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The Role of Metaphor and Metonymy in the Semantics of Persian Adjectival Preverbs: A Cognitive Linguistics Approach

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In this paper, a semantic classification for Persian adjectival preverbs based on Conceptual Metaphor Theory is presented: adjectival preverbs demonstrating metaphorical shift and adjectival preverbs lacking metaphorical shift. As will be discussed in the paper, the metaphors involved in the first subclass of adjectival preverbs are motivated by a certain type of conceptual metonymy known as “EFFECT FOR CAUSE”. The latter subclass covers preverbs whose combination with the light verb does not show any metaphorical shift. Having detected two mentioned cognitive processes in the formation of semantics of the complex predicates containing the first subclass of preverbs, the compositional nature of semantics of the predicates was realized and two new meanings for “kærdæn” (to do) as light verb in Persian complex predicates were proposed: "to become" and "to make oneself". Another finding of this paper is the introduction of “pejda kærd” as the first two-word light verb of Persian.

Keywords: Adjectival Preverbs, Conceptual Metaphor Theory, Metonymy.

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Introduction

One of the main concerns of linguists working on the Persian language is the nature of its complex predicates. According to Tabataba’ei (2005), compound verb is a kind of verb that consists of two parts. The first part is called nonverbal element which may belong to noun, adjective, adverb or preposition class. This part carries most of the meaning of the compound verb and determines its argument structure. The second part known as light verb is often empty of lexical content and carries inflection.

Complex predicates (also known as compound verbs) constitute the majority of verbs in the Persian language (Khanlari 1973, Bateni 1989). This fact has attracted the attention of a number of researchers to the nature and characteristics of Persian complex predicates. The works done in this field deal mostly with complex predicates generally, or with their noun preverbs and fail to scrutinize adjectival preverbs independently.

Lambton (1953) is one of the earliest linguists dealing with Persian complex predicates among other grammatical properties of the language. She presents a taxonomy based on the lexical category of the preverb and recognizes nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and prepositional phrases as possible preverbs. Though recognizing adjectives as able to participate in complex predicates, what we consider as adjectival preverbs is different from hers. This will be discussed in more detail in the next section. Another notable work in the field of complex predicates is Dabir Moghaddam (1997) in which he claims that there exist some processes for the formation of compound verbs in Persian which can vary in productivity. He classifies these processes under two general categories of combination and incorporation. He goes on with the claim that there is phonological, syntactic, and semantic evidence which justify the assignment of the products of the two aforementioned processes to compound verbs. Despite his recognition of adjectival preverbs, the authors of this paper do not agree with him on their being complex predicates in the first place. As another work dealing with Persian complex predicates generally, Karimi Doostan (1997); in addition to investigating aspectual properties of complex predicates and comparing what he calls compositional with non-compositional light verb constructions, claims that light verbs in combination with adjectives as well as some other lexical categories cannot be separated by syntactic operations and are idiom-like units. Karimi (1997) investigates the property of idiomaticity or compositionality of meaning in Persian complex verbs. She recognizes adjective as one possible preverb for Persian compound verbs. From the examples provided, it can be inferred that she makes mistakes in determining real Persian compound verbs with adjectival preverbs. Tabataba’ei (2005) deals with Persian complex predicates as a whole and introduces a number of criteria for distinguishing complex predicates from other sequences. He correctly discriminates between adjectives in causative constructions and adjectival preverbs, but does not introduce any semantic classification for adjectives as preverbs.

Sami’ian (1983) and Ghomeshi and Massam (1994) present a syntactic analysis of Persian compound verbs. However, in determining compound verbs with adjectival preverbs, their view differs from ours. Megerdoomian (2001) is an
The role of metaphor and metonymy in the semantics of investigation of the status of nouns in Persian complex predicates. In this paper, she discusses the differences between nominal preverbs and objects of simple verbs. She mentions adjectives as possible preverbs in one part of the paper; however, what she calls adjectival preverbs is different from our view. Folli, Harley and Karimi (2005) analyze the interdependence of Persian preverbs and light verbs in determining the syntactic properties, the event structure, and the alternation possibilities of the whole complex predicate. Even though they believe in the existence of adjectival preverbs, it will be demonstrated that their view is different from ours. Pantcheva (2010) investigates the role of the light verb and the preverb in deciding the argument structure of the whole predicate and demonstrates the way the aspectual properties of the complex predicate rely on the interaction between the preverb and the light verb.

None of the works mentioned adopts a cognitive approach to the study of Persian complex predicate generally, or Persian complex predicate with adjectival preverb. However, since two cognitive processes of metaphor and metonymy in the formation of the semantics of complex predicates with adjectival preverbs are introduced in the paper, a review of the works done in Conceptual Metaphor Theory seems necessary.

The study of metaphor has been divided into two major views: the classical view and the contemporary view. The classical view which started from the work of Aristotle has been practiced for over two millennia (kövecses 2010). This view of metaphor, itself, encompasses three different theories: the comparison theory, the interaction theory, the speech act theory (Golfam 2002). The contemporary view originated from the seminal work of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) titled “Metaphors We Live By”.

The difference between two views can be attested reviewing their characteristics as mentioned in Kövecses (2010). He characterizes the classical view thus:

_This traditional concept can be briefly characterized by pointing out five of its most commonly accepted features. First, metaphor is a property of words; it is a linguistic phenomenon. . . . Second, metaphor is used for some artistic and rhetorical purpose. . . .Third, metaphor is based on a resemblance between the two entities that are compared and identified. . . . Fourth, metaphor is a conscious and deliberate use of words, and you must have a special talent to be able to do it and do it well. . . . Fifth, it is also commonly held that metaphor is a figure of speech that we can do without; we use it for special effects, and it is not an inevitable part of everyday human communication, let alone everyday human thought and reasoning._

The characteristics of the contemporary view of metaphor can be seen from this excerpt from the same source:
(1) metaphor is a property of concepts, and not of words; (2) the function of metaphor is to better understand certain concepts, and not just some artistic or esthetic purpose; (3) metaphor is often not based on similarity; (4) metaphor is used effortlessly in everyday life by ordinary people, not just by special talented people; and (5) metaphor, far from being a superfluous though pleasing linguistic ornament, is an inevitable process of human thought and reasoning.

In this paper, on the basis of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, the semantics of complex predicates with adjectival preverbs is scrutinized and a classification for the predicates is presented.

Critique of Other Works

As mentioned in the related works, there is a very common mistake in the recognition of Persian compound verbs by some of the linguists whose works were reviewed in section 2. Lambton (1953), Sami'ian (1983), Ghomeshi and Massam (1994), Dabir Moghaddam (1997), Karimi (1997), Megeerdoomian (2001), and Folli and Harley and Karimi (2005), consider the following sequences as compound verbs.

(1) bāz kærden¹ open+to make “to open”
tæmiz kærden clean+to make “to clean”
roʃæn kærden bright+to make “to turn on”

The authors agree with Karimi Doostan (1997) that correctly considers the above sequences as adjective+causative verb and ascribes the aforementioned mistake to those authors’ failing in discriminating the two different functions of “kærden”: “kærden” as a causative verb and “kærden” as a light verb. When a causative verb, “kærden” assigns the property of the adjective to the grammatical object of the sentence:

(2) Sārā xāne rā tæmiz kær
Sara house Accusative clean did
Case-maker

Sara cleaned the house.

When “kærden” adopts the function of a light verb, it only helps the resulting compound verb inflect for tense, aspect, mood, person and number, but has no lexical content, with the preverb bearing almost the whole lexical meaning of the compound verb. The following are sequences in which “kærden” functions as a light verb void of any lexical meaning.

¹In Persian, there are a present stem and a past stem for each infinitive from which different conjugations are derived through the addition of person and number endings. The infinitives themselves end in the suffix "-æn" which does not appear in the inflected verbs.
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(3) ʔentexāb kærdæn selection+to do “to select”  
ʔersāl kærdæn sending+to do “to send”  
ʔaqāz kærdæn beginning+to do “to begin”  

A structural test may help distinguish between the two different “kærdæn”. The object to which the property of the adjective is assigned through the use of causative “kærdæn” can move to the subject position and be predicated by the linking verb “ʔastæn” (to be); however this movement for a preverb is prohibited.

(4)a Sārā xāne rā temiz kærd  
Sara house Accusative clean made  
Sara cleaned the house.  

b Xāne temiz ʔæst  
house clean Is  
The house is clean.

(5)a sārā nāme rā ʔersāl kærd  
Sara letter Accusative sending did  
Sara sent the letter.  

b *nāme ʔersāl ʔæst  
letter sending is  

Another test\(^1\) to shed more light on the distinction between the functions of “kærdæn” is adding the comparative suffix “-tær” to the element preceding “kærdæn”. If the resulting sentence is still grammatical, “kærdæn” is a causative verb; otherwise we are dealing with a light verb.

(6)a Sārā xāne Rā temiz -tær kærd  
Sara house Accusative clean Comparative made  
Sara made the house cleaner.  

b *sārā bāzī Rā bærgozār -tær kærd  
Sara game Accusative held Comparative did  

Surprising as it seems, contrary to the neat discrimination between “kærdæn” as a causative and “kærdæn” as a light verb presented in Karimi Doostan (1997), Karimi Doostan (2008) lists the sequences “pāk kærdæn” (to clean) and “temiz kærdæn” (to clean) (adjective+causative verb sequences) as two examples for compound verbs in Persian beside a real compound verb like “moræxes kærdæn” (to discharge).

\(^1\) It is worth mentioning that this test only applies to sequences of adjective (not any other lexical category) plus kærdæn.
Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) define conceptual metaphor as understanding one conceptual domain as another conceptual domain. In the tradition of Conceptual Theory of Metaphor, conceptual metaphors are shown as CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN A IS CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN B. “The conceptual domain from which we draw metaphorical expressions to understand another conceptual domain is called source domain, while the conceptual domain that is understood this way is the target domain” (kövecses 2010). If we consider the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS JOURNEY, the target domain (LOVE) is understood in terms of the source domain (JOURNEY); in other words, the source domain is mapped onto the target domain. The mapping of two domains involves a correspondence relationship between the elements of the target domain and those of the source domain. Lakoff (1993) and Lakoff and Johnson (1999) believe that many abstract concepts of our conceptual systems like time, quantity, emotion, state, change, action, cause, purpose, means, modality and even category are understood metaphorically. In line with this, they introduce the term “directionality” which they so describe: “. . . there is directionality in metaphor; that is, that we understand one concept in terms of another. Specifically, we tend to structure the less concrete and inherently vaguer concepts (like those for the emotions) in terms of more concrete concepts, which are more clearly delineated in our experience” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980).

According to Kövecses (2010), a number of metaphors are considered to be motivated by metonymies provided that there is a metonymical relationship between the source and the target domains of metaphor. In metonymy as described by Kövecses (2010), one entity is used to provide mental access to another. The entity that provides mental access to the other is known as the “vehicle entity” and the entity to which mental access is provided is known as the “target entity”. In metonymy, the vehicle and the target entity are mentally close to one another. In cognitive linguistics, the mentioned closeness is due to the presence of both entities in the same domain or in terms of Lakoff (1987), the same Idealized Cognitive Model (ICM). Therefore, metonymy can be defined as “. . . a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same domain, or Idealized Cognitive Model (ICM)” (kövecses 2010).

A Classification of Adjectival Preverbs

Scrutinizing the properties of preverbs which can be ascribed to the adjective class yields the following classification:

1. Adjectival Preverbs Demonstrating Metaphorical Shift

Sentences 7-9 illustrate an example for this type of metaphor in Persian complex predicates.

(7) sārā zærd kærd
    Sara yellow became
    Sara became frightened.
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According to Kövecses (2010), “in the folk model of emotion, emotions are seen as resulting in certain physiological effects”. As evident in the examples above, adjectives “zærd”, “torʃ” and “dāq” are translated as “frightened”, “upset” and “angry” respectively which are obviously different from their literal meanings: “yellow”, “sour” and “hot” respectively. From the metonymical shift point of view, it can be claimed that the adjectives actually used in the Persian examples are the physiological effects of the emotions causing them; i.e., “fear”, “upset” and “anger”.

In the case of our examples, we have one thing that causes another (as fear causes yellow complexion, upset causes acidic stomach and anger causes body heat); therefore, we postulate the existence of causation ICM. According to Kövecses (2010), the causation ICM can produce two kinds of metonymies: EFFECT FOR CAUSE and CAUSE FOR EFFECT. The metonymy relevant to our data is EFFECT FOR CAUSE.

As mentioned earlier, a number of metaphors are considered to be motivated by metonymies. Kövecses (2010) mentions three such metaphors whose source and target domains are causally related: target results in source, source results in target and source enables target. Our data demonstrate the first type of these three metaphors.

In the first kind of metaphor, the source domain results from the target domain. In (7), where the relevant metaphor is FEAR IS YELLOW COMPLEXION, the source domain (YELLOW COMPLEXION) arises from the conceptual metonymy EFFECT FOR CAUSE. In this example, “yellow complexion produced by fear” can be considered as a metonymy: YELLOW COMPLEXION FOR FEAR. Therefore, there are two steps involved in the conceptualization of the metaphor FEAR IS YELLOW COMPLEXION: in the first step, UPSET PRODUCES YELLOW COMPLEXION (metonymy) and in the next step, YELLOW COMPLEXION is used to understand FEAR (metaphor).

Two other examples can be analyzed in the same vein. In (8), the metaphor involved that emerges from the conceptual metonymy EFFECT FOR CAUSE is UPSET IS ACIDIC STOMACH. Acidic stomach as the source domain manifests itself in the adjective “sour”. The chain of conceptualization for this example like the previous one is a two-step process. In the first step, UPSET PRODUCES ACIDIC STOMACH (metonymy) and in the next step, ACIDIC STOMACH is used to understand UPSET (metaphor).

In (9), the metaphor at work is ANGER IS HEAT which arises from the conceptual metonymy EFFECT FOR CAUSE. Like two previous examples, the process of conceptualization for this example is a two-step one. In the first step,
ANGER PRODUCES HEAT (metonymy) and in the next step, HEAT is used to comprehend ANGER (metaphor).

Thus, in the metaphors FEAR IS YELLOW COMPLEXION, UPSET IS ACIDIC STOMACH and ANGER IS HEAT the source domains of yellow complexion, acidic stomach, and heat result from the target domains of fear, upset, and anger by a metonymic process, respectively.

Panther and Thornburg (2007) present a three-level taxonomy for the metonymy EFFECT FOR CAUSE. As observable in figure 1, all cases of metonymy discussed in the present paper belong to the lowest level BODILY REACTION FOR EMOTION which is a hyponym of SYMPTOM FOR CAUSE which itself is a hyponym of EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy.

There are a number of points to which careful attention should be paid. The first is that in examples 7-9, the verb “kærd” is used with a function different from its two previously introduced ones. Here in these examples “kærd” bears the same meaning as the inchoative verb “became”. If so, it may be asked why the sequences “zærd kærd”, “dāq kærd” and “torf kærd” have not been categorized as adjective+inchoative, but complex predicates. If we replace the inchoative “kærdaen” with the generic inchoative “Jœðæn” (to become), the result will be a sentence with the literal meaning of the adjective and no metaphorical reading will be allowed.
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(10) Sārā torʃ ʃod
     Sara Sour became
     Sara became sour.¹

(11) *sārā torʃ ʃod
     Sara upset became
     Sara became upset.

Another potential objection to consider such sequences as complex predicates might be like “Why should we not put such cases of “kærdæn” in the class of causative verbs?” While causative “kærdæn” needs a direct object to fulfill its arguments, “kærdæn” in the above-mentioned sequences cannot appear in sentences containing a direct object and maintain the metaphorical shift of the adjective.

(12) Sārā Sup rā torʃ kærd
     Sara Soup ACCUSATIVE sour made
     CASE-MARKER
     Sara made the soup sour.

(13) *susæn sārā rā torʃ kærd
     Susan Sara ACCUSATIVE upset made
     CASE-MARKER
     Susan made Sara upset.

(14) Sārā divār rā zærd kærd
     Sara Wall ACCUSATIVE yellow made
     CASE-MARKER
     Sara made the wall yellow.

(15) *susæn sārā rā zærd kærd
     Susan Sara ACCUSATIVE frightened made
     CASE-MARKER
     Susan frightened Sara.

The presence of a direct object in sentences (12) and (14) leads to only a literal reading of the adjective, whereas in (13) and (15) a metaphorical reading of the same sequence of words as in (12) and (14) is prohibited.

Thus far, it has been made clear that such sequences of adjective+kærdæn are different from adjective+ʃodæn sequences and that such cases of “kærdæn” are not causative. Although in sequences of adjective+ kærdæn, the meaning of “kærdæn” remains the same, not all adjectives can be added to this pattern freely to yield metaphorical meaning.

(16) *sārā særd kærd
     Sara Cold became
     Sara cooled off.

¹ This sentence may only be acceptable semantically in specific contexts.
Although “cooling off” is the physiological effect of mental peace after anger, the adjective “særd” cannot be used with “kærd” with a metaphorical reading. So, it can be concluded that inchoative “kærdæn” does not participate in adjective+kærdæn sequences productively to allow language speakers to use it metaphorically. This lack of productivity is one more piece of evidence that urges the authors to introduce a new category for adjectival preverbs in Persian complex predicates.

2. Adjectival Preverbs Lacking Metaphorical Shift

The second class of adjectival preverbs seems to demonstrate no detectable metaphorical shift. This being the defining property, the class can be divided into two subclasses.

2.1. Adjectival Preverbs Combining with Different Light Verbs

Unlike the first class of adjectival preverbs, the total meaning understood from the sequence of the adjective and the light verb in the second class, does not allow any literal or metaphorical reading although the lexical meaning of the adjective shows similarities with the meaning of the compound verb in which it plays a role.

(17) Sārā Sarā xord
Sara slippery ate
Sara slipped.

(18) sārā ketab rā lazem dāft
Sara Book ACCUSATIVE necessary had
Sara needed the book.

(19) sārā ruj e tæxt derāz keʃid
Sara on bed long pulled
Sara lay on the bed.

As evident from examples (17-19), the adjectives “sor”, “lāzem” and “derāz” contribute to the meaning of the whole verbal complex, but the contribution is arbitrary and no semantic process seems to be at play.

One more observation about this class is that the adjectival preverbs can combine with a varied range of light verbs. This property puts them in contrast with members of the first class which combine only with “kærdæn” as their light verbs.

2.2. Adjectival Preverbs Combining with “kærdæn” as Light Verb

In this subclass of adjectival preverbs, “kærdæn” which combines with adjectives demonstrates a new meaning: “to become intentionally” or “to make oneself”.

(20) sārā xoʃtip kærd
Sara handsome made
Sara made herself handsome (Sara spruced up).
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(21) sārā maest kærd
     Sara drunk made
     Sara made herself drunk.

The above examples seem to be the elliptical forms of (22) and (23).

(22) sārā xod rā xoʃtip kærd
     Sara herself ACCUSATIVE handsome made
     Sara made herself handsome.

(23) sārā xod rā maest kærd
     Sara herself ACCUSATIVE drunk made
     Sara made herself drunk.

Apparently the meaning of “xod” has been transferred to “kærd” resulting in the
new meaning “to become intentionally” or “to make oneself”.

Knowing that “kærd” has undergone the aforementioned semantic shift, the
meaning of the compound verb appears to be completely transparent. It has to be
noted that this group of compound verbs are mainly used in colloquial Persian. ¹

The First Two-word Light Verb in Persian

Another point to be made here is about a Persian complex predicate whose
preverb belongs to the adjective class. This verb “pejdā kærd” demonstrates
peculiarities which are absent in other Persian complex predicates. This verb can in
all circumstances be replaced by a synonymous simple verb “jāft” meaning “find”.

(24) sārā ketāb rā jāft
     Sara book ACCUSATIVE find-past-3rd-sing
     Sara found the book.

(25) sārā ketāb rā pejdā Kærd
     Sara book ACCUSATIVE visible do-past-3rd-sing
     Sara found the book.

“jāft” is also able to play the role of a light verb in many Persian complex
predicates. Interestingly enough, the synonymous “pejdā kærd” can still replace the
light verb “jāft”. It is the first time that this first and seemingly only Persian two-
word light verb has been noticed.

¹ Though these sequences are not considered productive, it seems to be an increasing
tendency for Persian adjectives to collocate with this sense of “xODθΩv”.

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As can be deduced from the examples above, the word “pejdā” is a part of the light verb “pejdā kærd” which joins preverbs like “enteqāl”, “dæst”, and “pledāme” to yield a complex predicate bearing the same meaning as those whose light verbs are “jāft”.

**Conclusion**

In this paper, the authors first had a review of related works in the literature both the one dealing with Persian complex predicates generally and those dealing with nominal preverbs. Wherever they saw any mention of adjectival preverbs, gave it more attention. They also had a brief review of the most relevant works dealing with metaphor as a cognitive process. In the next section, they presented a critique of other researchers’ works. Scrutinizing more Persian language data led the authors to posit two subclasses for Persian complex predicates having adjectival preverbs: *adjectival preverbs demonstrating metaphorical shift* and *adjectival preverbs lacking metaphorical shift*. In the first subclass, adjectives used as preverbs are the physiological effects of the emotions causing them. Such adjectival preverbs only combine with “kærdæn” as their light verb. The second subclass is made of adjectival preverbs which do not enter any metaphorical relationship with their light verbs. This subclass itself is divided into two smaller classes: *adjectival preverbs combining with different light verbs other than “kærdæn”* and *adjectival preverbs..."
The role of metaphor and metonymy in the semantics of combining with “kærdæn” as light verb. The former refers to a group of preverbs not entering any metaphorical relationship with their light verbs which can be most verbs potentially able to play the role of light verb other than “kærdæn” and the latter refers to a group of preverbs which can only combine with “kærdæn”. Here again, we do not see any metaphorical relationship between the preverb and the light verb. One of the findings of this paper is the introduction of two new meanings for “kærdæn” in Persian. The “kærdæn” combining with the first subclass of adjectival preverbs yields the meaning “to become” and the “kærdæn” combining with the second subclass yields the meaning “to make oneself”. Another finding is the introduction of “pejda kærd” as the first two-word light verb in Persian. Persian complex predicate needs more scrutiny by linguists. It is likely that there are much more peculiarities in Persian complex predicate not discovered and explained. There may be more cognitive semantic processes involved in the combination of light verbs and preverbs.

Reference


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نتیج استعاره و مجاز در معنی شناسي فعل پهلاهای صفتی زبان فارسی: رويکرد زبان شناسی شناختی

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در مقاله حاضر، بر حسب نظریه استعاره مفهومی یک طبقه‌بندی معنایی از فعل پهلاهای صفتی زبان فارسی ارائه می‌گردد. فعل پهلاهای صفتی که نشان‌دهنده جرخش استعاری هستند و فعل پهلاهای صفتی که فاقد جرخش استعاری هستند، استعاره‌های مربوط به زیرطبقه‌ی نخست به‌وسیله نوع خاصی از مجاز مفهومی تجربه می‌شود. زیرطبقه‌ی دوم هم شامل فعل پهلاهای هستند که ترکیب آن‌ها به همکردی نشان‌دهنده هیچ‌گونه جرخش استعاری نیست. پس زبان‌شناسی دو فرایند شناختی مذکور در شکل گیری معنی شناسی فعل‌های مربوط به زیرطبقه‌ی نخست بودند، ماهیت ترکیب معنایی این فعل‌های مربوط شناسانه شد و دو معنای جدید برای همکرد کردن» در زبان فارسی معنی‌گذاری گردید: «شدن» (بعضی‌ها) و «باعث ایجاد یک ویژگی/حالت در خود گردیدن» (عمدی). یافته‌های دیگر مقاله حاضر معرفی «بدا کرده» به‌عنوان تخصیص همکرد دوکلمه‌ای زبان فارسی است.

واژگان کلیدی: فعل پهلاهای صفتی، نظریه استعاره مفهومی، مجاز.

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