The Classification of the Type of Embedded Clauses in Control Constructions in Persian

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Abstract
Under the infinitive constructions in languages like English, the analysis of embedded control constructions, especially prior to the onset of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky & Lasnik, 1993), was typically confined to the study of a special group of English-type infinitival constructions whose subject position was occupied by PRO. Prior to this era, languages that lacked infinitive constructions, and/or alternatively used other constructions to host control and PRO, were considered marginal to the mainstream generative tradition of that era. These otherwise constructions posed challenging questions to the mainstream theory of *non-finite* control and PRO in infinitives.

Nonetheless, with the advent of Minimalism, other clause types, were put in the agenda. Generally, control construction with PRO could also appear in finite and/or subjunctive clauses (Kapetangianni 2010; Landau, 2004, 2013; Lee, 2009; Roussou, 2001; Spyropulous 2007; Terzi, 1993, 1997).

The aim of present study, however, is to classify Persian control constructions according to the type of embedded clause that can host. More specifically, the results of the current study shows that there are several types of control constructions in Persian: embedded finite subjunctives, with two variant forms in obligatory and non-obligatory control environments, embedded gerundive clauses, hosting both obligatory and non-obligatory environments, and a special group of impersonal constructions hosting only non-obligatory control constructions.

Methodologically, the current study follows the three approaches: a) the reintroduction of the already attested constructions, b) the introduction of new classifications based on the generalizations of the already attested constructions, and c) the probe into other types of embedded clauses that can host control constructions. In what follows, we try to follow the approach above.

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A.   Obligatory control into finite subjunctives

Similar to indicatives, these constructions appear with their full clausal specifications. Specifically, they have obligatory person and number endings on the verbal element within their TPs. The verbal element additionally receives a subjunctive mood clitic *be-* to its beginning. Moreover, the embedded clause appears as a CP headed by the complementizer *ke*. This is shown in (1) below.

(1) Reza$_i$ [PRO$_i$ dus=dar-e]   (ke) daneʃgah   be-r-e.
     Reza   appealing =have-3Sg that university Sbj-go-3Sg
     "Reza likes to go to the university."

          Therefore, these subjunctive control constructions are analogous to the infinitive control constructions found in other languages that have this mood distinction. This category of embedded clause-typing in control environments was classified based on the relevant literature on Persian control (Hashemipour, 1988, 1989; Ghomeshi, 2001; Karimi, 2005, 2008; Taleghani, 2008; Darzi, 2008; Pirooz, 2008, 2010, 2011, 2016; Darzi & Motavallian, 2010; and Ilkhanipour, 2014).

B.   Obligatory control into gerundives:

These gerundives are classified based on Darzi (2001) and a few other suggestions appearing marginally in under the category of subjunctive control including Ghomeshi, (2001), and Hashemipour (1989). The verbal element in these constructions undergoes the nominalization process, with the derivational ending -*æn* appearing to the end of the verbal element. These constructions are analogous to the gerundives in other languages like English, and can appear both in the object position and as prepositional object in (2) and (3) respectively.

(2) Reza$_i$ [PRO$_i$ daneʃgah   ræft-an-o]   dust=dar-e.
     Reza   university go-Ger-Acc appealing have-3Sg
     "Reza likes to go to a university."

(3) Reza$_i$ [æz [PRO$_i$ daneʃgah   ræft-an]] bizar-e.
     Reza from   university go-Ger   unappeal-be.3Sg
     "Reza hates going to a university."

C.   Non-obligatory control into gerundives

This new category almost includes no previous literature. Located in the subject position of the matrix clause, these constructions appear as non-obligatory control with PRO having an arbitrary interpretation. Similar to (2) and (3) above, the verbal element in these embedded clauses obligatorily includes a nominalization ending -*æn* on the verbal element. The lack of this derivational ending renders the string as ungrammatical.

(4) [PRO$_{Arb}$ daneʃgah   ræft-æn/ *ræft-] xub-e.
      PRO$_{Arb}$ university go-Ger/ go-ø   good be-3Sg
     "It is good to go to the university."

D.   Non-obligatory control into subjunctives

This group of control constructions is the result of an analogy with the finite subjunctive. However, can the category of   obligatory control in Persian subjunctives (i.e. the group A above) be extended to include non-obligatory control constructions in this language as well? The current study finds the answer positive. Therefore, this new category was introduced into Persian for the first time by this study. These constructions appear as a special type of subjunctive clauses in which the verbal paradigm of the embedded clause is restricted to *second person singular* or *third person plural,* respecting generic interpretation in both. However, the two

verbal endings correspond to the two categories of generic interpretation, as found below:

    a)   a generic *inclusive* interpretation with "second person singular ending" on the verbal element,

    b)   a generic *exclusive* interpretation with "third person plural ending" on the verbal element.

These categories can be found in (5) and (6) respectively . Phonologically, as it is the case with control construction, the subject position of these embedded subjunctives should be null. Hence, an overt nominal element like *to* "you" in the subject position of these clauses may render the construction *non-control*.

(5)   [PRO$_{Arb}$ / *to   be-r-i   daneʃgah] xub-e. (Including the speaker)

      PRO$_{Arb}$ / you Sbj-go-2Sg university good-be.3Sg

      "It's good if you go /one goes to a university."

(6)   [PRO$_{Arb}$ / una be-r-æn   daneʃgah] xub-e. (Excluding the speaker)

      PRO$_{Arb}$ / they Sbj-go-3Pl university good-is

      "It's good if they/ people go to a university."

These constructions appear only in the informal register of the language, analogous to the class of gerundive non-obligatory control.

E.   Non-obligatory control into impersonal constructions

A special category of impersonal constructions, where the verbal element lacks personal endings, can also host non-obligatory control with an arbitrary interpretation of the PRO.

(7) Bayæd [PRO$_{Arb}$ daneʃgah   ræft].

      PRO$_{Arb}$ ought university go-ø

      "One ought to go to a university."

These control constructions basically appear marginally in the literature on impersonal constructions in this language.