emphatic, and more defiant than when the same feeling is conveyed through an utterance such as (2), which is an unmarked utterance in this regard.

- (2) S2: *bæra-in mohem nist ræft*.
 for-1SG.CL important not be.PRES.3SG leave.PAST.3SG
 'It's not important to me that he left.'

The element *ke* is presented in grammar books more frequently as a conjunction, a relative clause marker, a question word, a particle following verbs of saying, thinking, etc., and an emphasis marker (Lambton 1953; Lazard 1992; Mahootian 1997; Windfuhr 1979). This particle has been treated in the framework of generative grammar as a complementizer, a subordinator, and the introducer of relative and complement clauses (Ahangar 2000; Darzi 1996; Ghomeshi 2001; Hajati 1977; Kaimi 1999; 2001; Tabaian 1975; Taghvaipour 2003). The function of *ke* in the IKC is different from those given above. To the best of my knowledge, this usage of *ke* has only been (briefly) mentioned in two articles. Najafi (1995) gives a short comment on this use of *ke* among its other uses. In his work, 16 different cases of the usage of *ke* are given and the twelfth is a usage of *ke* whose function he names "for expressing indifference and defiance" (p. 14). In Rahimian (1999), in which several occurrences of *ke* in Modern Persian are mentioned, a short description of *ke* in this use is given under the heading "residual

DUR = durative prefix (<i>mi-</i>)	PRES = present
EZ = Ezafe vowel (<i>-e</i>)	PTC = particle
IND = indefinite marker (<i>-i</i>)	SBJ = subjunctive prefix
NEG = negative prefix (<i>na-/ne-</i>)	SG = singular
OM = object marker	1SG, 2SG, ... = subject agreement affixes
PART = participial (<i>-e</i>)	1SG.CL, 2SG.CL, ... = pronominal enclitics
PL = plural	'+' in the examples separates the two parts of a compound verb.

cases". He states that this *ke* is used angrily, emotionally, and sometimes emphatically in response to warnings (p. 149). In the present paper, I show that the *ke* of the IKC is a fixed element which appears between two identical verbs and forms a construction with them. These verbs and the particle *ke* together convey the attitudes of indifference and defiance.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 contains a complete description of the IKC and its distribution in Persian. Analyzing the behaviour of this construction in different structural environments, such as with compound verbs, I show that the element reduplicated after *ke* is always a V^0 node. The V^0 in the present analysis is an element which is syntactically indivisible into smaller elements but may include morphological markers such as negation, subjunctive and durative affixes. Section 3 puts the IKC in the theoretical framework of Parallel Architecture (Jackendoff 1997, 2002). In this way, the phonological, syntactic and semantic/conceptual components of this construction are worked out. Section 4 concludes the paper.

2. THE INDIFFERENCE-*ke* CONSTRUCTION

In the IKC, *ke* comes between two constituents, A and B. Constituent A, preceding *ke*, must be a clause, its simplest form being a verb. Constituent B, following *ke*, is always only a verb. This verb is the reduplication of the verb in A.³ In (3) and (4), we see examples of grammatical and ungrammatical IKCs (parentheses show optionality).

- (3) S1: be golnaz majera-ro goft-æm.
to Golnaz story-OM say.PAST-1SG
'I told the story to Golnaz.'

- S2: (majera-ro) goft-i ke goft-i.⁴
story-OM say.PAST-2SG PTC say.PAST-2SG
'I don't care that you told (the story).'

- (4) S2: *majera-ro goft-i ke majera-ro goft-i.
story-OM say.PAST-2SG PTC story-OM say.PAST-2SG

Example (4) is ungrammatical since in addition to the verb, it has the direct object in constituent B.

The diagram in (5) shows the basic structure of the IKC.

³The nature of this reduplication is progressive rather than regressive. This can be supported by two pieces of evidence. First, if it was regressive, i.e. the B was repeated in A, we could not have elements other than the verb in A, which we can. Second, the sequence *ke* + verb cannot be used independently in Persian to be able to form the base of reduplication.

⁴Note the change of person from 1SG (S1's utterance) to 2SG (S2's utterance), which is natural because S2's utterance is directed towards her addressee, S1.

(5) [_{IP}A] *ke* [_VB]

The attitude of indifference conveyed by the IKC is affected neither by the lexical choice of the verb nor by its morphological markings. Consider examples (6) to (8).

(6) *ræft* *ke* *ræft*.
 leave.PAST.3SG PTC leave.PAST.3SG
 'It's not important to me that s/he left.'

(7) *amæd* *ke* *amæd*.
 come.PAST.3SG PTC come.PAST.3SG
 'It's not important to me that s/he came (arrived).'

(8) S1: *šayæd be-r-e*.
 maybe.SBJ-leave.PRES-3SG
 'S/he may leave.'

S2: *be-r-e* *ke* *be-r-e*.
 SBJ-leave.PRES-3SG PTC SBJ-leave.PRES-3SG
 'S/he may leave for all I care.'

Example (6) is a typical example of the IKC. In (7), the verb has been changed but the expression of indifference is still in the utterance. Actually, any other verb (e.g. 'say', 'eat', 'write', 'see', 'do', etc.) regardless of its semantic type, can be used in (7) instead of 'come', keeping the propositional attitude of indifference. Example (8) is a case where the mood is subjunctive and not indicative, as in (6). Despite this change of mood, the construction in S2's utterance has remained the same and the expression of the attitude of indifference has not been affected.

The only sentence type, however, in which the IKC can be used is the declarative and other sentence types such as interrogative or imperative are not possible. For instance, (9) has the interrogative counterpart of (6) yielding an ungrammatical sentence.

(9) **ræft* *ke* *ræft*?
 leave.PAST.3SG PTC leave.PAST.3SG
 Intended to mean, 'Is it not important to me that s/he left?'

Note that, as mentioned before, the IKC is used to convey indifference towards a proposition which already has a mental representation in the mind of the IKC user and her addressee. We can refer to this existing proposition as "identifiable". Lambrecht (1994), drawing on Chafe (1976), uses identifiable for discourse referents (including propositions) for which a representation exists in the addressee's mind. This identifiable mental representation acts as a "felicity condition" for the

IKC to be meaningful. Felicity conditions assure the successful performance of speech acts, for example, in *I promise to pay you tomorrow*, felicity conditions such as 'the speaker wants to pay the addressee', 'she believes she can pay the addressee', 'both speaker and addressee are in a healthy state of mind', etc. must be met for the action to be performed. The IKC might be categorized under Searle's (1976) "expressive" or Bach and Harnish's (1979) "acknowledgment" speech act types, types which express a psychological state or a feeling. The felicity condition for the IKC can be in the form of the previous utterance (S1's utterance) or in the form of an identifiable unuttered proposition in the minds of the interlocutors. As an example for the latter case, i.e. when the felicity condition is only in the minds of the interlocutors and not physically uttered, suppose that I have told my sister a secret. Later, my mother and I find out that everybody knows about this secret so we implicitly conclude that my sister has told everyone about it. Now, I may use the IKC and say to my mother *goft-e ke goft-e* 'I don't care that she's told [everybody],' based on the proposition MY SISTER HAS TOLD THE SECRET TO EVERYONE, which serves as an identifiable proposition for us even if it has not been uttered in the immediately preceding discourse. Clearly, if the felicity condition is not met, either in the form of S1's utterance or in the form of an identifiable unuttered proposition, the IKC would be meaningless: For example, if I see my mother and, without any background, I say *goft-e ke goft-e*, the utterance would not mean a thing.

An additional point about constituent A is that there is a tendency for speakers to keep it as short as possible. For instance, in cases where a clitic follows the verb, it usually does not enter the IKC. An example with an object clitic is shown in (10) and with a subject clitic, in (11).

(10) S1: did-ešun.

see.PAST.3SG-3PL.CL

'S/he saw them.'

S2: did ke did.

see.PAST.3SG PTC see.PAST.3SG

'I don't care that s/he saw [them].'

(11) S1: ræft-eš.

leave.PAST.3SG-3SG.CL

'S/he left.'

S2: ræft ke ræft.

leave.PAST.3SG PTC leave.PAST.3SG

'It's not important to me that s/he left.'⁵

⁵The appearance of the subject clitic in the IKC (e.g. *ræft-eš ke ræft-eš*) is acceptable to one speaker.

We see that the clitic does not appear in the A constituent in S2's utterance. Generally, constituent A contains only the verb, but the occurrence of other elements in this constituent is not prohibited (3).⁶

In sections 2.1–2.3, we will see how the IKC interacts with compound verbs, word-order changes, and different T/A/Ms (tense/aspect/moods).⁷

2.1. The IKC and compound verbs

Compound verbs in Persian are verbs that are formed with a non-verbal element plus a verbal element that combine to denote a single predicate (Dabir-Moghaddam 1995; Folli, Harley and Karimi 2005; Ghomeshi and Massam 1994; Goldberg 1996; Megerdoozian 2002; Mohammad and Karimi 1992, among others). The non-verbal element can be a noun, an adjective, a prepositional phrase, an adverb, or a particle. The process of forming a compound verb is productive in Persian. An example of each type of compound verb is shown in (12).

- | | | | | | |
|---------|--------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|------------------|
| (12) a. | <i>Noun + Verb</i> | b. | <i>Adjective + Verb</i> | c. | <i>PP + Verb</i> |
| | særma+xordæn | | baz+kærdæn | | æz+dæst+dadæn |
| | cold+to eat | | open+to do | | of+hand+give |
| | 'to catch cold' | | 'to open' | | 'to lose' |
| | d. | <i>Adverb + Verb</i> | e. | <i>Particle + Verb</i> | |
| | pai:n+avordæn | | va+ræftæn | | |
| | down+bring | | back+to go | | |
| | 'to bring down' | | 'to be discouraged' | | |

In the IKC, when the verb in constituent A is a compound verb, only the verbal element is repeated in B, as shown in (13) and (14).⁸

⁶An anonymous reviewer pinpoints the interesting contrast between the behaviour of object clitics and NP objects. That is, object clitics do not appear in the IKC (example (10-S2)) but NP objects may (example (3-S2)). I do not have any explanation for this dual behaviour at this point; however, it seems that constituent length may play a role. Further research is required in this regard.

⁷Before moving on, a point on the intonation pattern of the IKC is in order. The IKC has a specific intonation pattern which distinguishes it from two other constructions in Persian, one conveying 'certainty/finality' and the other 'power'. So for instance, the utterance *næ-ræft ke næ-ræft*, uttered with three distinct intonation patterns, results in three different meanings: 'It's not important to me that s/he didn't leave', 'S/he didn't leave at all (=stayed too long)' and 'It's none of your business that s/he didn't leave'. The certainty/finality construction has more limited usage than the IKC, i.e. is only used with irreversible undesirable acts, mostly with negative verbs, and not with all T/A/Ms. The power construction seems to function morphosyntactically identically to the IKC (and arguably to be underlyingly the same as the IKC). The comparison of the three constructions can be a topic for future research.

⁸Passives, which are formed with the past participle of the verb plus a T/A/M of *šodæn* 'to become', behave similarly to compound verbs with regard to the IKC. That is, only the *šodæn* part is repeated in the B constituent.

- (13) S1: *belæxære sæрма+xord.*
 finally cold+eat.PAST.3SG
 'S/he finally caught cold.'
- S2: (*sæрма+*)*xord ke xord.*
 cold+eat.PAST.3SG PTC eat.PAST.3SG
 'I don't care that s/he caught cold.'
- (14) S1: *hæmæ-š to-ro negah+mi-kærd-æn.*
 all-3SG.CL you-OM look+DUR-do.PAST-3PL
 'They were continuously looking at you.'
- S2: (*negah+*)*mi-kærd-æn ke mi-kærd-æn.*
 look+DUR-do.PAST-3PL PTC DUR-do.PAST-3PL
 'I don't care that they were looking.'

The repetition of the whole compound verb in the B constituent is ungrammatical, as exemplified in (15).

- (15) S2: **sæрма+xord ke sæрма+xord.*
 cold+eat.PAST.3SG PTC cold+eat.PAST.3SG
 'I don't care that s/he caught cold.'⁹

A note on 'particle + verb' type compounds (called 'prefixal verbs' by Khanlari 1986), is in order here.¹⁰ There exist two groups of these verbs in Persian. In the first group, the prefix carries the main stress (exactly like ordinary compound verbs, where the non-verbal element bears the stress) and the tendency for the IKC is to repeat only the verbal element (again similar to ordinary compound verbs). This is exemplified in (16), with acute accent indicating primary stress (see Kahnemuyipour 2003 for a treatment of compound verbs stress pattern).

- (16) S1: *væqti xæbær-o šen-id vá+ræft.*
 when news-OM hear-PAST.3SG PTC+leave.PAST.3SG
 'When s/he heard the news, s/he was discouraged.'
- S2: *vá+ræft ke ræft.*
 PTC+leave.PAST.3SG PTC leave.PAST.3SG
 'I don't care that s/he was discouraged.'
- S2: ?*vá+ræft ke vá+ræft.*

In the second group, which has fewer members, the main stress is on the verb and not on the prefix. This type appears to have undergone lexicalization and become

⁹For one native speaker among my Persian-speaking consultants, the non-verbal element too can be reduplicated for "emphasis" purposes, e.g. *sæрма+xord ke sæрма+xord*.

¹⁰The particle is called a "preverb" (Lazard 1992) or a "verbal prefix" (Kalbasi 1992).

a separate lexical item. What reduplicates in this case is the whole prefixal verb, as given in example (17).

- (17) S1: pul-o vær+dášt.
 money'-OM PTC-have.PAST.3SG
 'S/he took the money.'
- S2: vær+c ášt ke vær+dášt.
 PTC-have.PAST.3SG PTC PTC-have.PAST.3SG
 'I don't care that s/he took the money.'
- S2: *vær+dášt ke dášt.

2.2. The IKC and word order

Since Persian is a rather free word-order language, the IKC may be directed towards a non-verb-final clause. In such cases, again only the verb is reduplicated after *ke*. Consider the "default word-order" sentence in (18).

- (18) S1: diruz jæ'be-ha-ro be-šun dad-im.
 yesterday box-PL-OM to-3PL.CL give.PAST-1PL
 'We gave them the boxes yesterday.'

Example (19) has some of the possible word order changes with almost the same meaning as that of (18), with minor pragmatic nuances which are irrelevant for our discussion.

- (19) a. dad-im diruz be-šun jæ'be-ha-ro.
 b. diruz be-šun dad-im jæ'be-ha-ro.
 c. jæ'be-ha-ro diruz be-šun dad-im.

The IKC utterance for (18) and all its scrambled versions in (19) is given in (20), in which we see that only the verb has been reduplicated after *ke*.

- (20) S2: dad-im ke dad-im.
 give.PAST-2PL PTC give.PAST-2PL
 'You gave [them the boxes yesterday], see if I care!'

2.3. T/A/M analysis

In this section, we will see how the IKC behaves in different T/A/M environments in Persian. The seven T/A/Ms considered in this paper are selected out of all possible Persian T/A/Ms since they are the more commonly used ones and that they all can be used in conversational Persian. Examples (21) to (27) show how the verb is reduplicated in the B constituent of the IKC for each of the 7 T/A/Ms.

(21) *Simple past*

- S1: otobus ræft.
 bus leave.PAST.3SG
 'The bus left.'
- S2: ræft ke ræft.
 leave.PAST.3SG PTC leave.PAST.3SG
 'It's of no importance to me that it left.'

(22) *Perfect*

- S1: be una goft-e.
 to they say.PAST-PART.3SG
 'S/he's told them.'
- S2: (be una) goft-e ke goft-e.
 to they say.PAST-PART.3SG PTC say.PAST-PART.3SG
 'I don't care that s/he's told (them).'

(23) *Pluperfect*

- S1: mive-ha-ro næ-xær-id-e-bud-æn.
 fruit-PL-OM NEG-buy-PAST-PART-be.PAST-3PL
 'They hadn't bought the fruit.'
- S2: næ-xær-id-e-bud-æn ke næ-xær-id-e-bud-æn.
 NEG-buy-PAST-PART-be.PAST-3PL PTC NEG-buy-PAST-PART-be.PAST-3PL
 'Oh, they hadn't bought it! Big deal!'

(24) *Durative past*

- S1: dašt-æn mi-ræft-æn.
 have.PAST-3PL DUR-leave.PAST-3PL
 'They were leaving.'
- S2: dašt-æn mi-ræft-æn ke mi-ræft-æn.
 have.PAST-3PL DUR-leave.PAST-3PL PTC DUR-leave.PAST-3PL
 'It's not important to me if they were leaving.'

(25) *Subjunctive past*

- S1: momken-e šiva amæd-e-baš-e.
 possible-is Shiva come.PAST-PART-SBJ.be.PRES-3SG
 'Shiva may have come.'
- S2: amæd-e-baš-e ke amæd-e-baš-e.
 come.PAST-PART-SBJ.be.PRES-3SG PTC come.PAST-PART-SBJ.be.PRES-3SG
 'I don't care if she's come.'

(26) *Subjunctive present*

S1: æge bə una be-g-æn chi?
 if to they SBJ-say.PRES-3PL what
 'What if they tell them?'

S2: be-g-æn ke be-g-æn.
 SBJ-say.PRES-3PL PTC SBJ-say.PRES-3PL
 'It's not important if they tell [them].'

(27) *Durative present*

S1: dar-e æks-a-t-o mi-bin-e.
 have.FRES-3SG photo-PL-2SG.CL-OM DUR-see.PRES-3SG
 'S/he'; looking at your photos.'

S2: dar-e mi-bin-e ke mi-bin-e.¹¹
 have.FRES-3SG DUR-see.PRES-3SG PTC DUR-see.PRES-3SG
 'I don't care that s/he's looking [at them].'

2.4. Generalization

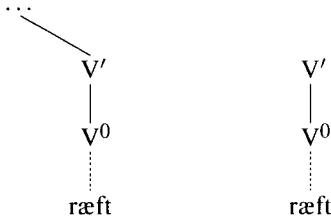
Based on the description of the IKC that I have presented, I propose the following generalization: The B constituent of the IKC is always a V⁰.

In other words, what comes after *ke* in this construction is a syntactic word or terminal node which is not dividable into smaller units syntactically. Below, I will show the validity of this claim for different cases, i.e. simple verbs, compound verbs, the two T/A/Ms containing a form of *daštæn* (durative past and durative present), and the two T/A/Ms pluperfect and subjunctive past.

The easiest cases are those such as the simple past, where the main verb is not accompanied by any element. For these, the A verb, which is a V⁰, is reduplicated in B (28).

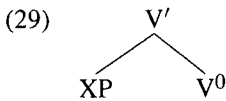
¹¹The conjugated form of *daštæn* 'to have' in durative present and durative past emphasizes the progressive nature of the verb. According to Lazard (1992: 141), in colloquial Persian, it is more likely that the progressive contains the verb *daštæn* along with the durative prefix *mi-*. For one native speaker, the B constituent of the IKC contains this element together with the main verb, e.g. *dar-e mi-bin-e ke dar-e mi-bin-e*. Also, some speakers do not have the IKC for these two T/A/Ms. Instead, they produce the subjunctive present of the A verb in B, e.g. in place of *dar-e mi-bin-e ke mi-bin-e*, they produce *dar-e mi-bin-e ke be-bin-e* (*be-bin-e* being the 3SG subjunctive present of 'to see').

(28) A constituent B constituent



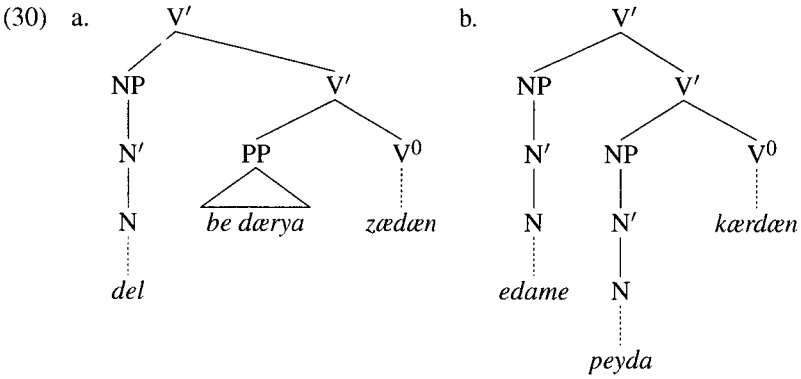
The elements represented by the ellipsis sign (...) in the A constituent, namely subject, object and adjunct, are irrelevant for our discussion and therefore not shown.

For compound verbs, I follow Ghomeshi (1996) in assuming that the non-verbal element of compound verbs is a phrasal category. In its fullest form, it can be a PP (*æz+dæst+dadæn* ['from' + 'hand' + 'to give'] 'to lose'), an NP (*jiq-e+bolænd+kešidæn* ['scream-EZ' + 'loud' + 'to pull'] 'to scream loudly') or an AdjP (*vared-e+otaq+šodæn* ['versed-EZ' + 'room' + 'to become'] 'to enter a room').¹² Therefore, compound verbs can be represented by (29).

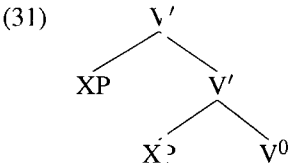


The schema in (29) can be applied iteratively for some compounds such as *del+be+dærya+zædæn* ['heart' + 'to' + 'sea' + 'to hit'] 'to risk' and *edame+peyda+kærdæn* ['continuation' + 'visible' + 'to do'] 'to continue', whose structures appear in (30).

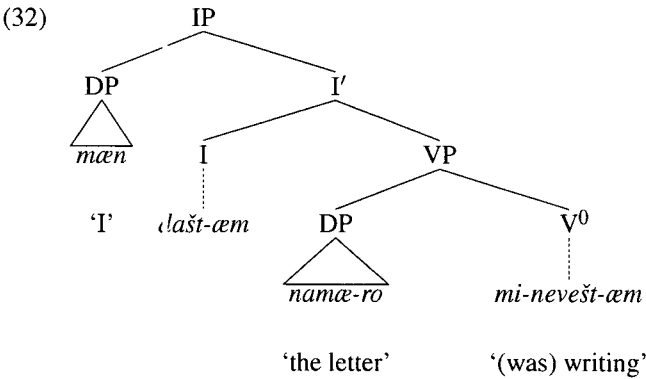
¹²It must be pointed out that there is disagreement in the literature as to the phrasal nature of the non-verbal part. The disagreement arises from the fact that some compound verbs do not allow modification of the non-verbal element. For example, *guš+dadæn* ['ear'+ 'to give'] 'to listen' cannot be modified to **guš-e+xub-i+dadæn* ['ear-EZ'+ 'good-IND'+ 'to give'] intended to mean 'to listen intently'. This issue does not invalidate my analysis of compound verbs with regard to the IKC, since the non-verbal element, regardless of its grammatical category, stays behind *ke* and only the verbal part is repeated in the B constituent.



The iterative tree diagram in (31) can account for compound verbs of this type.



Leaving compound verbs behind, we now deal with the two durative T/A/Ms (durative past and durative present), both of which contain a form of the auxiliary *daštæn*. Following Ghomeshi (2001), I place *daštæn* under the INFL node¹³ leaving the main verb under V⁰, which is the element that is reduplicated. This is shown in (32).



¹³Her argumentation is based on negation facts, i.e. that durative past and durative present cannot be negated by placing the negative marker before *daštæn* and that in extreme cases negation can precede the main verb. Thus she assumes that *daštæn* is “base-generated above NegP” under the INFL node.

Our last category to analyze is the one containing the two T/A/Ms pluperfect and subjunctive past, which consist of the participle and the elements *bud/baš-e*. Darzi (1996) argues that the element *bud* in the pluperfect forms a syntactic unit with the past participle (his evidence concerns inseparability by direct objects, gapping and c-command domain of the subject (pp. 36–37)). Following Darzi and contra Marashi (1972), I do not consider *bud* (and *baš-e*) auxiliaries here since they are not separable from the past participle.¹⁴ This inseparability makes pluperfect and subjunctive past different from compound verbs and the durative T/A/Ms: Compound verbs can be separated by auxiliaries, modals, clitics, the durative, subjunctive and negative prefixes, PPs, adjectives, adverbs, conjunctions, the comparative suffix and emphatic elements. Example (33) illustrates a compound verb that is separated by the negative and the durative prefixes.

- (33) kilid-e mæn dær-o baz+ne-mi-kon-e.
 key-EZ I door-OM open+NEG-DUR-do.PRES-3SG
 'My key doesn't open the door.'

The durative T/A/Ms (durative past and durative present) can be separated by PPs, direct objects, adverbs, conjunctions and emphatic elements. In (34), the separation is effected by a PP, a direct object and an adverb:

- (34) dar-æm bæra-šun name-ha-ro tond mi-nevis-æm.
 have.PRES-1SG for-3PL.CL letter-PL-OM quickly DUR-write.PRES-1SG
 'I'm writing the letters quickly for them.'

None of the elements above, which can separate compound verbs and the durative T/A/Ms, can intervene between the past participle and *bud/baš-e* for pluperfect and subjunctive past.¹⁵ For example, the occurrence of the PP (*ba bærader-ešun* 'with their brother') inside the pluperfect in (35a) renders (35b) ungrammatical.

- (35) a. una ba bærader-ešun ræft-e-bud-æn.
 they with their brother go.PAST-PART-be.PAST-3PL
 'They'd gone with their brother.'
- b. *una ræft-e ba bærader-ešun bud-æn.

¹⁴Persian orthography can be misleading in this regard due to the fact that it separates the participle and the *bud/baš-e* element from one another.

¹⁵An anonymous reviewer mentions that for subjunctive past, the negative marker can appear between the participle and *baš-e*. One of the examples s/he gives is:

momken-e ræft-e næ-baš-e
 possible-is leave.PAST-PART NEG-SBJ.be.PRES-3SG
 'S/he may not have left.'

I checked such examples with several native speakers to none of whom did they sound grammatical.

The above pieces of evidence lead me to assuming that the two elements of pluperfect and subjunctive past both fall under the V^0 node and are repeated in B (unlike compound verbs and the durative T/A/Ms where only the second element is the V^0). This is schematized in (36).

- (36)
- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------|
| V^0 | |
| ⋮ | |
| <i>ræft-e-bud</i> | 'had left' |
| <i>ræft-e-baş-e</i> | 'may have left' |

To summarize, we have seen the behaviour of the IKC with regard to simple verbs, compound verbs, word-order changes and different T/A/Ms. This behaviour suggests that the repeated element in the B constituent is always a V^0 that is syntactically indivisible but can include morphological elements such as the negative marker or the durative prefix, and T/A/M elements such as *bud* and *baş-e* in past perfect and subjunctive past.¹⁶

3. THE IKC AND PARALLEL ARCHITECTURE

In this section, I present an analysis of the IKC using Jackendoff's Parallel Architecture theory (henceforth PA).

3.1. Overview of the PA framework

In his PA framework, Jackendoff (1997, 2002) posits three parallel components in the grammar, i.e. phonological, syntactic and semantic/conceptual, each of which is the result of combinatorial principles. He claims that language consists of independent systems which are related by means of interfaces and that syntax is one of these systems, neither the only one nor the basic one. This is as opposed to "syntaxcentric" views (e.g. the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995)), which derive everything from syntax, and more compatible with "lexicalist" views such as HPSG (Pollard and Sag 1994), earlier LFG (Bresnan 1982) and an approach like Construction Grammar (Goldberg 1995). The syntactic trees in PA do not contain phonological information, so it shares with Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993; Harley and Noyer 1999) the claim that syntactic representations only consist of morphosyntactic features, with the difference that Distributed Morphology takes a serial rather than a parallel approach. Fig. 1 shows how

¹⁶An anonymous reviewer puts forward the idea that only the finite part of the verb is repeated. This approach is successful with regard to views which see the verbal part of a compound verb not as a full verb but as a 'light verb' which is a finite verb containing aspect, event, and tense information (Folli et al. 2005; Karimi-Doostan 1997; Megerdooian 2002). However, this approach can face problems when dealing with past perfect and subjunctive past, since in these T/A/Ms, the non-finite part (i.e. the participle) is repeated in the B constituent too.

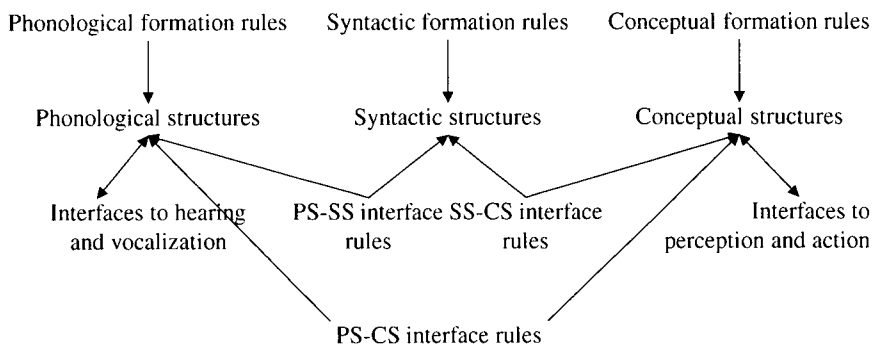


FIGURE 1
The tripartite Parallel Architecture

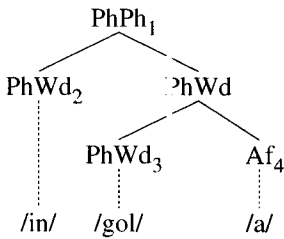
Jackendoff (2002: 125) diagrams the tripartite organization of grammar.¹⁷

Jackendoff holds that in the PA framework, the three sets of features of a lexical item are in correspondence in the three independent linguistic components, and that the linear order of units in the phonological component corresponds to the linear order of the corresponding units in the syntactic component. A lexical item is an interface rule that "licenses" the construction of sentences. In this model, then, a word is not a list of phonological, syntactic, and semantic features inserted into syntax and "carried around" in the course of a derivation. Rather, a word is an interface rule which links the three structures to one another. The interface rules can be applied to items other than words, e.g. productive and semiproductive morphology, idioms and constructions. Thus, the only rule used in the grammar will be "unify pieces", with the pieces all being in a common format permitting unification.

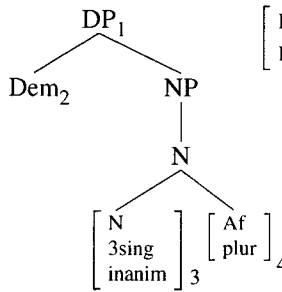
The above principles are exemplified in (37) and (38), which are based on similar examples in Ghomeshi et al. (2003: 32–33). Example (37) gives the PA representations for the Persian phrase *in gol-a* (this flower-PL) 'these flowers' based on the three PA representations in (38). The indices show the relation of different elements in the different components.

¹⁷According to Jackendoff, the PA view is rooted in autosegmental phonology (Goldsmith 1979, 1990; Liberman and Prince 1977), where it is claimed that phonological structure is divided into several "tiers".

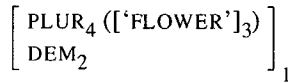
(37) *Phonology*



Syntax



Conceptual Structure



(38) *Phonology*

a. Ph'Wd_i

/i:ɪ/

b. Ph'Wd_j

/gɔl/

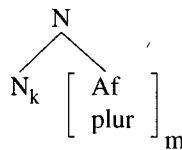
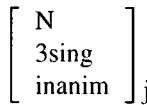
c. Ph'Wd

PhWd_l Af_m

/a/

Syntax

Dem_i



Conceptual Structure

DEM_i

'FLOWER'_j

[PLUR_m ([X_k])]

The whole phrase comprises a phonological phrase (PhPh₁) which is DP₁ in the syntax. The index 1 can be seen in the conceptual structure, too, which means that this component is responsible for the meaning of the whole phrase. The PhPh₁ consists of two phonological words, PhWd₂ and PhWd₃, and an affix, Af₄. PhWd₂ is a demonstrative adjective (Dem₂) and is shown by DEM₂ in the conceptual component, meaning that it bears all the semantic properties associated with a demonstrative adjective (not mentioned here). PhWd₃ is a singular inanimate N in the syntax (index 3) and refers to the notion FLOWER in the real world (also index 3 in the conceptual structure). Finally, the affix (Af₄) is a plural marker demonstrated by PLUR₄ in the conceptual component referring to 'more than one'.

3.2. Treating the IKC in the PA framework

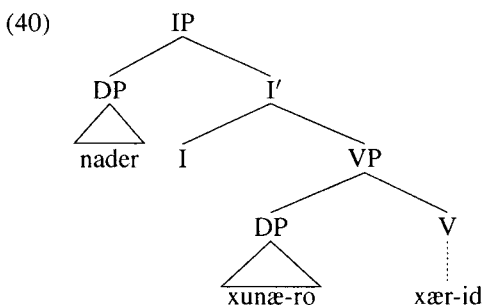
The IKC is a construction whose meaning does not depend on the verbs used in it and can be seen as a "lexical item" (in the sense above) which freely combines

with any verb yielding the desired concept, which is that of indifference and defiance. Therefore, the PA model is a suitable framework to treat the IKC in. The three components of the IKC, i.e. syntactic, phonological and conceptual, will be dealt with below.

3.2.1. The syntactic component

First, let us consider the structure of a simple Persian clause (39), which is given in (40).¹⁸

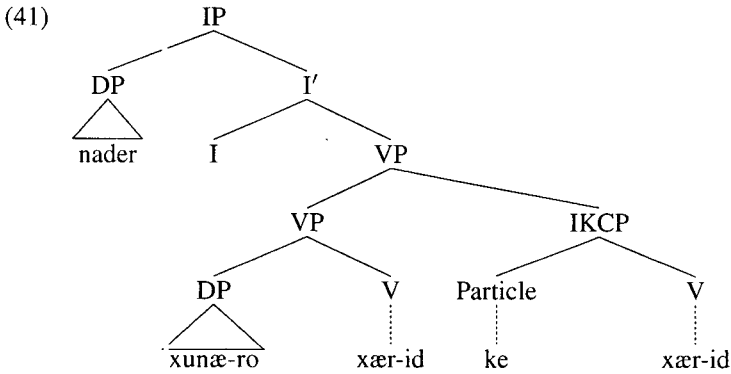
- (39) *nader xunæ-ro xær-id.*
 Nader house-OM buy-PAST.3SG
 'Nader bought the house.'



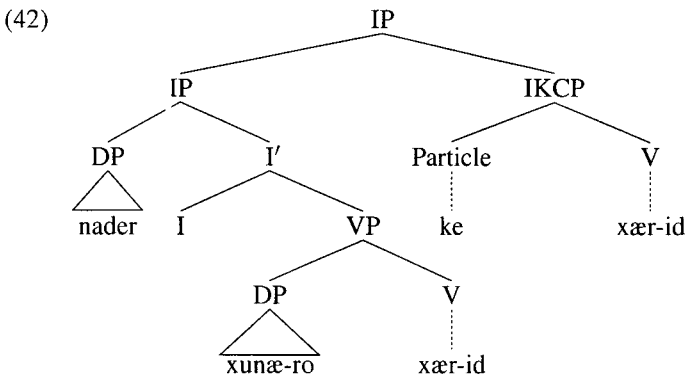
Based on this structure, one possible candidate for the syntax of the IKC structure is given in (41). I have labelled *ke xær-id* IKCP(hrase) since it does not have any canonical syntactic category.¹⁹

¹⁸As mentioned before, syntactic trees in the PA framework do not contain phonological information, so the actual words at the bottom of trees are not part of the tree. They only show "interface relations" (correspondence) between syntax and phonology and have been put there for illustration purposes.

¹⁹As mentioned earlier in the paper, constituent A tends to be kept as short as possible. In this example, however, I have included the subject and the direct object in it in order for my analysis to be most comprehensive.

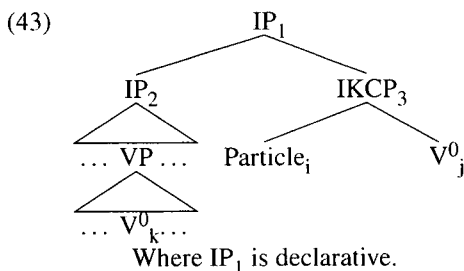


However, *ke xær-id* should be a separate constituent for two reasons. First, we need constituent A (*nader xunæ-ro xær-id* 'Nader bought the house') and the IKCP (*ke xær-id*) to come from separate nodes, since in the conceptual structure, constituent A is the proposition towards which indifference is conveyed and needs to be referred to separately. Second, the part of the utterance without *ke xær-id* (i.e. *nader xunæ-ro xær-id*) is an independent grammatical utterance itself, implying that *ke xær-id* is an added constituent, similar to question tags, for example. Therefore, the structure in (41) is ruled out and I propose the following structure (42) for *nader xunæ-ro xær-id ke xær-id*.



In (42), constituent A is a separate IP towards which indifference can be conveyed through the addition of the IKCP *ke xær-id*.

On the basis of the above, the syntactic component of the IKC is given in (43). Subscripts are used for relating the syntactic, phonological and conceptual components with each other (explained in the next subsection). These elements are those (e.g. the subject) that are not reduplicated and may appear either before the verb or in scrambled utterances, after the verb. (Reduplication will be accounted for in the phonological component.)



IP_1 is the whole construction. Constituent A is IP_2 . The subject, direct object, and adjunct are optional in IP_2 and the only obligatory element in it is the verb (V^0_k). $IKCP_3$ specifies the particle *ke* and constituent B (the reduplicated verb V^0_j) in it.

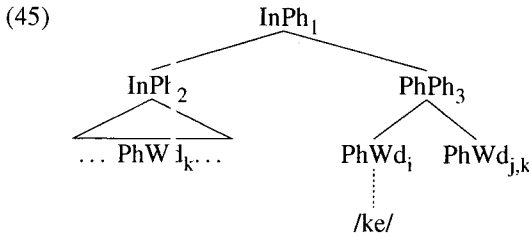
3.2.2. The phonological component

To work out the representation of the phonological component of the IKC, we need to adopt a prosodic hierarchy. This will be necessary for relating this component to the other two. There are different and contrasting views on how prosodic units participating in generating an utterance are defined. Jun (1998) holds that there are at least two views, which she calls the "syntactic approach" and the "intonational approach". Both approaches posit a hierarchical prosodic structure but the difference is that in the former approach, prosodic constituents larger than a word are derived indirectly from the syntactic structure (Hayes 1989; Nespor and Vogel 1986; Selkirk 1986) and in the latter approach, they are based on suprasegmental features (Beckman 1996; Jun 1993; Pierrehumbert and Beckman 1988). In the analysis of the present paper, due to the importance of the correspondence between syntax and phonology, I adopt the syntactic approach. Example (44) contains the relation between syntactic and prosodic hierarchies as given by Truckenbrodt (1995).²⁰

(44)	<i>Syntax</i>	<i>Prosodic Hierarchy</i>
	(Root) Clause	Intonational Phrase (InPh)
	XP	Phonological Phrase (PhPh)
	X^0	Phonological Word (PhWd)

Based on the above assumptions, the phonological component of the IKC is given in (45).

²⁰The levels lower than the Phonological Word and higher than the Intonational Phrase are not relevant to our discussion.



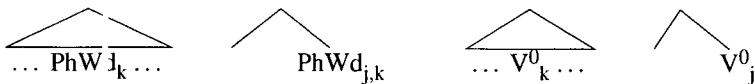
Where $InPh_1$ has a construction-specific intonation pattern.

The Intonational Phrase (indexed 1) corresponds to the whole IKC. The index shows its relation with IP_1 in the syntactic component, which has the same subscript (cf. the tree in (43)). The PhWd indexed k corresponds to the V^0_k in constituent A, which is reduplicated after $PhWd_1$ (/ke/ or Particle₁ in syntax) in the form of $PhWd_{j,k}$.

The reduplication in the IKC is “total reduplication” where, in line with McCarthy and Prince (1986), an authentic unit of prosody, namely the whole Phonological Word, is reduplicated. The diagram in (46) shows the reduplication part of the IKC.

(46) *Phonology*

Syntax



In (46), the base is the Phonological Word indexed k . This index connects the base to its syntactic content, which is the V^0 in the IP_2 also indexed k . The reduplicant is the last Phonological Word in the Intonational Phrase and bears two indices. One is j , which relates it to V^0_j in syntax, and the other is k , which means it also corresponds to V^0_k in syntax. The latter index thus creates the reduplication. In other words, two things can be said about $PhWd_{j,k}$: (i) that it is the realization of V^0_j and (ii), that it fills its empty phonological content from V^0_k .

Here a note on morphology is in order. In the PA framework, it is argued that morphosyntax and phrasal syntax are two related tiers which are organized independently. Some evidence for this claim as given by Jackendoff (2002) is:

- a. Morphosyntax is made up of open-class items (e.g. nouns) and closed-class items (e.g. affixes) (which have a limited semantic range), but phrasal syntax mainly uses open-class items;
- b. Heads of syntactic phrases are open-class items, which determine the category of the phrase (e.g. a noun is the head of an NP), whereas it is the affix

that decides the category of a morphological structure (e.g. the Persian prefix *bi-* changes a noun to an adjective: *æql* ‘brain’ → *bi-æql* ‘brainless’);

- c. The order of the elements in phrasal syntax (e.g. SVO, SOV, etc.) is more flexible than that in morphosyntax (e.g. the prefix *bi-* always precedes the noun).²¹

In this way, the nodes in the syntax (e.g. V^0_k) have certain morphology inside them. For example *næ-ræft* ‘S/he didn’t leave’ contains the negation, past and 3SG morphemes and the act of copying in the IKC is done in a somewhat blind way in the sense that when the PhWd is reduplicated, the important thing is the correspondence of this PhWd to a node in the syntax without the content of that node being seen (*næ-ræft ke næ-ræft*). In other words, what is copied here is the $PhWd_k$, which corresponds to V^0_k , which itself may consist of several morphemes; all these morphemes are seen as a bundle and are repeated intact.

3.2.3. The conceptual component

Jackendoff (2002: ch. 12) gives three different tiers for semantic structures: the “descriptive tier”, which organizes the conceptual functions of a sentence; the “referential tier”, which determines the correspondence between the constituents in the sentence and entities in the world; and the “information structure tier”, which deals with information units in sentences and distinguishes oppositions such as topic/comment. Example (48) displays the three tiers of the sentence in (47). The representation of tiers of this utterance is based on Jackendoff’s (2002: ch. 12) examples, in which the two independent syntactic and phonological structures have been put together to save space. (Capital letters denote contrastive stress.)

(47) SAYEH pænjeræ-ro bæst.

Sayeh window-OM close.PAST.3SG

‘SAYEH closed the window (= It was Sayeh who closed the window and not anybody else).’

(48) Syntax/Phonology: [_S[_{NP} SAYEH]₁ [_{VP} [_{NP} pænjeræ-ro]₂ bæst]₃]₄
 Descriptive tier: [_{Event} BÆST ([_{Object} SAYEH]₁, [_{Object} PÆNJERÆ-RO]₂)]₄
 Referential tier: 1 2 4
 Information structure tier: Common Ground₃ Focus₁

For the IKC, the descriptive and referential tiers vary depending on the words used in the construction and therefore are not relevant for our representation. The

²¹For a more elaborate discussion on this issue see Jackendoff (2002: sect. 5.6) and references cited therein.

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