

4.3 Phrases

A phrase is a unit of syntactic structure on a hierarchical level between word and clause. A phrase is headed by a syntactic category such as noun, preposition, adjective, etc. and lacks the subject-predicate structure typical of clauses.

4.3.1 Noun phrase (NP)

4.3.1.1 Operational definition of noun phrases

The noun phrase has a noun as its head. An NP is the element which serves in the various nominal functions in the sentence: subject, direct object, indirect object and other oblique arguments. A noun phrase can be a simple noun or pronoun, compound noun, or noun and modifiers. A nominal clause can also function as an argument of the predicate. Only noun phrases take plural suffixes such as *-hā*. Both noun phrases and nominal clauses can be marked with the definite direct object marker *=rā*, and the indefinite marker *=i*.

4.3.1.2 Structure of the noun phrase

Windfuhr (1989: 522-546) gives the basic structure of the noun phrase in Persian in functional terms as a two-fold noun-adjective and noun-noun structure.

(4.397)

NA: *in* - Measure, Number, Kind-Noun-*hā*=*e* Adjective=*i-ān*

NN: NA¹-*e*-NA²

NA-person/number suffixes

(N = noun, A = Adjective, *in* 'demonstrative', *-hā* 'plural', *=e* 'ezāfe linker', *=i* 'indefinite', *-ān* 'plural')

The general plural suffix is *-hā*, and *-ān* for adjectival and indefinite pronominal human plurals, e.g. *bozorg-ān* 'the elder (people), leaders', *digar-ān* 'the others'. The latter is also used for human and human-related plural in literary registers. The indefinite marker for both singular and plural is *=i/=yi*, e.g. *ketāb=i/ketāb-hā=yi* 'a book/(certain) books'. It follows the adjective, but often the noun in the presence of more than two adjectives. Measure, numbers and kind (classifier) precede the noun and in turn are preceded by the demonstratives, *in/ān* 'this/that', e.g. *se (tā) ketāb* 'three (items) of books', *in do now* 'qālī' 'these two kinds of carpets'.

Dependent nominals follow the head noun and are connected by *=e/=ye*, e.g. *ketāb=e bozorg-tar* 'a larger book'. The general function of this construction with dependent nouns and noun phrases, traditionally called *ezāfe* 'addition', is identification of class and item, the latter ranging from persons, to names and names of species, to numbers, e.g. *ketāb=e man* 'the book of me/my book'; *xānom=e javādi* 'Mrs Javadi', *hasān=e mokri* 'Hassan Mokri', *gol=e roz* 'the rose(-flower)', *sā'at=e se* 'three o'clock', *dars=e haft-om* 'the seventh hour'.

Windfuhr (1989: 532) says the unmarked sequence head-*e*-dependent can be inverted to dependent-*e*-head, which he calls topicalization. The specific examples he gives are:

noun-adjective kār=e xub-i	=>	adjective-noun xub kār-i	'good work'
noun-comparative film=e beh-tar	=>	superlative-noun beh-tar-in film	'the best film'

noun-ordinal	ordinal-noun
sāl-gard=e sad-om =>	sad-om-in sāl-gard 'the hundredth anniversary'

The following are more examples of the NA structured noun phrase.

- (4.398) in bozorg-tarin se tā ketāb
this big-MOST three CL book
'these biggest three books'
- (4.399) un xāne-hā=ye sefid
that house-PL=EZ white
'those white houses'
- (4.400) lebās=e qašang=i
dress=EZ pretty=IND
'a pretty dress'
- (4.401) xune=ye qadimi=e bozorg=ye qermez=i
house=EZ old=EZ big=EZ red=IND
'a big old red house'

The following illustrate the NN and NA-person/number suffixes structured noun phrases.

- (4.402) ketāb=e tārix
book=EZ history
'history book'
- (4.403) ketāb=e bozorg=e bačče=ye kuček
book=EZ big=EZ child=EZ small
'the small child's big book'
- (4.404) qalam-hā=ye kohne=ye dānešju=ye tambal
pen-PL=EZ old=EZ student=EZ lazy
'the lazy student's old pens'
- (4.405) guš=e rāst=am
ear=EZ right=1SG.POS
'my right ear'
- (4.406) češm=e xod=am
eye=EZ own=1SG.POS
'my own eye(s)'

However, it is the case that the structure of some NPs do not fall within the general definition given above. In (4.407) the quantifier *hame* 'all' precedes the demonstrative adjective *in* 'this'. The quantifier *har* 'each' can precede the numeral *do* 'two' in the expression *har do* 'both' and the numeral *yek* 'one' in the expression *har yek* 'each one'. This shows that, although some quantifiers are mutually substitutable with numerals, as with *čand* 'several/few' in (4.408), other quantifiers, such as *hame* 'all' and *har* 'each', can precede numerals or demonstratives. It is also the case that an adverbial modifier like *taqriban* 'almost, nearly' can precede the quantifier as a modifier of the noun phrase, as in (4.409).

- (4.407) hame in dar-hā
all this door-PL
'all these doors'
- (4.408) emšāb ān čand tā ketāb=rā mi-xān-am.
tonight that few CL book=OM IPFV-read.PRES-1SG.SU
'I will read those few books tonight.'

- (4.409) taqriban hame=*ye* pesar-ā
 almost all=*EZ* boy-3PL
 ‘almost all of the boys’

Windfuhr says the indefinite marker =*i* can be attached to the head noun when there are two or more qualifying adjectives. This is illustrated in (4.410). Note, however, that in this case the link is =*o* instead of *ezāfe*. But (4.411) shows that =*i* can be attached to the head noun simply to change *čiz=e xub=i* ‘a/any good thing’ to *čiz=i xub* ‘anything good’.

- (4.410) xune=*i* qadmi=*o* bozorg=*o* qermez
 house=*IND* old=*ADD* big=*ADD* red
 ‘a big old red house’

- (4.411) čiz=*i* xub
 thing=*IND* good
 ‘anything good’

(4.412) and (4.413) show that the dependent element following the *ezāfe* can be a PP and (4.414) shows it can be a coordinated NP. Both a quantifier and a numeral can also follow the head noun, as in *ruz=e čand* ‘some day’ and *ruz=e avval* ‘first day’, as can a relative clause, as in (4.415).

- (4.412) bāzi=*ye* zir=*e* miz
 game=*EZ* under=*EZ* table
 ‘the game under the table’

- (4.413) asar=*i* az u
 trace=*IND* from 3SG
 ‘a trace of him’

- (4.414) daste=*yi* zan va mard
 group=*IND* woman and man
 ‘a group of men and women’

- (4.415) nāme=*yi* ke diruz nevešt-am
 letter=*DET* CMPL yesterday write.PAST-1SG.SU
 ‘the letter that I wrote yesterday’

Thus, a more complete structural description of the NP in Persian can be given in (4.416). The elements premodifying the head noun have a more fixed position, but the elements postmodifying the head noun have a freer ordering convention and may be iterated (*). By convention modifying elements are treated as phrases.

- (4.416)

$$(\text{AdvP}) (\text{QP}) (\text{DP}) (\text{AdjP}) \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{NumP} \\ \text{QP} \end{array} \right) (\text{Class}) \text{N}(-\text{PL}) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} =e \\ =i \end{array} \right\} \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{AdjP} \\ \text{NP} \\ \text{NumP} \\ \text{QP} \\ \text{V.INF} \end{array} \right)^* =i \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{PP} \\ ke \text{ S} \end{array} \right)^*$$

Note: There is some evidence from my texts that postmodifying PPs and relative clauses follow postmodifying adjectives - but this ordering needs to be investigated further.

Note: I don’t know why Windfuhr has the nominal plural possibly occurring attached to the *noun=e adjective* NP as a whole. As far as I can tell the plural only suffixes to the head nominal in the construction.

4.3.1.3 Modifiers in the noun phrase

Reading out from the head nominal the elements that may premodify in the NP include noun classifiers, numerals, quantifiers, superlative adjectives and some regular adjectives, demonstratives and the universal quantifier *hame* 'all'. Those elements that can postmodify the nominal head include adjectives, nouns, numerals, quantifiers, PPs and the relative clause.

4.3.1.3.1 Noun classifiers in the NP

Noun classifiers are described in 4.1.1.3 and 4.1.5. The most common classifier with the most general application is *tā* 'fold'. This classifier is optionally used when quantifying count nouns. Although many counting words exist in the language informally they can all be replaced by *tā*. Rafiee (2001: 47) says after a number or *čand tā* 'how many?' the noun comes in the singular. Thackston (1993: 79) says numbers are invariably followed by the singular. But Mahootian (1997:152) says the suffix *-hā* is used to mark plural specific noun phrases. Thus, generic and numerically quantified nonspecific NPs are not marked with the plural suffix. (4.419) is ungrammatical because the plural *-hā* suffix has been inappropriately applied to a nonspecific noun.

(4.417) do=tā ketāb ru=ye miz=e.
two=CL book on=EZ table=be.PRES.3SG.SU
'There are two books on the table.' (Nonspecific)

(4.418) do=tā ketāb-hā ru=ye miz=e.
two=CL book-PL on=EZ table=be.PRES.3SG.SU
'The two books are on the table.' (Specific)

(4.419) *do=tā ketāb-hā ru=ye miz=e.
two=CL book-PL on=EZ table=be.PRES.3SG.SU
'There are two books on the table.' (Nonspecific)

Thackston (1993: 80) says counting words are not used with any words or expressions of time.

(4.420) do sā'at mānd-am.
two hour stay.PAST-1SG.SU
'I stayed two hours.'

(4.421) se ruz unjā bud-im.
three day there be.PAST-1PL.SU
'We were there for three days.'

(4.422) xāhar-am šiš sāl dār=e.
sister-1SG.POS six year have.PRES-3SG.SU
'My sister is six years old.'

From Thackston (1993: 80): All words that indicate weights and measures are themselves construed as counting words.

<i>do kilu gušt</i>	'two kilos of meat'
<i>se litr šir</i>	'three litres of milk'
<i>čār botir āb</i>	'four bottles of water'
<i>panj metr pārcē</i>	'five metres of cloth'
<i>šiš fenjān qahve</i>	'six cups of coffee'
<i>haft estekān čāi</i>	'seven glasses of tea'
<i>hašt joft jurāb</i>	'eith pairs of sock'

4.3.1.3.2 Numerals in the NP

Cardinal numbers normally premodify the noun (4.423) and ordinal numbers postmodify the noun (4.424). An ordinal number premodifies the noun if it is marked as a specific instance of numbering (4.425). See XXX. Windfuhr (1989) says a numeral can also follow the head noun, as in *ruz=e avval* ‘first day’.

- (4.423) *se tā barādar dār-am.*
 three CL brother have.PRES-1SG.SU
 ‘I have three brothers.’

- (4.424) *xāne=ye kuče=ye panjom māl=e māst.*
 house=EZ lane=EZ fifth own=EZ 1PL.be.PRES.3SG.SU
 ‘The fifth house on the lane is ours.’

- (4.425) *sevvom-in xāne=ye sefid=e kuče māl=e māst.*
 fifth-SPEC house=EZ white=EZ lane=EZ own=EZ 1PL.be.PRES.3SG.SU
 ‘The second white house on the lane is ours.’

4.3.1.3.3 Quantifiers in the NP

The quantifiers that can premodify the noun are: *hame* ‘all, whole’, *har* ‘every, each, any’, *hič* ‘none, never; any, ever’, and *čand* ‘some, few, several’. The nominal *tamām* ‘whole, complete, full, round’ can only occur with an *ezāfe* and therefore functions as the nominal head of an NP rather than as a premodifying quantifier. *hame* can precede the demonstrative, as in *hame in dar-hā* ‘all these doors’ and *har* can precede the numerals *yek* ‘one’ and *do* ‘two’ in the expressions *har yek* ‘each one’ and *har do* ‘both’, respectively.

Windfuhr says a quantifier can also follow the head noun, as in *ruz=e čand* ‘some day’. As a declarative, *čand* may be preceded by the non-specific plural, a more literary usage. Note that in this usage the quantified noun can be plural.

- nemune-hā=i čand* ‘several examples’
salān=i čand ‘a few years’

Only the quantifier *hame* ‘all’ can be modified directly by the *ezāfe* and can take object agreement. This does not appear to be possible with *har* ‘every, each, any’, *hič* ‘none, never; any, ever’, and *čand* ‘some, few, several’.

- (4.426) *hame=ye išan raft-and*
 all=EZ 3PL go.PAST-3PL.SU
 ‘All of them went.’ / ‘They all went.’ (Haim 2002)

- (4.427) *hame=tān=rā tekke tekke mi-kard*
 all-2PL.QO=OM piece piece IPFV-do.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘He would have cut all of you to pieces.’

4.3.1.3.4 Adjectives in the NP

Nearly all adjectives in the noun phrase follow the noun with an interceding *ezāfe*. But superlative adjectives precede the head noun.

- (4.428) *bozorg-tarin almās.*
 big-MOST diamond
 ‘the biggest diamond’

- (4.429) *ye almās=e bozorg*
 one diamond=EZ big
 ‘a big diamond’

There are exceptions to the noun-adjective order. Mahootian (1997: 63) says that *pir* ‘old’ precedes the noun in an *ezāfe* construction when it is part of a noun phrase that has a specific reference.

(4.430) *pir=e mard*
old=EZ man
‘the old man’

(4.431) *pir=e zan=i*
old=EZ woman=IND
‘a (specific) old woman.’

She also says the adjective *pir* may follow the noun, but in this case the reading may be either specific or nonspecific when the noun phrase is indefinite.

(4.432) *zan=e pir=i*
woman=EZ old=IND
‘an old woman/a specific old woman’

Another set of exceptions to the noun-adjective word order includes the words *xub* ‘good’, *bad* ‘bad’ and *bičāre* and *heyvunaki* both meaning ‘fortunate’. These adjectives may precede the noun without an interceding *ezāfe*. Note that all the adjectives in this group can also follow nouns in the *ezāfe* construction without any discernable change in meaning of the adjective.

(4.433) *heyvunaki ferešte*
poor Fereshte
‘poor Fereshte’

(4.434) *xub jā=i=e*
good place=IND=be.PRES.3SG.SU
‘It’s a nice place.’

4.3.1.3.5 Possessives in the NP

An alternative to forming possessives with the clitic suffixes (see XXX) is the use of the *ezāfe* construction:

POSSESSED + *ezāfe* + POSSESSOR

See 4.3.7 for a description of this *ezāfe* construction.

4.3.1.3.6 Articles in the NP

There is no definite article in Persian. The indefinite article, which precedes the noun phrase, is the same as the word for the number ‘one’, *ye(k)*. There is also the discontinuous construction *ye(k)...=i* to indicate indefinite noun phrases. In this construction, *yek(k)*, which is optional, precedes the noun phrase and *=i* attaches to the end of the noun phrase. For further discussion of the indefinite marker see XXX. Windfuhr (1989) says The restrictive-selective function of *=i* is distinct from that of *yek* ‘a, one’, which counts an item or a group of items. Unlike English ‘a’ and ‘one’, both are compatible in Persian, e.g. (4.437) and (4.442).

(4.435) *ye livān=e por*
a glass=EZ full
‘a full glass’

(4.436) (ye) *ketāb=e jāleb=i*
(a) book=EZ interesting=IND
‘an interesting book’

(4.437) *ye ketāb=i be-deh.*
one book=IND IMP-give
‘Give me a (one, some) book.’

yek ‘one’ can also be used to denote one of a pair, as in (4.438), or one of a group, as in (4.439), or denote a particular but unspecified occasion, as in (4.440), or a particular and specified occasion, as in (4.441).

(4.438) *yek češm=am*
 one eye=1SG.POS
 ‘one of my eyes’

(4.439) *yek-i az hamkelāsi-hā-yam*
 one-IND from classmate-PL-1SG.POS
 ‘one of my classmates’

(4.440) *yek ruz=e garm=e tābestān*
 one day=EZ warm=EZ summer
 ‘one warm summer’s day’

(4.441) *daqiqan yek sizdah=e mordād*
 exactly one thirteen=EZ Jul/Aug
 ‘precisely on one thirteenth of Mordad’

yek ‘one’ can also be used as a pronoun, as in (4.442)-(4.443).

(4.442) *yek=i yek=i*
 one=IND one=IND
 ‘one by one’

(4.443) *yek=i=šān*
 one=IND=3PL.O
 ‘one of them’

4.3.1.3.7 Demonstratives in the NP

The demonstrative adjectives *in* ‘this’ and *un* ‘that’ precede the noun classifier, numbers and superlative adjectives in the noun phrase. There is no plural form of the demonstrative adjectives. For plural nouns, the singular demonstratives are used with the plural form of the noun.

(4.444) *in aslahe*
 this weapon
 ‘this weapon’

(4.445) *un farš-ā*
 that carpet-PL
 ‘those carpets’

(4.446) *un do nou’ qāli*
 these two kinds carpets
 ‘those two kinds of carpets’

(4.447) *in bozorg-tarin se tā ketāb*
 this big-MOST three CL book
 ‘these biggest three books’

4.3.1.3.8 Adverbials in the NP

Adverbials do not typically modify nominal constituents. But a few adverbials such as *faqat* ‘only’, *daqiqan* ‘precisely/exactly’ and *taqriban* ‘almost, nearly’ can be used to modify a noun phrase.

- (4.448) faqat farzād fahmid.
only Farzad understand.PAST.3SG.SU
'Only Farzad understood.'
- (4.449) ru=ye sim faqat yek noqte=ye siāh did-am.
on=EZ wire only one point=EZ black see.PAST-1SG.SU
'I saw only a black point on the wire.'
- (4.450) daqiqa yek sizdah=e mordād
exactly one thirteen=EZ Jul/Aug
'precisely on one thirteenth of Mordad'
- (4.451) taqriban hame=ye ānhā sarnevešt=e qamangiz=i dāšt-and.
almost all=EZ 3PL fate=EZ sad=IND have.PAST-3PL.SU
'Almost all of them had a sad fate.'

4.3.1.3.9 Prepositional phrases in the NP

Prepositional phrases can postmodify the noun in the noun phrase. In most of the examples below the postmodifying PP immediately follows the head noun. In (4.452) an *ezāfe* links the noun to the PP, in (4.453) the clitic =i both marks the noun as indefinite and links it to the following PP, and in (4.454) there is no element linking the PP to the noun. These are the three patterns observed in texts. The PP follows an adjective in (4.456), in (4.459) there are two PPs postmodifying the head noun and in (4.460) the postmodifying preposition has object agreement.

- (4.452) HN PP
bāzi=ye zir=e miz
game=EZ under=EZ table
'the game under the table'
- (4.453) HN PP
asar=i az u
trace=IND from 3SG
'a trace of him'
- (4.454) HN PP
čahār nafar az bābāšamal-hā=ye tabriz
four person from ruffian-PL=EZ Tabriz
'four ruffians of Tabriz'
- (4.455) HN PP
mu=ye bar tan=eš
hair=EZ on body=3SG.POS
'the hair on its body'
- (4.456) HN PP
xune=ye bozorg=i tu=ye šahr
house=EZ big=IND in=EZ city
'a big house in the city'
- (4.457) HN PP
surat-hā=ye ahmaq=e fine be sar
face-PL=EZ stupid=EZ fez on head
'stupid faces with fezes on their heads'
- (4.458) HN PP
hamčon gol-i dar čaman
also.since flower-IND in grass
'like a flower in the meadow'

- (4.459) HN PP PP
 har no' xoruj bedun mohāfaz az xāne
 every type departure without guardian from house
 'any type of departure from the house without a guardian'
- (4.460) HN PP
 age yek ruz jelo=šun=o na-gir-id ...
 if one day ahead=3PL.PO=OM NEG-take.PRES-2PL.SU
 'if you don't keep one day ahead of them ...'
- (4.461) HN PP
 tu=ye otāq=am tabaqe=ye bālā=ye qasr
 in=EZ room=1SG.POS storey=EZ above=EZ palace
 'in my room on the upper storey of the palace'

4.3.1.3.10 Relative clauses in the NP

Noun phrases can be modified by relative clauses. A relative clause, introduced by the complementizer *ke* 'that', follows the noun it modifies. The antecedent is indicated by adding the determiner *=i* to the noun or the NP. See XXX. In (4.462) the relative clause follows the head noun directly and in (4.463) the relative clause follows a modifying adjective. Example (4.464) is a little more complex. Here the relative clause modifies the nominal *moured e zamān* 'case of the time', which in turn is the object of the postmodifying preposition *dar* 'about' which modifies the nominal *yek dāstāne vāqe* 'a true story'.

- (4.462) mard-i=rā ke az kenār-am mi-gozašt
 man-DET=OM that from side-1SG.POS IPFV-pass.PAST-3SG.SU
 sedā kard-am
 call do.PAST-1SG.SU
 'I called to a man passing by.'
- (4.463) kolāh=ye qermez=i ke tu=ye maqāze did-am.
 hat=EZ red=DET CMPL in=EZ store see.PAST-1SG.SU
 'the red hat that I saw in the store'
- (4.464) emruz yek dāstān=e vāqe'=i=rā dar moured=e zamān=i
 today one story=EZ real-IND=OM about instance=EZ time=DET
 ke man be dabirestān mi-raft-am
 CMPL 1SG to secondary_school IPFV-go.PAST-1SG.SU
 ta'rif kon-am.
 account SBJN.do.PRES-1SG.SU
 'Today I will tell a true story about the time I went to secondary school.'

4.3.1.3.11 Interrogatives in the NP

The interrogative adjectives: *kodum* (*yek*) 'which (one)', *čand=tā* 'how many', *čeqadr* 'how much (quantity)' can modify the head noun in the noun phrase. They all precede the nominal they qualify.

- (4.465) kodum ketāb=e tārix?
 which book=EZ history
 'which history book?'
- (4.466) kodum yek=i=o did-i?
 which one=IND=OM see.PAST-2SG.SU
 'Which one did you see?'

- (4.467) *čand tā māšin=e ābi?*
 how.many CL car=EZ blue
 ‘How many blue cars?’
- (4.468) *čand sāl?*
 how.many year
 ‘How many years?’
- (4.469) *čand vagt?*
 how.much time
 ‘How long?’
- (4.470) *ruz=e čandom=e mäh?*
 day=EZ which=EZ month
 ‘Which day of the month?’
- (4.471) *čandom-in ruz=e mäh?*
 which-SPEC day=EZ month
 ‘Which day of the month?’
- (4.472) *čeqadr šekar*
 how.much sugar
 ‘How much sugar?’

4.3.1.4 Cooccurrence of more than one of the same type of modifier

Mahootian (1997: 70) says that a nominal constituent may be modified by more than one of the same type of modifier. More than one adjective, relative clause or quantifier can modify the same noun. It is also the case that more than one PP can modify a noun.

Quantifiers

In her illustration of multiple quantifiers (4.473) Mahootian counts numerals and quantifiers as the same category when they have a different distribution. So this is not an example of multiples of the same category modifying the same noun.

- (4.473) *har se tā doxtar dānešju and.*
 every three CL girl student be.PRES.3PL.SU
 ‘Each of the three girls are students.’

What you need is examples of multiple numerals or multiple quantifiers (e.g. *hame* ‘all’, *har* ‘every, each, any’, *hič* ‘none, any’, and *čand* ‘some, few, several’, *tamām* ‘whole’), or multiple superlative adjectives, or multiple demonstratives, or multiple adverbials modifying the same noun.

Thackston (1993: 96) says that indefinite numerical expressions, such as ‘two or three’, ‘four or five’ are expressed in Persian by the two numbers together. So this would count as multiple numerals premodifying the same noun.

<i>do-se nafar</i>	‘two or three people’
<i>panj-šeš sāl</i>	‘five or six years’

Q. *****

Another possibility would be *behtarin va badtarin vaqt* ‘the best and worst time’. Is this possible? Can you say the equivalent of ‘each and every person’ in Persian?

Adjectives

Thackston (1993: 13) says that adjectival order is not fixed in Persian and that multiple adjectives describing a single noun may occur in any order whatsoever, with the emphasis falling in descending order away from the noun. Thus,

- (4.474) xune=ye bozorg=e qadimi=e qermez
house=EZ big=EZ old=EZ red
xune=ye qermez=e bozorg=e qadimi
house=EZ red=EZ big=EZ old
xune=ye qadimi=e qermez=e bozorg
house=EZ old=EZ red=EZ big

all mean

‘the big old red house’

However, Mahootian (1997: 70) says there is a preferred unmarked, nonemphasized, noncontrastive order with adjectives describing size, colour and age: size precedes colour and age precedes size. [Note some other differences: Thackston (1993: 12) says that =ye follows *ā*, *u* and *e*, but Mahootian has =ye following *i* too, as in (4.476). Also, whereas Thackston says a qualifying adjective makes the nominal definite, Mahootian glosses an example like (4.476) as ‘a big old house’.]

- (4.475) ye badkonak=e bozorg=e qermez
a balloon=EZ big=EZ red
‘a big red balloon’

- (4.476) xune=ye qadimi=ye bozorg
house=EZ old=EZ big
‘the big old house’

Note from what both Thackston and Mahootian say that the order of scope of description of adjectives in the *ezāfe* construction is in declining scope away from the head noun.

Relative clauses

One or more relative clauses may be used to modify a noun. The noun is obligatorily suffixed with the determiner =*i* and each relative clause is introduced by the complementizer *ke* ‘that’.

- (4.477) bišqab=i ke mādar-am dust dār-e
plate=DET CMPL mother-1SG.POS friend have.PRES-3SG.SU
ke to šikast-i
CMPL 2SG break.PAST-2SG.SU
‘the plate that my mother likes that you broke’

Possessive adjectives

Any number of possessive adjectives may follow the noun, each linked to the previous element via an *ezāfe*.

- (4.478) doxtar=e xoškel=e hamsāye=ye barādar=e dust=e āli
daughter=EZ pretty=EZ neighbour=EZ brother=EZ friend=EZ Ali
‘Ali’s friend’s brother’s neighbour’s pretty daughter’

PP modifiers

We only have one example in text of multiple PPs modifying a noun. But from this we can assume it is quite possible to have multiple PPs as postmodifiers of the noun. Note that in English it is preferable to have ‘from’ precede ‘without’ and in the Persian the ordering is the other way around.

- (4.479) HN PP PP
har no’ xoruj bedun mohāfaz az xāne
every type departure without guardian from house
‘any type of departure from the house without a guardian’

***** more examples needed

4.3.1.5 Nonadmissible combinations of types of modifier

Mahootian (1997: 72) says the indefinite article *ye(k)* and *ye(k)...i* cannot occur with possessive adjectives, demonstrative adjectives or quantifiers (numerals and quantifiers).

4.3.1.6 Noun phrase clitics

**** cross-refer to =*rā*, =*i*, etc.

4.3.2 Prepositional phrase (PP)

4.3.2.1 Operational definition for prepositional phrases

Prepositions are divided into simple and *ezāfe* prepositions. A simple preposition directly precedes its complement, as in (4.480) and (4.481), and an *ezāfe* preposition is linked to its complement by the *ezāfe*, as in (4.482) and (4.483). See 4.1.8 for a description of these different types of preposition.

(4.480) *bā mā*
with 1PL
'with us'

(4.481) *dar in edāre*
in this office
'in this office'

(4.482) *zir=e miz*
under=EZ table
'under the table'

(4.483) *tu(=ye) manzel=e qermez*
in(=EZ) house=EZ red
'in the red house'

4.3.2.2 Structure of the prepositional phrase

Most descriptions of Persian give the structure of the prepositional phrase as simply P NP. But we can establish that the structure of the Persian PP is at least as complex as (4.484).

(4.484)

$$P \left\{ \begin{array}{l} NP \\ V.INF \\ AdjP \end{array} \right\}$$

The most common complement of the preposition is the noun phrase or pronoun and examples (4.480)-(4.483) illustrate this. But the verb *šoru' kardan* 'to begin' commonly takes complements with *be* 'to' plus an infinitive verb, as in (4.485) and (4.486).

(4.485) *shoru' kard be nevesht-an.*
start do.PAST.3SG.SU to write-INF
'He started to write.'

(4.486) *shoru' kard-am. be gerie kard-an.*
start do.PAST-1SG.SU to tears do-INF
'I started to cry.'

In (4.487) the preposition *be* ‘to’ has the adjective *nāčār* ‘necessary, constrained, inevitable’ as a complement, in (4.488) the reflexive adjective *xod=ešān* ‘themselves’ is the complement, and in (4.489)-(4.491) different types of demonstrative and interrogative adjectives are the complement.

- (4.487) *be nāčār be češm pezešk morāje’e kard-am.*
 to inevitable to eye doctor refer do.PAST-1SG.SU
 ‘There was nothing to be done but for me to consult an optician.’
- (4.488) *bačče-hā tu=ye eivān be xod=ešān mi-pičid-and.*
 child-PL on=EZ balcony to self=3PL.POSIPFV-writhe.PAST-3PL.SU
 ‘The children were writhing (themselves) on the balcony.’
- (4.489) *be har kodum*
 to each one
 ‘to/for each one’
- (4.490) *yek=i=šān be čenān*
 one=EZ=3PL to such
 ‘one of such’
- (4.491) *be kojā*
 to where
 ‘to where?’

The object of a preposition can also be a pronominal clitic. See 4.1.8.2.

- (4.492) *kilid=o be=m dād.*
 key=OM to=1SG.PO give.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘She gave me the key.’

Prepositions can form compounds with other prepositions. E.g. *birun az* ‘outside’, *az barāye* ‘for’, *az bahr* ‘for’, *bejuz* ‘except’, *dar pas* ‘behind’, *dar piš* ‘in front of’, *dar zir* ‘under’, *bar sar* ‘on’, *az sar* ‘from, on, off’, *bar kenār* ‘beside’, *dar miyān* ‘among’, *az miyān* ‘from among’, *dar nazd* ‘near’, *az nazd* ‘from, before’, *dar pei* ‘after’ *az pei* ‘after’, *bejā* ‘instead of’, *az ru* ‘from upon, off’, *ru be ru* ‘opposite’, *az su* ‘from the direction of’, *be su* ‘towards’, *dar bare* ‘about’. (from Lambton (195?))

Prepositions can form compounds with verbs. See Lambton (195?).

Prepositions can form compounds with nominals and adjectives. See 4.1.10.2 for examples of negative compounds with *bi* ‘without’, e.g. *bikas* ‘friendless (without a person)’. Also *bellāh* ‘by God’, *be estesnā* ‘by way of exception’, *e’temād be nafs* ‘self-reliance’, *be kolli* ‘altogether’, *az in ru* ‘for this reason’.

4.3.2.3 Prepositional phrases and their arguments

4.3.2.3.1 Prepositions without arguments

Mahootian (1997: 61): A number of prepositions can occur without arguments in an adverbial function. The most common prepositions that can stand without noun phrases are *birun* ‘out’, *tu* ‘in’, *bālā* ‘up’, *pāyin* ‘down’, *dāxel* ‘inside’. These prepositions never occur with the *ezāfe* when used without arguments.

- (4.493) *raft bālā.*
 go.PAST.3SG.SU up
 ‘He went up.’

However, if morphology and word order are considered together, there are cases when an adjective phrase can be identified: a word containing the superlative suffix and immediately preceding a noun is clearly an adjective phrase, as in (4.499). There are also a number of derivational morphemes that unambiguously indicate adjectives. See XXX for a discussion and list of adjectival derivational morphemes.

A final, though not definitive, indicator is the *ezāfe* construction. While *ezāfe* constructions are most commonly used in constructions other than adjectival ones, most adjectives do appear in constructions that use *ezāfe*.

4.3.3.2 Structure of the adjective phrase

The adjective can be preceded by an adverbial intensifier, it can be preceded by a PP argument and it can be followed by either a NP or PP argument in an *ezāfe* construction.

$$(4.500) \quad (PP) (Adv) \text{ Adj } \left(=_e \left\{ \begin{array}{l} NP \\ PP \end{array} \right\} \right)$$

4.3.3.3 Adjectives with arguments

4.3.3.3.1 Subjects of adjectives

Adjectives can occur in sentences without overt subjects. The predicate adjective, suffixed with the copular clitic, modifies the pro-dropped subject.

(4.501) qermez=e.
red=be.PRES.3SG.SU
'It is red.'

(4.502) xošhāl-am.
happy=be.PRES.1SG.SU
'I am happy.'

4.3.3.3.2 Adjectives with direct objects

Adjectives referring to a quality of the noun they modify, such as *xub* 'good', *zard* 'yellow', *tond* 'fast', *bozorg* 'big', and *dāq* 'hot', cannot take direct-object arguments. However, many nonqualitative adjectives can take direct-object arguments via the *ezāfe* construction. The object is optional.

(4.503) āšeq=e šohar=eš
in love=EZ husband=3SG.POS
'in love with her husband'

(4.504) negarān=e doxtar=am
worried=EZ daughter=1SG.POS
'worried about my daughter'

4.3.3.3.3 Adjectives and indirect objects

Adjectives can take indirect-object arguments. One structure that can be considered an indirect-object argument involves a prepositional phrase which precedes the adjective.

(4.505) nesbat be digar-ān baxšande bud.
degree to other-PL generous be.PAST.3SG.SU
'He was generous to others.'

(4.506) be musiqi=ye jaz alāqemand=e.
to music=EZ jazz fond=be.PRES.3SG.SU
'She is fond of jazz.'

4.3.3.3.4 Other arguments

Adjectives can also take other oblique arguments. Note that the modifying PP precedes the adjective in (4.507) but follows it in (4.508).

(4.507) *ba bačče-hā sabur=e.*
 with child-PL patient=be.PRES.3SG.SU
 ‘He’s patient with children.’

(4.508) *nārāhat az xabar=e bad.*
 upset from news=EZ bad
 ‘upset by the bad news’

4.3.3.4 Adverbial modification of adjectives

4.3.3.4.1 Adverbs

Adjectives can be modified by intensifying adverbs. The intensifier immediately precedes the adjective. Adverbs such as *xeili* ‘very’ and *besiār* ‘much, a lot’ express large measure, adverbs such as *ziād* ‘much, too much’ and *biandāze* ‘extremely’ express very large measure, and the adverb *nesbaten* ‘relatively’ expresses small measure.

(4.509) *film=e xeili jāleb*
 film=EZ very interesting
 ‘a very interesting film’

(4.510) *biandāze gerun*
 extremely expensive
 ‘extremely expensive’

(4.511) *nesbaten xošhāl=e.*
 relatively happy=be.PRES.3SG.SU
 ‘She is relatively happy.’

4.3.3.4.2 Prepositional phrases

Prepositional phrases can also modify adjectives and they precede the adjective they modify.

(4.512) *tā diruz nārāhat bud.*
 until yesterday upset be.PAST.3S.SU
 ‘She upset until yesterday.’

4.3.3.4.3 Finite and nonfinite adverbial clauses

Mahootian (1997: 56) says some finite adverbial clauses can be used to modify adjectives in predicate position. The finite clause precedes the adjective. Nonfinite clauses do not modify adjectives.

(4.513) *jamšid be andāze=ye man xošhāl bud.*
 Jamshid to degree=EZ 1SG happy be.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘Jamshid was as happy as I.’

However, in this example I would understand that *jamšid xošhāl bud* ‘Jamshid was happy’ is modified by the PP *be andāze=ye man* ‘to the degree of me’. I don’t see where is “the finite clause that precedes the adjective”.

4.3.3.5 Order of adjectives, arguments and adverbials

Intensifying adverbs, prepositional adverbials and finite adverbial clauses all precede adjectives which take direct object arguments. [Note: I regard (4.515) and (4.516) both as examples of PP adverbial modifiers.]

- (4.514) *xeili negarān=e barādar=am.*
 very worried=EZ brother=1SG.POS
 ‘very worried about my brother’
- (4.515) *tā diruz negarān=e šoql=eš bud.*
 until yesterday worried=EZ job=3SG.POS be.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘She was worried about her job until yesterday.’
- (4.516) *jamšid be andāze=ye man negarān=e šoql=am=e.*
 Jamshid to degree=EZ 1SG worried=EZ job=1SG.POS=be.PRES.3SG.SU
 ‘Jamshid is as worried about my job as I am.’

Simple and PP adverbials precede the indirect object argument of the adjective.

- (4.517) *hamiše nesbat be digar-ān baxšande bud.*
 always degree to other-PL generous be.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘He was always generous to others.’
- (4.518) *tā čand sāl nesbat be digar-ān badbin bud.*
 for several year relative to other-PL pessimistic be.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘For several years he didn’t trust other people.’

In the case of adjectives with oblique arguments, simple adverbs can either precede the adjective or precede the entire argument-adjective construction.

- (4.519) *bā bačče-hā xeili sabur=e.*
 with child-PL very patient=be.PRES.3SG.SU
xeili bū bačče-hā sabur=e.
 very with child-PL patient=be.PRES.3SG.SU
 ‘He is very patient with the children.’

Prepositional adverbials must precede the oblique argument of adjectives.

- (4.520) *az avval bū bačče-hā sabur bud.*
 from first with child-PL patient be.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘From the beginning he was patient with children.’
- (4.521) *jamšid be andāze=ye man bū bačče-hā sabur=e.*
 Jamshid to degree=EZ 1SG with child-PL patient=be.PRES.3SG.SU
 ‘Jamshid is as patient with children as I am.’

4.3.4 Numeral phrase (NumP)

4.3.4.1 Operational definition for numeral phrases

Numerals can form phrases in combination with other numerals and they can be modified by an adverbial element. E.g.

<i>bist o yek</i>	‘twenty one’
<i>bist o yekom</i>	‘twenty first’
<i>do-se nafar</i>	‘two or three people’
<i>panj-šeš sāl</i>	‘five or six years’

4.3.4.2 Structure of the numeral phrase

The numeral can be optionally preceded by an adverbial limiter.

(4.522) (Adv) Num

4.3.4.3 Modifiers in the numeral phrase

Numerals can be qualified by *faqat* ‘only’.

(4.523) *faqat do bār tanbih šod-e am.*
 only two time punishment become-PSPT be.PRES.1SG.SU
 ‘I had only been punished twice.’

4.3.5 Quantifier phrase (QP)

The primary quantifiers are: *hame* ‘all, whole’, *har* ‘every, each, any’, and *hič* ‘none, never; any, ever’. The nominal *tamām* ‘whole, complete, full, round’ is also frequently used as a universal quantifier.

4.3.5.1 Operational definition for quantifier phrases

Quantifiers function as the head of the quantifier phrase. Within the QP the quantifier can take arguments and can be qualified by an adverbial.

4.3.5.2 Structure of the quantifier phrase

The quantifier can be followed by NP or PP arguments and can be preceded by an adverbial modifier.

(4.524) (Adv) Quant $\left(=_e \begin{Bmatrix} \text{NP} \\ \text{PP} \end{Bmatrix} \right)$

4.3.5.3 Arguments in quantifier phrases

Quantifiers can be the head of a construction with arguments. The arguments can be the complement of an *ezāfe* construction, a pronominal clitic or a partitive *az* PP.

<i>hame=ye ketāb-hā</i>	‘all of the books’
<i>har kodum=e bačče-hā</i>	‘each of the children’
<i>hič kodum=e bačče-hā</i>	‘none of the children’
<i>hame=šun</i>	‘all of them’
<i>har do=mun</i>	‘both of us’
<i>hič kodum az in abhā</i>	‘none of these horses’

(4.525) *hame=ye mard-hā=ye šahr bāyad bi-āy-and.*
 all=EZ man-PL=EZ city must SBJN-come.PRES-3PL.SU
 ‘All of the men of the city must come.’

(4.526) *man o to har do=mun gorg im.*
 1SG and 2SG each two=1PL.DO wolf be.PRES.1PL.SU
 ‘You and I are both wolves.’

(4.527) *hič kodum=e bačče-hā na-xord-and.*
 none which=EZ child-PL NEG-eat.PAST-3PL.SU
 ‘None of the children ate.’

- (4.528) hič kodum az in abhā māl=e u nist.
 none which from this 3PL property=EZ 3SG NEG.be.PRES.3SG.SU
 ‘None of these horses are his.’

(4.529) .

‘.’

4.3.5.4 Modifiers in quantifier phrases

Quantifiers can be qualified by adverbials.

taqriban hame=ye unhā ‘almost/nearly all of us’

- (4.530) taqriban hame=ye unhā raft-and
 nearly all=EZ 3PL go.PAST-3PL.SU
 ‘Nearly all of them went.’
- (4.531) taqriban hame=ye unhā sarnevešt=e qamangiz-i dāšt-and.
 almost all=EZ 3PL fate=EZ sad-IND have.PAST-3PL.SU
 ‘Almost all of them had a sad fate.’

(4.532) .

‘.’

4.3.5.5 Quantifiers as pro-forms

Quantifiers can function as pro-forms.

- (4.533) hame hatman xāh-and mord
 all certainly want.PRES-3PL.SU die.PAST
 ‘They shall certainly all die!’
- (4.534) hame=rā baxš-am
 all=OM forgive.PAST-1SG.SU
 ‘He forgave them all.’
- (4.535) be har kodum do tā čub kaf=e do dast=ešun.
 for each one two CL stick palm(hand)=EZ two hand=3PL.POS
 ‘For each one, two blows on the palm of each hand.’
- (4.536) har ke angoštar=e marā bar dāšt-e Ø ...
 whoever CMPL ring=EZ 1SG.OM up take-PSPT be.PRES.3SG.SU
 ‘Whoever has taken my ring ...’
- (4.537) ammā qarāvol hič na-goft
 but sentinel none NEG-say.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘But the policeman said nothing.’

(4.538) .

‘.’

4.3.6 Adverb phrase (AdvP)

4.3.6.1 Operational definition of adverbial phrases

As with adjective phrases, there is no single morphological or word-order criterion which provides an operational definition for the adverbial phrase.

4.3.6.2 Structure of adverb phrases

The adverb phrases consists of an adverb with an optional intensifier preceding.

(4.539) (Adv) Adv

4.3.6.3 Adverbial modification of adverbs

The same adverbial intensifiers that modify adjectives can probably modify adverbs too, i.e. *xeili* 'very' and *besiār* 'much, a lot', *ziād* 'much, too much', *biandāze* 'extremely', and *nesbaten* 'relatively'. Mahootian has this one example. But there are many different types of adverbials - see 4.1.9.

(4.540) *xeili tond doid.*
very fast run.PAST.3SG.SU
'She ran very fast.'

(4.541) *man xeili sari' mi-ā-yam.*
1SG very quickly IPFV-come.PRES-1SG.SU
'I will come very quickly.'

Mahootian (1997: 58) says adverbial prepositional phrases do not generally modify other adverbials, but in (4.542) *be kolli* 'to completion' is a PP compound and it modifies the locative adverbial *zir=e šamad* 'under the sheet'.

(4.542) *sar-am be kolli zir=e šamad penhān šod.*
head-1SG.POS completely under=EZ sheet hidden become.PAST.3SG.SU
'My head was completely hidden under the sheet.'

(4.543) .

‘.’

4.3.7 Phrasal modifications and the *ezāfe* construction

The *ezāfe* is a construction that is indicated by an unstressed enclitic vowel =*e* (=ye following a vowel) and serves to link a head element with a following modifying element. This construction has a wide range of linking functions. See also 4.3.1.3.4 for adjectives in nominal *ezāfe* constructions and 4.3.1.3.9 for prepositions and the *ezāfe*.

HEAD + *ezāfe* + MODIFIER

4.3.7.1 Nominal genitive *ezāfe* construction

In the nominal genitive *ezāfe* construction a nominal functions as the possessed head of the construction and the possessor functions as the modifier.

POSSESSED + *ezāfe* + POSSESSOR

The possessor can be a pronoun, noun (which may also take its own possessor suffixation), reflexive adjective or proper name.

- (4.544) *houle=ye man*
towel=EZ 1SG
 ‘my towel’
- (4.545) *dom=e gorbe*
tail=EZ cat
 ‘cat’s tail’
- (4.546) *hamsāye=ye barādar=am.*
neighbour=EZ brother=1SG.POS
 ‘my brother’s neighbour’
- (4.547) *māšin=e xod=am*
car=EZ self=1SG.POS
 ‘my own car’
- (4.548) *kafš=e firuz*
shoe=EZ Firuz
 ‘Firuz’s shoe’

Alternatively, the head of the possessive *ezāfe* construction can be *māl=e* ‘property of’. This indicates alienable possession and is typically used in a copular construction.

- (4.549) *un dastkeš=ā māl=e to=e*
that glove=PL property=EZ 2SG=be.PRES.3SG.SU
 ‘Those gloves are yours.’

4.3.7.2 Nominal attributive *ezāfe* construction

In the nominal attributive *ezāfe* construction an adjective, noun, quantifier, numeral, prepositional phrase or infinitive postmodifies the head noun. Thackston (1993: 12) says that an attributive adjective with *ezāfe* renders a definite sense.

- (4.550) *ketāb=e bozorg*
book=EZ big
 ‘the big book’
- (4.551) *ketāb=e tārix*
book=EZ history
 ‘history book’
- (4.552) *jām=e āb*
cup=EZ water
 ‘cup of water’
- (4.553) *ruz=e čand*
day=EZ some
 ‘some day’
- (4.554) *ruz=e haft-om*
day=EZ seven-ORD
 ‘seventh day’
- (4.555) *bāzi=ye zir=e miz*
game=EZ under=EZ table
 ‘the game under the table’
- (4.556) *vaqt=e raft-an*
time=EZ go-INF
 ‘time to go’

4.3.7.3 Nominal appositive *ezāfe* construction

The *ezāfe* can link the modifier to the head noun in an appositive relationship. This applies particularly to expressions of geographical location.

- (4.557) kuh=e alborz
 mountain=EZ Alborz
 ‘the Alborz Mountains’

- (4.558) kalij=e fars
 gulf=EZ Persian
 ‘the Persian Gulf’

4.3.7.4 Family-name *ezāfe* construction

The *ezāfe* is also used to join the preceding given name with the following family name. This construction is commonly used in referring to someone or introducing oneself. With foreign names, no linking sound is normally added.

- (4.559) parvin=e mas’udi
 Parvin=EZ Masudi
 ‘Parvin Masudi’

- (4.560) jorj nikson
 George Nixon
 ‘George Nixon’

4.3.7.5 *Ezāfe* in the adjective phrase

Adjectives can be modified in an *ezāfe* construction.

- (4.561) negarān=e barādar=am
 worried=EZ brother=1SG.POS
 ‘worried about my brother’

- (4.562) boland-tarin=e doxtar-ā
 tall-MOST=EZ girl-PL
 ‘the tallest of the girls’

- (4.563) āmāde=ye harči
 ready=EZ anything
 ‘ready for anything’

4.3.7.6 *Ezāfe* in the quantifier phrase

Partitives are constructed by a quantifier functioning as the head of an *ezāfe* construction followed by the quantified nominal.

- (4.564) hame=ye išan
 all=EZ 3PL
 ‘all of them’

- (4.565) tamām=e bačče-hā
 all=EZ child-PL
 ‘all of the children’

- (4.566) hič kodum=e mard-ān
 none which=EZ man-PL
 ‘none of the men’

4.3.7.7 *Ezāfe* in the prepositional phrase

Only some prepositions require an *ezāfe* to precede their NP complement. For a discussion of which prepositions require an *ezāfe* see 4.1.8.

(4.567) pošt=e deraxt
 behind=EZ tree
 ‘behind the tree’

(4.568) kenar=e rudxune
 beside=EZ river
 ‘beside the river’

