The additive particle *hæm* in Modern Persian

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In this paper, we discuss the syntactic and interpretational properties of the Persian additive particle *hæm* 'also' in relation to information structure and prosody. We provide an analysis in Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997, Van Valin 2005), and examine the applicability of earlier extensions proposed to RRG (Balogh 2020) to the Persian data.

Being parallel with the cross-linguistic core semantic domains of additives (Forker 2016), *hæm* is pragmatically multi-functional. From its various functions, we will examine the basic ones: its use as a plain or scalar additive particle (1a), its use as a discourse relation marker (1b), and its use as a topic shift marker (1c) and its use in coordination (1d). (In the examples, bold face indicates the placement of emphatic stress.)

(1) a. Ali **šiše** (rɑ) hæm šekæst
     Ali glass (OBJ) also broke
     'Ali also broke the GLASS.'   (additive)

   b. unɑ næ-yumæd-æn **mɑ** hæm **næ-ræft-im.**
     they NEG-come-3PL we also NEG-go.PST-1PL
     They didn't come so we didn't go.   (RESULT relation)

   c. A: diruz tɑ šæb xune bud-æm.
         yesterday until night house be.PST-1SG
         'Yesterday, I was at home until night.'
      B: **dolɑr-**æm gerun šod.
         dollar-also expensive get.PST.3SG
         'The dollar (also) got expensive.'   (topic shift)

   d. doxtær-e hæm **zešt-e** hæm **kutah**
     girl-DEF also ugly-be.3SG also short
     'The girl is ugly and short.'   (coordination)

In these uses, *hæm* mostly attaches to the right of a constituent (either an argument, an adjunct or the predicate), or it is placed in the middle of a complex expression. A special case is coordination, which allows attachment of *hæm* on the left of the constituent. The syntactic host of the particle *hæm* is the pragmatic focus (= actual focus domain) of the sentence, which is mainly marked prosodically. We will discuss the various focus marking strategies and focus types (Lambrecht 1994) in relation to the analysis of *hæm.* Regarding the pragmatic focus of the sentence, the semantic associate of *hæm* is not necessarily its syntactic host. *Hæm* can associate with different types of foci: the narrow, predicate, or sentence focus (see also Balogh 2020; Balogh and Langer 2021). In Persian, there are three different strategies to mark the focus of the sentence. The most often used marking is prosodic, in terms of emphatic stress (1). Next to prosodic focus marking, morphosyntactic strategies such as cleft constructions (2a), preposing (2b), and focus markers (3) are used (see also Rezai 2003, Rasekh Mahand 2005, Moezzipour 2012, Oroji and Rezai 2013).

(2) a. Ali bud   ke   šiše   rɑ   šekæst.
       Ali was   who   glass OBJ   broke
       'It was Ali who broke the window.'

    b. šiše   rɑ   Ali   šekæst
       window   OBJ   Ali   break.3SG.PST
       'The window, Ali broke.'

(3)   Ali ke   šiše   rɑ   šekæst
       Ali FOC   glass OBJ   broke
       'ALI broke the glass.'

The additive particle *hæm* behaves differently with respect to these different focus marking strategies. In our analysis, we examine all these marking strategies and their relation to information structure and interpretation, and we will propose a way to capture the interplay between the various projections: Syntactic Projection, Prosodic Projection, Information Structure Projection and Semantic Representation, that determine the structural and interpretation behavior of *hæm* together.

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