(54) olāq be Omid lagad zad donkey to Omid kick strike.PAST.3SG 'The donkey kicked Omid.'

The description of *zadan* (here, *zadan-2*) when it combines with a noun depicting a type of blow is as in (55).

$$(55) \begin{bmatrix} zadan2-lxm \\ CAT \ verb \end{bmatrix}$$

$$CONT \begin{bmatrix} soa \\ NUCLEUS \\ AGENT \ k \\ PATIENT \ m \end{bmatrix}$$

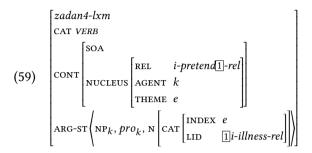
$$ARG-ST \left(NP_k, \left(be \right) NP_m, N \left[CAT \begin{bmatrix} PRED \ + \\ LID \ \boxed{1} \ blow-rel \end{bmatrix} \right] \right)$$

In other cases, the meaning of the noun takes over: the construction is similar to a derivation rule, and converts the noun into a verb with the same meaning, 57. When *zadan* combines with a noun describing a kind of fraud or deception, the complex predicate means 'deceive' in the way described more precisely by the noun.

(56) Hālā mā kalak be=hešun mi-zan-im Now we deceit to=them IPFFV-strike.PRS-3PL 'Now, it is our turn to deceive them.'

Finally, there are also cases where the meaning of the noun is preserved, but a new meaning emerges for the verb, in a non predictable manner. When $xod=r\bar{a}$ zadan (lit. self strike) combines with a subset of nouns describing illnesses, handicaps or problematic states (like stupidity, ignorance), it means 'to pretend, feign' the illness or state in question.

(58) Maryam xod=rā be divanegi zad Maryam self=RA to madness strike.PAST.3sG 'Maryam feigned madness.'



Not all nouns for illnesses and problematic states can occur in this complex predicate. To account for this, we indicate that the noun, too, has an idiomatic meaning, an *i-rel*, in addition to its usual meaning, and only the nouns which have such an *i-rel* can participate in the complex Predicate with $xod=r\bar{a}$ zadan. Here, the case is close to that of an idiom, but the noun does not have a special meaning: it is special in that not all nouns with a comparable semantics can form such a complex Predicate with $xod=r\bar{a}$ zadan.

Acknowledgements

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