A Single Formal Analysis of a Multi-Functional Morpheme Simin Karimi University of Arizona

The Persian morpheme $-r\hat{a}$ has been typically treated as a differential object marker which appears on presuppositional (definite or specific) direct objects. There are, however, several cases in which the morpheme $-r\hat{a}$ appears on DPs other than the direct object, including: nominal adverbs and raised nominals out of an object. Although $-r\hat{a}$ does not mark subject DPs and objects of prepositions, this element also marks subject DPs raised out of an embedded clause, as well as DPs corresponding to object clitics of prepositions. Finally, it marks raised DPs out of possessor constructions.

On the basis of the data mentioned above, I motivate a new analysis of $-r\hat{a}$ which indicates that this element marks specific DPs that have been valued for *dependent* case (Yip et al. 1987, Marantz 1991, Baker 2017), and argue that accusative case is structurally assigned downwards in syntax by a head that introduces an external argument, representing an extended version of Burzio's Generalization.

This paper also builds on work by Preminger (2011a, 2014) and Kornfilt & Preminger (2014), which argue that nominative (as well as absolutive, and within the DP, genitive cases) are simply the morphological form afforded to noun phrases whose case features have not been valued in the course of the derivation. This means that subject DPs are not checked for case. In the absence of a clear indication of case-stacking in Persian (cf. Schütze 2001, Yoon 2004, on Korean; and Richards 2012, on Lardil), this theory correctly predicts that raised subjects of embedded clauses may only appear with $-r\hat{a}$ if the matrix verb introduces an external argument, but not otherwise.

Finally, the analysis in this paper is extended to those cases in Modern Classical Persian where $-r\hat{a}$ marks a variety of distinct DPs other than objects.