CAUSE OF PERSIAN DITRANSITIVES WITH POSTVERBAL DATIVES AND LOCATIVES*

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1. INTRODUCTION

Postverbal NPs are rare in Persian. While all arguments and adjuncts precede the verb in, there is one type of arguments that can follow the verb. I will refer to them as directional arguments (borrowing the terminology from Schweikert 2005). Examples with directional arguments appear anonymously in Dabirmoghaddam (1997) get a footnote attention from Adli (2010) and are briefly mentioned in Kahnemuyipour (2001) for his discussion of wh-movement to the VP-periphery. Mainly, they are often left out of the discussion because of their exceptional position. Their exceptional position is however the motivation for the present discussion.

I propose to explain the postverbal occurrence of the directional arguments by distinguishing two types of 'to X' arguments in Persian, a Dative and a Locative one. I consider transitive sentences of each type and reveal the source of the difference between the two in a process of decausativization. After suppression of the external argument, it appears that the postverbal Dative argument can move to subject position and become the new subject, while the postverbal Locative argument must remain low. In view of their different reaction to decausativization, I present different merge positions for each. While the Locative is merged lower than the verb, the Dative's appearance after the verb is the result of obligatory leftward movement of the verb. There are two postverbal arguments in Persian, each in a different position after the verb, the Dative merging higher than the Locative, and thus accessible for movement to Subject. While the lower argument is canonically postverbal, the higher one appears after the verb as a result of verb movement.

2. WORD ORDER OF ARGUMENTS

Persian is an S.O.V language where not only the subject and the object, but also prepositional phrases of the type 'for X', 'from X' or 'with X', precede the verb.

(1) a. Subject – Verb
bârun umad.
Rain came
'It rained.'

b. Subject – Verb
Nassrine raqsid.
Nassrine danced
'Nassrine danced.'

* Thanks to Genoveva Puskas for her first introduction lessons on ditransitives and causatives.

c. Subject – Object – Verb
Nassrine dâstân xund.
Nassrine story read
'Nassrine read stories.'
d. Subject – Goal Applicative – Object – Verb.
Nassrine bara doxtar-esh dâstân xund.
Nassrine for daughter-her story read.
'Nassrine read stories for her daughter.'
e. Subject – Source Applicative – Goal Applicative – Object – Verb
Nassrine az shiraz bara doxtar-esh anâr âvord.
Nassrine from Shiraz for daughter-her pomegranates brought
'Nassrine brought pomegranates for her daughter from Shiraz.'

We observe sentences with a growing number of arguments in examples (1a) through (1e). Example (1a) is a structure with the smallest valence; its sole argument is the generic noun 'rain' which together with the light verb 'to come' forms the meteorological verb 'to rain'. The single argument of the verb 'to dance' in (1b) is a real argument with the theta role of Agent. Its verb is a heavy verb, potentially containing within its morphological composition the noun 'dance' and an incorporated light verb such as 'to do'. The word order in this example is S.V. In example (1c) we see a simple transitive verb and its two arguments, which show the order S.O.V. In (1d) we see the same transitive verb with the addition of the optional Goal Applicative[1] argument. This example shows the order S.$\text{Appl}_{\text{goal}}$.O.V. Example (1e) with the verb 'to bring' adds a Source Applicative argument to the previous three. They come in the order S.$\text{Appl}_{\text{source}}$.$\text{Appl}_{\text{Goal}}$.O.V.

Surprisingly, arguments of the type 'to X' can precede or follow the verb. Their postverbal position is the topic of our discussion.

(2) a. Subject – Dative 'to X' – Object – Verb (formal Persian / rare spoken Persian)
Nassrine be Rolam chub dâd.
Nassrine to Rolam branch gave
'Nassrine gave branches to Rolam.'
b. Subject – Object – Verb – Dative '(to) X' (common spoken Persian)
Nassrine chub dâd (be) Rolam.
Nassrine branch gave (to) Rolam
'Nassrine gave branches to Rolam.'
c. Subject – Object-RÂ – Verb – Dative '(to) X' (with RÂ-marked object)
Nassrine chub-a-ro dâd (be) Rolam.
Nassrine branch gave (to) Rolam
'Nassrine gave the branches to Rolam.'

In example (2a), the ditransitive verb 'to give' appears with its three arguments in the order S.Dative.O.V . Word order in this example is similar to the sentences in (1) where all arguments precede the verb. However, the more common variant of the same sentence is the one in (2b) where the Dative argument follows the verb. The order S.O.V.Dative with an argument following the verb is interesting. The example in (2c) is similar to (2b) in having the same postverbal argument. Its direct object is specific and marked with the Differential Object

[1] The terms "Goal Applicative" (equivalent to High Applicative) and "Source Applicative" are taken from Pylkkänen (2008).

Marker *RA*, which I interpret as a topical feature. The presence of the marker on the object does not affect the postverbal argument.

I distinguish two types of 'to X' arguments, a Dative one that I will call 'to D' and a Locative one that I will call 'to L'. Persian does not case-mark its nouns, so the terms Dative and Locative are borrowed from languages that have case as means of referring to the difference between them. The first observation leading to the idea of a distinction between the two types of 'to X' arguments regards the necessary absence of the preposition 'to' in postverbal Locative 'to L' (in spoken Persian).

(3) a. Subject – Locative 'to X' – O – V (formal Persian / absent in spoken Persian)
Nassrine be shahr anâr bord.
Nassrine to town pomegranate took
'Nassrine took pomegranates to town.'

b. Subject – Object – V – Locative 'to X' (common spoken Persian)
Nassrine anâr-a-ro bord shahr.
Nassrine pomegranate-PL.-RA took town
'Nassrine took the pomegranates to town.'

In the two examples given in (3) we observe a (directional) Locative argument of the verb *bordan* 'to take/to carry away'. In (3a) all arguments appear before the verb, similarly to the examples in (1). However, this order is ungrammatical in spoken Persian. The common word order is the one in (3b) where the Locative argument follows the verb. Example (3b), together with the one in (2b) show the surprising behavior of 'to X' arguments in Persian.

Even if the two 'to X' arguments can appear postverbally, the Dative 'to D' in (2b) can keep its preposition when it appears after the verb, while the 'to L' argument cannot keep a preposition when it follows the verb (3b).

Another difference between the two types of 'to X' sentences reveals itself with regard to promotion to subject. I present it in the next section.

2. CAUSATIVES

In Persian, there are two verb types, a simple type called heavy verbs and a composite type called Light Verb Constructions. Most verbs in the language are of the Light Verb Construction type. Such verbal constructions combine a noun (or an adjective) as the lexical component of the verb with a light verb whose role is to contribute a verbalizer morpheme as well a verbal aspectual property to the verb. The light verb hosts tense and agree morphemes while the nouns stays bare. Heavy verbs of Persian, though lesser in number, are verbs of frequent usage such as sleep, eat, wash, run, sit, etc.

Light verbs of Persian come in pairs. For each light verb that realizes V plus an Aspect, there is another light verb that realizes V, the same Aspect, and an external argument-introducing head. Replacing the former with the latter increases the valence of the verbal construction and leads to the addition of an external argument. Harley, Folli and Karimi (2005) refer to this syntactically introduced argument as the Agent, following Marantz (1997) and Hale and Keyser (1993).

Four light verb pairs are given below. The English translation of the light verb is given as for a heavy verb, although the light verb's meaning is mostly aspectual and abstract. An example of a composite verb built with each one follows.

- *dâdan* ‘give’ vs. *gereftan* ‘to receive’:
  examples: yâd dâdan ‘to teach’ vs. *yâd gereftan* ‘to learn’
- *kardan* ‘to make’ versus *shodan* ‘to become’:
  examples: bozorg kardan ‘to raise’ vs *bozorg shodan* ‘to grow’.
- *zadan* ‘to apply’ versus *xordan* ‘to get’:
  examples: bâd zadan ‘to fan’ vs. *bâd xordan* ‘to be fanned’
- *andaxtan* ‘to drop’ versus *oftadan* ‘to fall’:
  examples: jâ andakhtan ‘to fit (sth) in’ vs. *jâ oftadan* ‘ to fit in’.

The above examples showed the causatives of light verb constructions. On the other type of verbs, which are the heavy verbs, causatives can be constructed by adding a causative morpheme. Such causative structures of Persian correspond to the languages described in Comrie (1976:268) where the “fusion of the causative element and the verb is clear, because we end up with what is a single verb, albeit morphologically complex, capable of taking only one set of endings”, i.e. tense and agree morphemes.

Here is how causatives are formed on Persian heavy verbs. I repeat example (2b) in (4a) below and present its causative variant in (4b). The causative morpheme -ân/-*un* glossed as CAUS below attaches to the lexical morpheme of the verb.

(4) a. Subject Verb
Nassrine Raqs-id.
Nassrine dance-PAST
'Nassrine danced.’

b. Subject Object Verb
DJ Nassrine-o raqs-un-d.
The DJ Nassrine-ObjectMarker dance-CAUS-PAST
'The DJ made Nassrine dance.'

c. # DJ Nassrine-o raqsund, vali naraqsid.
The DJ made Nassrine-ObjectMarker dance-CAUS-PAST, but NEG-dance.PAST
'The DJ made Nassrine dance but she didn’t dance.

In the above examples, we observe an intransitive verb in (4a) that becomes transitive with the addition of the CAUS morpheme -*un* to the lexical component of the verb *raqs*. The newly added Causer argument in (4b) appears as the subject of this sentence. What was the subject of the intransitive sentence in (4a) is now demoted to the direct object position (the NP Nassrine) in sentence (4b). Example (4c) is given to ensure that such Persian causative structures imply that the event is caused, in contrast with those structures in other languages where causation is limited to the intention of its agent.

A comparable structure to this Persian causative is the English double-object structure of *to give* in *John gave a book to Mary*, where Mary is interpreted as in possession of the book. Analyzed by Harley (2000), the verb *give* is breakable into the two components CAUSE and HAVE as in *John CAUSE [Mary HAVE a book]*.

Let us observe causativization of a transitive verb with an example adapted from Comrie (1976:268, example (19)).

(5) a. Subject Object Verb.
Pesar-am chây noushid.
Son-my tea drank
‘My son drank tea.’

b. Yeki az ân-ha chây-ra be pesar-am (/chây) noush-an-id.[2] (Comrie 1976)
one of 3PL tea-RA to son-my (/tea) drink-CAUS-PAST
'One of them made my son drink tea.'

In example (5a) we observe a transitive verb, which in (5b) becomes causative with the addition of the CAUS morpheme *an*/*un* to its lexical morpheme. A Causer argument is introduced. With the addition of the Causer argument in (5b), the NP *pesaram* which was the subject in (5a) appears as an indirect object in (5b). On Comrie's example in (5b) with a râ-marked direct object, I indicate in parentheses the other possible position of the direct object if used bare, which is the position closest to the verb.

Comrie compares the causative of transitive structures with the causative of intransitive. In the latter the embedded subject appears as a direct object.

Based on examples of causatives of transitives such as (5) compared to examples of causatives of intransitives (and other examples irrelevant for the discussion of Persian), Comrie (1976) presents his case hierarchy as below.

(6) Subject – direct object – indirect object – other oblique constituent

He presents his generalization in the following terms. With the introduction of the causative to a structure, "the embedded subject is demoted down the hierarchy to the next-highest available position (position that is not yet filled)" (Comrie 1976: 263). Keenan and Comrie's [3] (1979:66) extend this hierarchy as the Accessibility Hierarchy (AH) after extending its relevance to domains other than causation.

I understand the that the components of the hierarchy do not bear the same relation in this representation, and that there is a separation between the Subject and what follows. For example, a subject demotes to a direct object but a direct object does not demote to an indirect object down the hierarchy. I indicate the separation in the following way.

(6') Subject → direct object / indirect object / other oblique constituent

In the remaining of the discussion, I follow Comrie's path backwards, and instead of causativizing, I will decausativize. The reason is that the Persian 'to X' structures that are the subject of the current discussion are ditransitive (already causative). To decausativize, I will suppress the subject and observe the noun phrase that promotes to subject.

3. DECAUSATIVIZATION

Of the two ditransitive structures of Persian, the Dative 'to D' and the Locative 'to L' constituents differ regarding their status on Comrie's (1976) case hierarchy. I will use Comrie's strategy in the opposite direction. I will strip out the subject argument and observe the argument that is promoted to Subject in its place.

I show this in a tentative of valence reduction below. After deletion of the Subject, each of the two sentences promotes a different argument to subject position. In sentences with the *give*-type verb, the Dative argument of the ditransitive is promoted to subject (without a preposition),

[2] The morpheme -*i*- can be analyzed separately as a continuous aspect.

[3] Republished as Comrie (2014)

while in sentences with the *take*-type verb, the direct object of the ditransitive becomes the subject.

Example (2c) is repeated below in (7a). Its decausativized version appears in (7b).

(7) a. Subject – Object – Verb – Dative '(to) X' (common spoken Persian)
Nassrine chub-a-ro dâd (be) Rolam.
Nassrine branch-es-RA gave (to) Rolam
'Nassrine gave the branches to Rolam.'
b. Rolam chub-a-ro gereft.
Rolam branch-es-RA received
'Rolam received branches.'

In (7a) the Dative 'to X' argument *Rolam* appears after the verb. This argument promotes to the subject position in (7b) after suppression of this sentence's subject *Nassrine.* We can reverse our point-of-view to check the position of these arguments on Comrie's hierarchy. Example (7b) is a simple transitive sentence. With the addition of the Causer argument in (7a), the embedded subject (Rolam) is demoted to the Indirect Object position, just as in Comrie's generalized hierarchy.

If the two postverbal arguments of Persian had the same status, we would expect that similarly to (7b), the Locative argument be promoted to Subject after suppression of the Causer argument. Examples in (8a-b) below show that such is not the case.

Example (3b) is copied below as (8a). Its decausativized version appears in (8b).

(8) a. Subject – Object – V – Locative '(*to) X' (common spoken Persian)
Nassrine anâr-a-ro bord shahr.
Nassrine pomegranate-PL.-RA took town
'Nassrine took the pomegranates to town.'
b. Subject – V – Locative 'to X' (common spoken Persian)
anâr-a raft shahr.
pomegranate-PL. went town
'The pomegranates arrived in the town.'

Example (8a) looks like a ditransitive verb with a postverbal Locative argument in place of the postverbal Dative argument of (7a). However, the suppression in (8b) of the subject of this example reveals the radical difference between the two structures in (7a) and (8a). The argument that promotes to subject position here is the direct object and not the postverbal Locative. Reversing the point-of-view as we did for example (7), we see that the subject of (8b) demotes to object position in the context of a Causer argument and the causative alternate of the verb of (8a).

Comparing examples (7) and (8) with Comrie's generalization, (7a) is a ditransitive sentence and (7b) a transitive sentence. Sentence (8a) with a Locative is a transitive sentence and (8b) an intransitive one. This is summarized in the table below.

Valence:	Ditransitive	Transitive	Intransitive
Examples	(7a) give 'to D'	(7b) get (8a) take 'to L'	(8b) arrive 'to L'

The first observation in favor of seeing two types of postverbal arguments in Persian was the optional presence of the preposition *be* in postverbal 'to D' and its obligatory absence with postverbal 'to L'. The above comparisons brought a second argument summarized as the

observation that the 'give' type of 'to X' sentences is the causative of a transitive and that the 'take' type of 'to X' sentences is the causative of an intransitive.

In what follows I would like to propose the structure of each, such that the postverbal Dative 'to D' is accessible to promotion to subject while the 'to L' is inaccessible. The first thought is that the Locative is a direct complement of the verb, whereas the Dative merges with the VP containing already the verb and its accusative argument. In other words, the 'to L' argument is closer to the verb than the 'to D' argument, with potential V movement.

The merge hierarchy of the arguments of (7) and (8) united are: Subject – Dative – Accusative – V – Locative.

4. DECOMPOSITION

Both of the Persian verbs *dâdan* 'to give' and *bordan* 'to take' contain a CAUS projection, which is absent in the Persian decausativized versions *gereftan* 'to get' and *raftan* 'to arrive'. To represent the Locative argument as the complement of the verb, and to exclude the Dative argument from that position, I propose an additional difference between the two verbs *dâdan* 'to give' and *bordan* 'to take'. The structure of Persian *bordan* 'to take' contains an 'AT' projection for its Locative flavor, which is absent from 'to give'. On the other hand, the structure of *dâdan* 'to give' contains a 'HAVE' projection that *bordan* 'to take' lacks. Below is the summary of the features of each.

'To D' *dâdan* 'to give': CAUS – HAVE – GO
'To L' *bordan* 'to take': CAUS – GO – AT

In the decomposition of *dâdan* 'to give', the CAUS- HAVE part is familiar from Harley (2000). The intuition behind embedding a GO component below HAVE is that the possession comes about as a result of a movement, that of the direct object. While the NP that possesses in these examples is *Rolam*, the NP that goes is the direct object 'branches'. In contrast, the intuition behind considering the AT component below GO is taken from a comparison with the preposition domain, with the culmination of Path in Location (see PP_{dir} followed by PP_{stat} on Cinque's (2010:9) hierarchy, also Pantcheva (2008) on the hierarchy of spatial prepositions in Persian). The difference is that here, the preposition TO on the hierarchy of the two prepositions TO – AT is replaced by the verb GO, creating GO – AT, with the verb higher than the preposition. For the current discussion, I reduce the difference between GO and TO to the question of their extended projections, V (verbal) and N (nominal) respectively (with the nominal extended projection starting lower than the verbal extended projection).

The main motivation for postulating different merge positions for each 'to X' argument is the persistence of the Locative 'to L' argument in a postverbal position after decausativization in contrast to the absence of the Dative 'to D' argument from the postverbal position.

5. REPRESENTATIONS

I would like to highlight the difference between the two postverbal arguments of Persian in their merge position. The observation is that while the Dative argument can be promoted to subject, the Locative argument must stay low. I interpret the accessibility of the Dative argument for promotion to Subject as its generation above the direct argument. If it were generated lower than the direct object and in a position close to the verb similarly to the Locative, then its promotion to subject would be blocked by Relativized Minimality (Rizzi

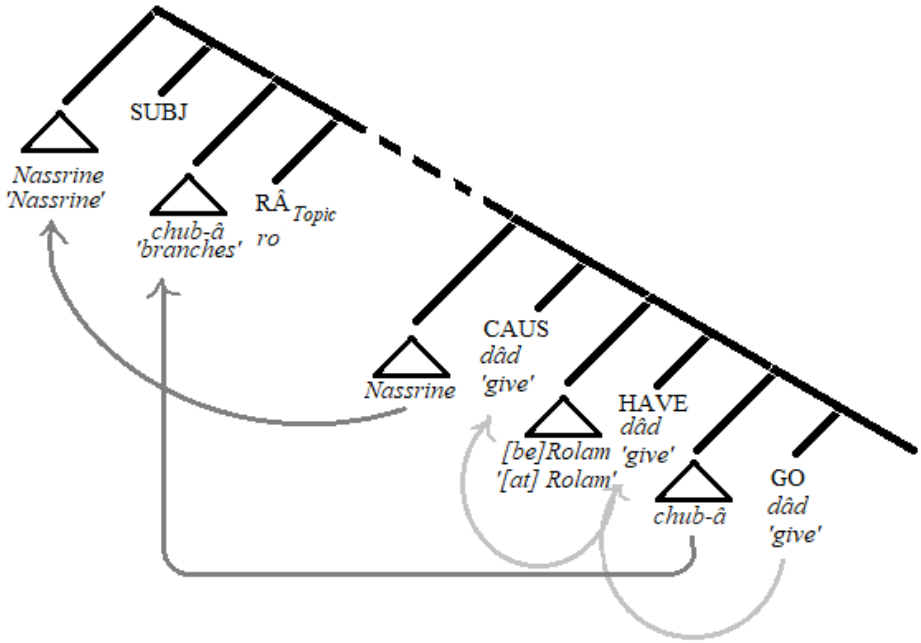
1990). In other words, the direct object would intervene between the subject position and the Dative argument.

Below are four trees of examples (7a,b) and (8a,b), corresponding to the causatives and decausatives of the 'to D' and 'to L' structures. On the top of the tree we see the subject position, followed by a topic-related position , with RÂ as its head and the RÂ-marked objects of Persian in its specifier. The specificity of this position is that it does not attract prepositional phrases (there is no RÂ-marking of prepositional phrases). Tense related projections are omitted for simplicity. The lower chunk of the tree represents the CAUS projection, followed by a HAVE projection, followed by a GO projection, ending in an AT projection.

5.1. The representation of Dative with CAUS

The tree below represents the structure of the sentence in (7a). The verb is decomposed into three components GO, HAVE and CAUS. The argument of the GO component of the verb is the direct object. It merges in the specifier of the projection. The argument of the HAVE component of the verb is the Dative (indirect object) which will be pronounced as following the verb after verb movement. The argument of the CAUS component of the verb is the Causer. The movements are derived as follows. The verb starts off at its lowest projection and undergoes Head Movement, passing at the three projections GO, HAVE and CAUS. The highest argument the Causer *Nassrine* moves to the subject position. The (specific) direct object appears in the Specifier of $RÂ_{topic}$ projection, the Dative argument stays in the specifier of the HAVE projection. It is in this position, and after the verb has moved past it to CAUS, that the Dative argument becomes a postverbal argument.

Nassrine chub-â ro dâd (be)Rolam *'Nassrine gave the branches to Rolam.'*

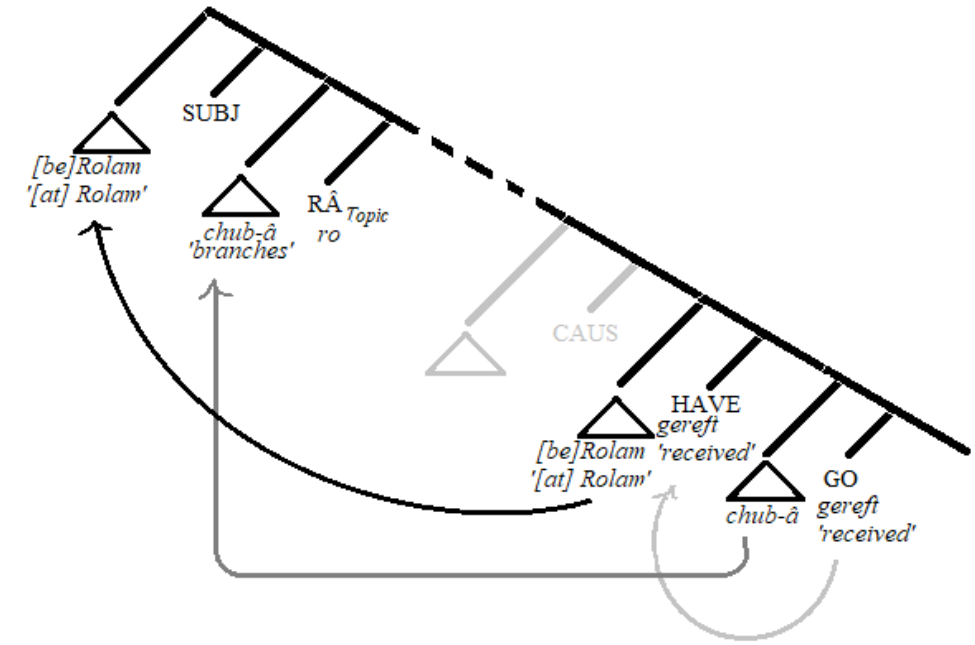


5.2. The representation of Dative DECAUS

The decausativized version of the Dative structure given in (7b) is presented on the tree below. The suppressed CAUS projection is shown in grey. The arguments are in the same projections as in the previous example, and the Causer is not merged. The highest argument available for promotion to subject is the Dative one. Its movement to subject gives us a structure similar to experiencer (beneficiary) subjects. The specific object moves to the specifier of $RÂ_{topic}$

projection. The verb moves from the GO head to the HAVE head. With no arguments left below it, it is pronounced in final position.

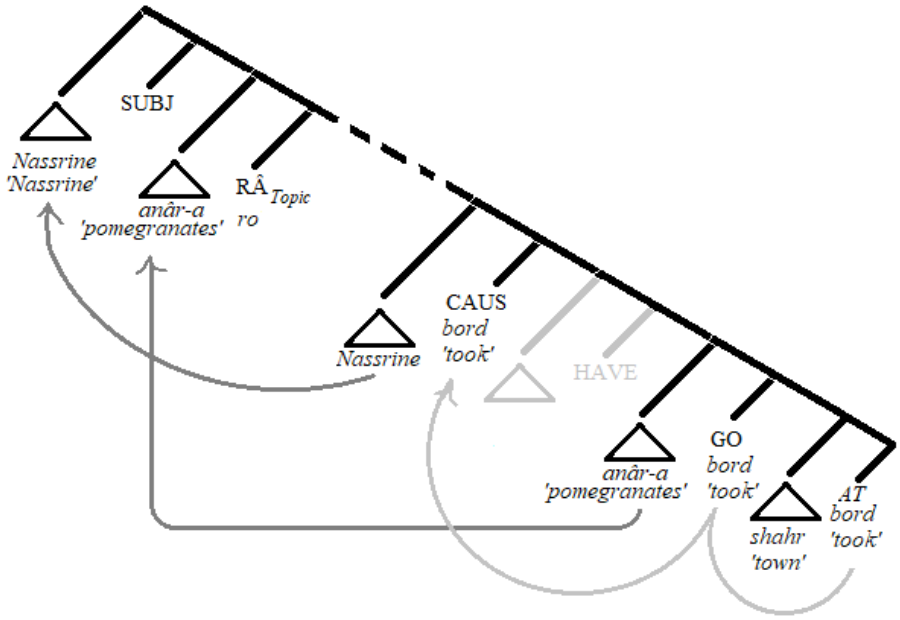
Rolam chub-a-ro gereft. *'Rolam received the branches.'*



5.3. The representation of Locative CAUS

The example in (8a) shows a postverbal Locative argument. This argument will be preserved in its position after decausativization. The tree below represents the structure of (8a). The projections are the same as on the previous trees, with the addition of the AT projection below the verb. The Persian verb *bordan* 'to take' is composed of the AT head as well as GO and CAUS projections. It starts off as the head of the AT projection, undergoes Head-Movement to the head of the GO projection, and finally to the CAUS head. Since the AT projection is included in the verb's decomposition, the Locative argument appears without a preposition (if the verb did not have the AT projection, the head of the projection would be realized as a preposition). The Causer argument is the argument of CAUS in its specifier, the direct object is the argument of GO in its specifier and finally the Locative is the argument of AT in its specifier. The Causer argument moves to the subject position and the specific object to the specifier of the $RÂ_{topic}$projection. The postverbal Locative argument is in the lowest position on the tree.

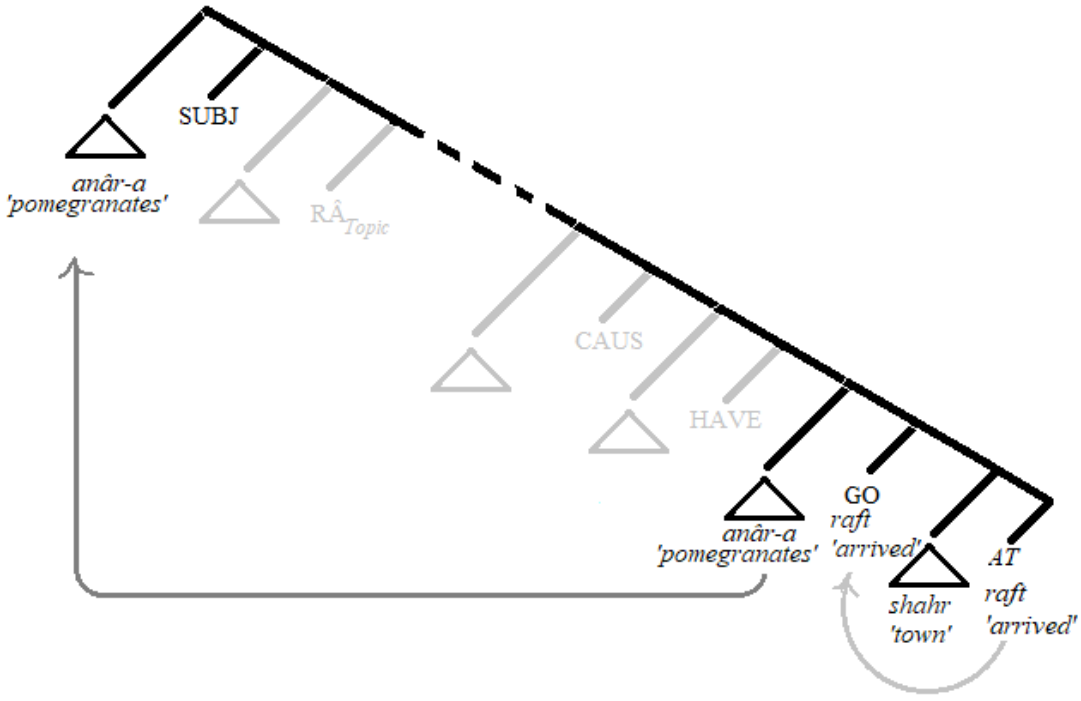
Nassrine anâr-a-ro bord shahr. *'Nassrine took the pomegranates to town.'*



5.4. The representation of Locative DECAUS

Example (8b) shows the decausativized version of the Locative ditransitive in (8a). Of the three components CAUS GO AT, the CAUS projection is suppressed in this example. Unlike (7b), however, this dacausativized structure keeps its 'to X' argument after the verb. The verb undergoes Head-Movement from the AT head to the GO head. In this position, the Locative argument specifier of AT appears after the verb. The argument of the GO head in the specifier of this projection is the highest argument available for moving to subject. We obtain a structure of the unaccusative type.

anâr-a raft shahr. *'The pomegranates arrived in the town.'*



5.5. Summary of the representations

In summary, we presented the Dative as merged higher than the direct object and the Locative lower. The Dative of (7a) and the direct object of (8a) are the arguments that are promoted to subject position in the absence of the Causer, in conformity to Comrie's Case Hierarchy. The postverbal appearance of the Dative in (8a) is due to Head Movement of the verb to CAUS head above it. Its absence after the verb is the result of its availability for movement to subject as the highest of the available arguments. The postverbal appearance of the Locative both in (8a) and (8b) is due to its low position at the bottom of the tree.

5.6. Notes on Subject and RÂ-object

Two crossing arrows show the movement of the object to its RÂ-marked position across the Causer that moves to the subject position. I can bring the following refinement. To exclude the possibility of having the Causer in the specifier of $RÂ_{topic}$, we need to postulate two subject positions in Persian sandwiching $RÂ_{topic}$ as [SUBJ[RÂ[subj...[CAUS[HAVE[GO[AT]]]]]]]. The Causer would first be attracted to the low subject position. Frozen in place (by the subject criterion of Rizzi (2015)), it would not be able to move to the $RÂ_{topic}$ position, wherefor the next DP in the specifier of GO would be attracted by RÂ (the specifier of HAVE being a prepositional phrase with a preposition cannot move to spec-RÂ). To explain the presence of the subject above RÂ in the end, we would need to motivate and authorize further movement of the subject from the lower subject position to the higher one. The motivation can be an extra Topic feature on the subject. The authorization would be defined as a defrosting procedure which would allow the frozen subject to move, only if it is to another subject position, here the topical subject position SUBJ. I do not include these discussions on the tree, keeping to a simple version.

6. CONCLUSION

In this discussion, I brought to attention the case of two postverbal arguments of a language that is broadly known as SOV. Since in formal Persian a preverbal position is available for those postverbal arguments, it is common to avoid discussion of these exceptional arguments. In addressing this peculiarity, it was not possible to treat both arguments as complements of the verb in final position given their different behavior with regard to promotion to subject. The availability of one (the Dative argument) for promotion to subject and the persistent postverbal occurrence of the other (the Locative argument) motivated a design where the Dative would be higher than the direct object and the Locative lower. The appearance of the Dative lower than the RÂ-marked object was justified as the unavailability of prepositional phrases (even with a silent preposition) for movement to RÂ . The correct representation of the decausativization required a separation of the two 'to X' arguments despite their exceptional similarity in being postverbal.

In the end, I propose to represent Comrie's case-hierarchy from a different point-of-view. Given that its aim is to represent the priority of items that can be linked to the subject position, I first suggested that the Subject be separated from other items, modifying (6) as in (6').

(6) Subject – direct object – indirect object – other oblique constituent
(6') Subject → direct object / indirect object / other oblique constituent

In Comrie's description "the embedded subject is demoted down the hierarchy to the next-highest available position (position that is not yet filled)", the specification "position that is not yet filled" is an IF NOT condition on demotion with the following paraphrase. The subject demotes to direct object, IF NOT, to indirect object, and IF NOT, to other oblique constituents.

Interpreting promotion as the reverse of demotion, (6') can finally be presented as in (6") such that it is compatible with the hierarchy of merge of arguments and the Relativized Minimality constraint.

(6") Subject ← other oblique constituent / indirect object / direct object.

My final reordering accommodates Comrie's original representation and improves it in two ways. Firstly, I accommodate the observation present in Comrie's generalization that the subject is a derived position, itself associable to a lower position. Secondly and most importantly, I reverse the hierarchy that follows the subject in order to integrate in a straightforward way the "IF NOT" logic of his description.

So, when I reverse the three items that follow the subject in Comrie's hierarchy, I express his observation using the notions hierarchy of Merge and a Probe-Goal relationship. I depict on my syntactic tree representations that the Subject head (Probe) attracts the highest available argument (Goal) to its specifier. The potential Goals appear in the base hierarchy of arguments, corresponding to the hierarchy of the projections CAUS, HAVE and GO. The description in terms of "promotion" rather than "demotion" reads as follows. The highest available argument among the Causer, the indirect object (Dative) or the direct object promotes to subject position. In sum, I mapped Comrie's observation onto syntax by partially reversing his hierarchy and rewording his derivation accordingly.

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