

On the surface, the difference between the structures in (1) and (2) is in the order of *Ayda* and the negative marker *na*. However, I show that they are different structures and cannot be accounted for in the same way. I argue that PolS and NegS are true cases of Stripping, which involve ellipsis. On the other hand, based on the evidence from Persian, I argue that Pseudo-stripping does not involve ellipsis despite what has been claimed for English (Kolokonte 2008).

Adopting Rizzi's (1997) cartographic approach, I propose that the remnant in PolS and NegS moves to the Spec of TopP and FocP, respectively. In addition, I propose that the negative marker *na* originates on the Pol head, which carries an [E] feature (Merchant 2001) that licenses the deletion of its complement, TP, at the PF level.

On the other hand, I propose that PseS is derived via movement rather than ellipsis. I propose that the negative marker in this structure is a constituent negation, and that the NEG XP¹ constituent, in the underlying structure, adjoins to XP's corresponding element. However, since it carries a contrastive focus feature, it has to move to a focus position. I propose that it undergoes right movement and adjoins to FocP in the TP level.

Structure of this paper is as follows: In section 2, I discuss the differences among PolS, NegS, and PseS in terms of their context of occurrence and interpretation. In section 3, I provide evidence that the XP in PolS is a topicalized element while the XP in NegS and PseS is a focalized element. In section 4, I discuss the nature of the negative marker in these constructions. In section 5, I provide syntactic analyses for the three constructions under discussion. Section 6 provides a conclusion.

¹ XP refers to any element (e.g. DP, PP, AdvP, AdjP) that can follow the negative marker.

2. Context of Occurrence and Interpretation

In this section, I show that PolS, NegS, and PseS constructions cannot occur in the same contexts since they have different interpretations. To illustrate their differences, suppose that two friends A and B are talking to each other about the shopping they did with their friends. Without any further discourse, speaker A can utter the sentence in (3a), which is an instance of PolS. However, as the ungrammaticality of the sentences in (3b) and (3c) shows, NegS and PseS are not possible with a contextual antecedent.

(3) Context: [A and B are talking about the shopping they did with their friends]

- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|--|-----------|-------|------------|------|------|--------|--------|
| a. | ARAZ | dirooz | ketāb | kharid, | vali | AYDA | na | (PolS) |
| | Araz | yesterday | book | bought.3SG | but | Ayda | NEG | |
| | ‘Araz bought books yesterday, but Ayda did not (buy books).’ | | | | | | | |
| b. | #ARAZ | dirooz | ketāb | kharid, | AYDA | na | (NegS) | |
| | Araz | yesterday | book | bought.3SG | Ayda | NEG | | |
| c. | #ARAZ | dirooz | ketāb | kharid, | NA | Ayda | (PseS) | |
| | Araz | yesterday | book | bought.3SG | NEG | Ayda | | |

The grammaticality of (3a) shows that PolS can occur in an out of the blue context, and that it does not require a linguistic antecedent. Therefore, we can say that in this structure, the speaker is introducing new information to the discourse by saying that *Araz bought books but Ayda did not buy books*. On the other hand, the ungrammaticality of (3b) and (3c) suggests that NegS and PseS cannot occur in an out of the blue context. We expect these constructions to be acceptable with a linguistic antecedent. This is borne out as shown in (4) and (5).

In (4a), speaker A makes an assertion that *Araz and Ayda bought books*. However, speaker B corrects speaker A by uttering the sentence in (4b), which is an instance of NegS. The fact that this structure is acceptable with a linguistic antecedent, as shown in (4b), but not with a contextual antecedent, as in (3b), shows that it can only occur in contexts in which a proposition has been made.

- (4) a. dirooz Araz va Ayda ketāb kharid-an
 yesterday Araz and Ayda book bought-3PL
 ‘Yesterday, Araz and Ayda bought books.’
- b. ARAZ dirooz ketāb kharid, AYDA na (NegS)
 Araz yesterday book bought.3SG Ayda NEG
 ‘(No, you are wrong), ARAZ bought books yesterday, AYDA did not (buy books).’

In (4b), the emphasis is on the predicate and whether *Ayda* and *Araz* bought books. We know that we have two alternatives in this regard; *Ayda* and *Araz* have either bought books or they have not bought books. Therefore, we can say that in NegS, as in (4b), speaker B corrects speaker A’s presupposition by showing which alternative is true and which one is false. In this context, *Araz bought books* is true while *Ayda bought books* is false.

PseS, similar to NegS, is acceptable when it is provided with a linguistic antecedent (5b).

- (5) a. dirooz Ayda ketāb kharid.
 yesterday Ayda book bought.3SG
 ‘Yesterday, Ayda bought books.’
- b. ARAZ ketāb kharid, NA Ayda (PseS)
 Araz book bought.3SG NEG Ayda
 ‘(No, you are wrong), ARAZ bought a book, NOT Ayda.’

In (5a), speaker A makes an assertion that *Ayda bought books*. However, speaker B corrects speaker A’s assertion by saying (*no, you are wrong*) *it was Araz who bought a book, not Ayda*. In (5b), the emphasis is on the person who bought books; whether it was *Araz* or *Ayda* who bought books. We can say that in this context, we have two alternatives with regard to who bought books; either *Araz bought books* or *Ayda bought books*. We see that speaker B in (5b) corrects speaker A by replacing *Ayda* in (5a) with *Araz*. Thus, we can say that in Pseudo-stripping, we have correction by substitution.

Summary

A summary of the characteristics of PolS, NegS, and PseS is presented in (6).

(6) Context of Occurrence and Interpretation	PolS	NegS	PseS
a. Acceptable in an out of the blue context	Yes	No	No
b. Has a corrective interpretation	No	Yes	Yes
c. Has correction by showing which alternative is true and which one is false	NA	Yes	No
d. Has correction by substituting one alternative by another	NA	No	Yes

3. Information Structure

In this section, I discuss how PolS, NegS, and PseS structures are constrained by information structure. I argue that the XP in PolS has the characteristics of a topic while the XP in NegS and PseS has the characteristics of focus. I provide two pieces of evidence for this claim.

One of the differences between topic and focus is that we can have more than one topic in a sentence while we can only have one focus per sentence.² With this in mind, let us have a look at the structures in ((7)-(9)).

(7) AYDA ketāb-a-ro kharid, vali **ARAZ majalle-ha-ro** na (PolS)
Ayda book-DEF-ACC bought.3SG but Araz magazine-DEF-ACC NEG
'Ayda bought the book but Ayda didn't (buy) the magazine.'

(8) *AYDA ketāb-a-ro kharid, **ARAZ majalle-ha-ro** na (NegS)
Ayda book-DEF-ACC bought.3SG Araz magazine-DEF-ACC NEG

(9) *AYDA ketāb-a-ro kharid, **NA Araz majalle-ha-ro** (PseS)
Ayda book-DEF-ACC bought.3SG NEG Araz magazine-DEF-ACC

In PolS (7), we have two elements before the negative marker; the subject *Araz* and the

² Persian allows two elements bearing a contrastive focus feature in the same sentence only if one of them has an inherent focus feature (Karimi 2005: 133).

- (i) KIMEA māv-e gozashte fagat se-tā film did-e
Kimea month-EZ previous only three-part film saw-3SG
'It was Kimea who saw only three movies last month.' (Everyone else has seen more movies)

direct object ‘magazine’, and the sentence is grammatical. However, as the ungrammaticality of the sentences in (8) and (9) shows, it is not possible to have two elements in NegS and PseS. These examples show that PolS is compatible with topicalized elements while NegS and PseS are compatible with focalized elements.

The second piece of evidence that shows NegS and PseS are compatible with focalized elements while PolS is not comes from their compatibility with focus adverbs such as *only*. Let us consider the examples in (10).

(10) [Context: speaker A and speaker B are talking about their friends who bought books]

A: ki-yā ketāb kharid-an?
 who-PL book bought-3PL
 ‘Who bought books?’

B: *hame ketāb kharid-an, vali FAGAT Ayda na (PolS)
 everyone book bought-3PL but only Ayda NEG
 Intended: ‘Everyone bought books, but only Ayda did not.’

(Adapted from López and Winkler 2000)

The ungrammaticality of the sentence in (10b) shows that the DP *Ayda* in PolS is not compatible with the focus adverb *fagat* ‘only’.

In the same context, the conversation can continue as in (11). In (11a), the speaker makes an assertion that *only Araz bought books*. We see that NegS (11b) and PseS (11b’) structures are acceptable in this context, which shows that the DP *Araz* in these structures is compatible with the focus adverb ‘only’.

(11) a. pas fagat Araz ketāb kharid
 so only Araz book bought.3SG
 ‘So, only Araz bought books.’

b. HAME ketāb kharid-an, FAGAT Araz na (NegS)
 everyone book bought.3PL only Araz NEG
 ‘(No, you are wrong) everyone bought books and not just Araz.’

- b'. HAME ketāb kharid-an, NA FAGAT Araz (NegS)
 everyone book bought.3PL NEG only Araz
 ‘(No, you are wrong), everyone bought books, not just Araz.’

(Adapted from López and Winkler 2000)

Now that we have established we have a topicalized element in PolS but a focalized element in NegS and PseS structures, we need to discuss the nature of the negative marker in these structures.

4. The Nature of Negative Marker

In PolS (12a) and NegS (12b), when the sentence is continued, we have two negative markers in the second clause: one after the remnant *Araz* and one affixed to the verb. However, in PseS (12c), we have only one negative marker that precedes *Araz* and it is not possible to continue the sentence after *Araz*.

- (12) a. AYDA ketāb kharid vali ARAZ **na**, ketāb **na**-kharid
 Ayda book bought.3SG but Araz NEG book NEG-bought.3SG
 ‘Ayda bought a book, but Araz did not buy a book.’
- b. AYDA ketāb kharid ARAZ **na**, ketāb **na**-kharid
 Ayda book bought.3SG Araz NEG book NEG-bought.3SG
 ‘Ayda bought a book, Araz did not buy a book.’
- c. AYDA ketāb kharid, **NA** Araz (*ketāb na-kharid)
 Ayda book bought.3SG NEG Araz book NEG-bought.3SG
 ‘Ayda bought a book, not Araz.’

The data in (12) indicates that: i) PolS and NegS are bi-clausal while PseS is mon-clausal, ii) in PolS and NegS, we have two negative markers in the underlying structure while in PseS, we have only one negative marker. The question that needs to be addressed is: What is the nature of the negation in these constructions?

In languages like English, in which the sentential negation ‘not’ and constituent negation ‘no’ are different, only the sentential negation is possible in Stripping, as shown in (13a), and phrasal negation is not possible (13b).

- (13) a. John bought a book, not Mary
 b. *John bought a book, no Mary

However, in Persian, the sentential negation (14) and phrasal negation (15) are homophonous. Thus, it is not clear whether the negative marker in the constructions in (12) is sentential or constituent negation.

- (14) Q: Maryam-ro did-i?
 Maryam-ACC saw-2SG
 ‘Did you see Maryam?’

A: na, na-did-am
 NEG NEG-saw-1SG
 ‘No, I did not see her.’

- (15) a. na man chini sohbat mikon-am, na unā
 NEG I Chinese harf do-1SG NEG they
 ‘Neither I nor they speak Chinese.’

b. man ketāb mikhon-am, na majale
 I book read-1SG NEG magazine
 ‘I am reading a book, not a magazine.’

(Kwak 2010: 624)

I propose that the negative marker in PseS is constituent negation. This claim is based on Klima’s (1964) either-and neither conjoining test and adverbs that I discuss in the next two subsections. Then, I propose that the negative marker in PolS and NegS functions as a focusing adverb.

4.1. Either-and Neither Conjoining Test

In this section, I use Klima’s (1964) either-and neither-conjoining test to determine the nature of negative marker in PolS, NegS, and PseS. As shown in (16a) and (17a), the structures with sentential negation are grammatical with either-and neither-conjunction. However, the structures with constituent negation are not compatible with this type of conjunction, as shown in (16b) and (17b).

- (16) a. Sentential negation: Mary isn't a happy person and John isn't either.
 b. Constituent negation: *Mary is a not happy person and John isn't either.
- (17) a. Sentential negation: Mary isn't a happy person and neither is John.
 b. Constituent negation: *Mary is a not happy person and neither is John.

Let us apply this test to our structures under discussion to determine whether the negative marker *na* in these structures is sentential negation or constituent negation. As the examples below show, we see that PolS (18) and NegS (19) constructions are acceptable with either-conjoining while PseS (20) is not. This shows that the negative marker in PseS is constituent negation.

- (18) AYDA khoshhāl-e, vali ARAZ na, MARYAM ham na (PolS)
 Ayda happy-3SG but Araz NEG Maryam also NEG
 'Ayda is happy but Araz is not (happy), Maryam is neither.'
- (19) AYDA khoshhāl-e, ARAZ na, MARYAM ham na (NegS)
 Ayda happy-3SG Araz NEG Maryam also NEG
 'Ayda is happy, Araz is not (happy), Maryam is neither.'
- (20) *AYDA khoshhāl-e, NA Araz, NA ham Maryam (PseS)
 Ayda happy-3SG NEG Araz NEG also Maryam

4.2. Adverbs

The second piece of evidence that shows the negative marker in PseS but not in PolS and NegS is constituent negation comes from examples as in ((21)-(23)).

- (21) Ayda hamishe ketāb mikhar-e, vali **Araz hamishe na** (PolS)
 Ayda always book buy-3SG but Araz always NEG
 'Ayda always buys books, but Araz does not always (buy books).'
- (22) Ayda hamishe ketāb mikhar-e, **Araz hamishe na** (NegS)
 Ayda always book buy-3SG Araz always NEG
 'Ayda always buys books, Araz does not always (buy books).'

- (23) *Ayda hamishe ketāb mikhar-e, **na** **hamishe** **Araz** (PseS)
 Ayda always book buy-3SG NEG always Arraz

As illustrated in these examples, in PolS (21) and NegS (22), an adverb can occur between *Araz* and the negative marker. However, this is not possible in PseS (23), which shows that the negative marker in this structure is constituent negation. Now that we know the negative marker in PseS involves constituent negation, in the next section, I show that the negative marker in PolS and NegS functions as a focusing adverb.

4.3. Focusing Adverb

In this section, I propose that the negative marker in PolS and NegS but not in PseS belongs to a class of adverbs such as *never* called focusing adverb (Rooth 1985, 1996). This proposal is supported by examples such as ((24)-(26)).

- (24) AYDA hamishe ketāb mi-khar-e, vali ARAZ **hichvaqt** (ketab **ne**-mi-khar-e)
 Ayda always book DUR-buy-3SG but Araz never book NEG-DUR-buy-3SG
 ‘Ayda always buys books, but Araz never (buys books).’

- (25) AYDA hamishe ketāb mi-khar-e, ARAZ **hichvaqt** (ketab **ne**-mi-khar-e)
 Ayda always book DUR-buy-3SG Araz never book NEG-DUR-buy-3SG
 ‘AYDA always buys books, ARAZ never (buys books).’

- (26) *AYDA hamishe ketāb mi-khar-e, **HICHVAQT** Araz
 Ayda always book DUR-buy-3SG never Araz

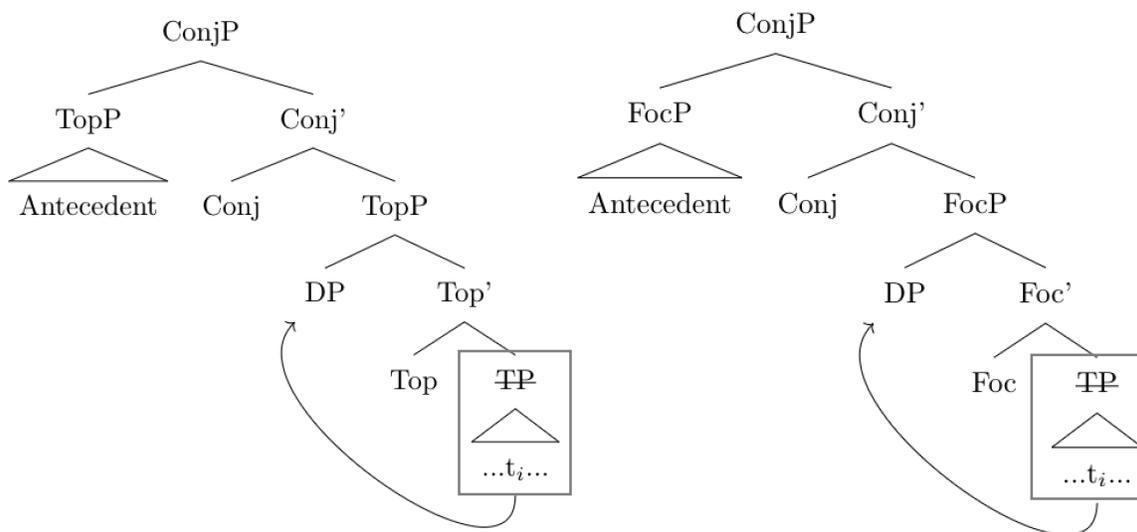
In PolS (24) and NegS (25), it is possible to replace the negative marker with the adverb *never*, while in PseS (26), this is not possible. These examples show that the negative marker in PolS and NegS functions as a focusing adverb.

5. Analysis

5.1. Analysis of Polarity Stripping and Negative Stripping

As discussed in section 3, we know that the remnants in PolS and NegS function as topicalized and focalized elements, respectively. I propose that the remnant in these structures carries contrastive topic and contrastive focus features; therefore, it moves to the Spec of TopP and to the Spec of FocP, respectively, as schematically illustrated in (27).

(27) a. Structure of Polarity Stripping b. Structure of Negative Stripping



Regarding the negative marker, as discussed in section 3.5. I propose that the negative marker in these structures is a focusing adverb. In Persian, the position of sentential negation is assumed to be in the CP level, as the phrase structure in (28) illustrates.

(28) [CP [TopP [FocP [NegP [TP [vP PredP]]]]]] (Karimi 2005: 147)

Sentential negation, NegP, selects TP as its complement. However, negation is morphologically realized on the verb through Agree relation between Neg, which bears an interpretable negation feature, and *v*, which bears an uninterpretable negation feature (Taleghani 2008).

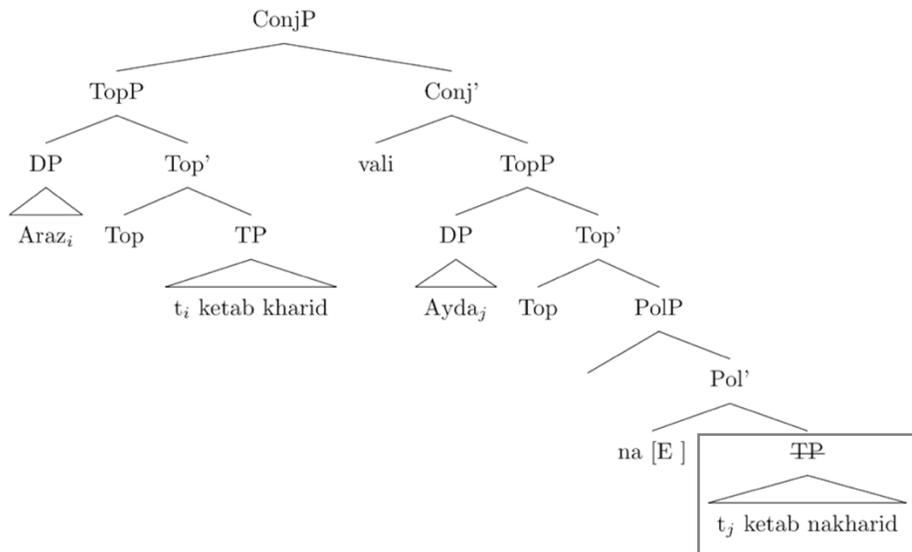
Since the negative marker in PolS and NegS precedes the sentential negation, which is suffixed on the verb, it has to be in a position higher than NegP. In addition, since the remnant in these constructions moves to the Spec of TopP and FocP, respectively, we know that the negative marker is higher than NegP but lower than FocP. Let us call this position PolP. If our analysis is on the right track, the phrase structure in (28) should be revised to include PolP.

(29) [CP [TopP [FocP [PolP [NegP [TP [vP PredP]]]]]]]]

I propose that the negative marker *na* in PolS and NegS, which acts as a focusing adverb, originates in the Pol head. I also propose that the Pol head carries an [E] feature (Merchant 2001) that licenses the deletion of its complement, TP, which is identical to the TP of the antecedent clause and therefore it becomes redundant, at the PF level.

The structure which I propose for PolS is given in (30). In this structure, the remnant *Ayda* in the second clause moves to the Spec of TopP and the [E] feature on the Pol head licenses the deletion of TP at the PF level.

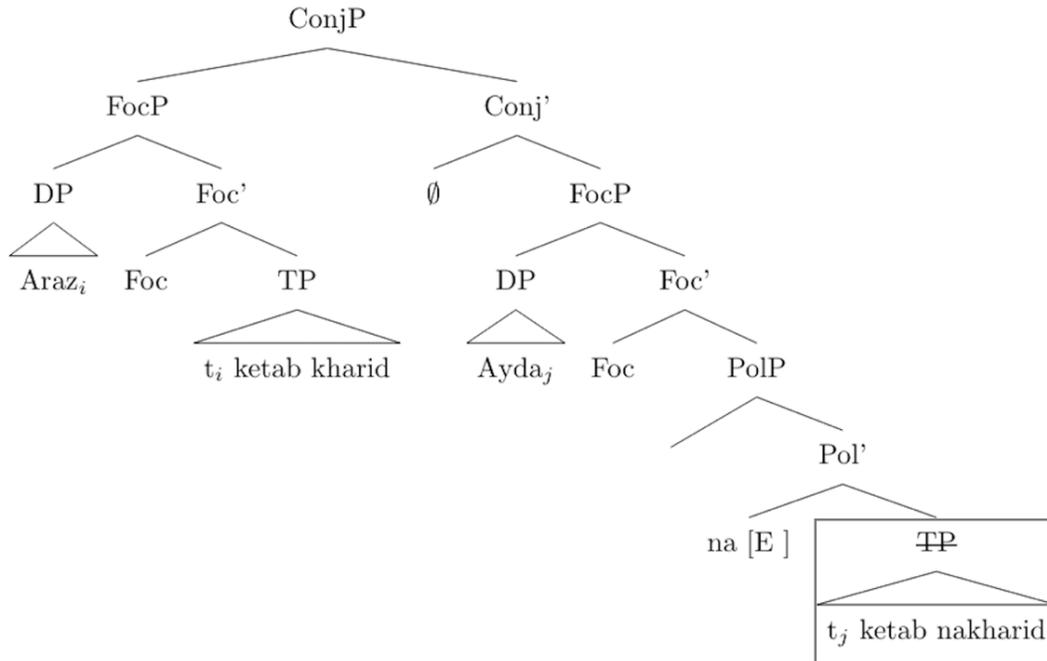
(30) Structure of Polarity Stripping



Similarly, the structure of NegS is schematically represented in (31). Even though there is not an overt coordinator in this structure, I assume that we have a null conjunction in this

structure. As shown in (31), the remnant *Ayda* in the second clause moves to the Spec of FocP, before TP deletion takes place.

(31) Structure of Negative Stripping



5.2. Analysis of Pseudo-stripping

We already know that PseS is mono-clausal. In addition, as discussed in sections 3 and 4, we know that the XP in this structure functions as a focalized element, and the negative marker is constituent negation.

In this section, I propose that PseS in Persian is derived via movement. This is different from what has been proposed for English; Kolokonte (2008) has proposed that PseS involves TP ellipsis.

I propose that the underlying structure of PseS is as in (32). The *na Araz* constituent originates adjacent to its corresponding element *Ayda*.

- (32) ?AYDA, NA Araz, ketab kharid (PseS)
 Ayda NEG Araz book bought.3SG
 Lit: 'Ayda, not Araz, bought books.'

I also propose that the constituent *na Araz* arrives at its surface position via rightward movement, as shown in (33).

- (33) AYDA _{t_i} ketab kharid, [NA **Araz**]_i
 Ayda book bought.3SG NEG Araz

A piece of evidence for movement comes from case marking, as shown in (34). The adjective *sabz* ‘green’ and its corresponding element *germez* ‘red’ have accusative case marking *-ro*.

- (34) **GERMEZ-A-RO** doost dar-am, NA **sabz-a-ro**
 Red-DEF-ACC like have-1SG NEG green-DEF-ACC
 Lit: ‘The red one I like, not the green one.’

Even though the structure in (32) does not sound natural in Persian, the proposal that the NEG XP originates adjacent to the XP’s corresponding element and arrives at its surface position via movement is supported by the data from German (35) and Spanish (36). As illustrated in the following examples, the NEG XP can appear at the sentence-final position or in the middle of the sentence.

(35) German

- a. Anna spielt Klavier, **nicht Maria**
 Anna plays piano not Maria
 ‘Anna plays piano but not Maria.’

- b. Anna, **nicht Maria**, spielt Klavier
 Anna not Maria plays piano
 ‘Anna, not Maria, plays piano.’

(Graf Thomas p.c.)

(36) Spanish

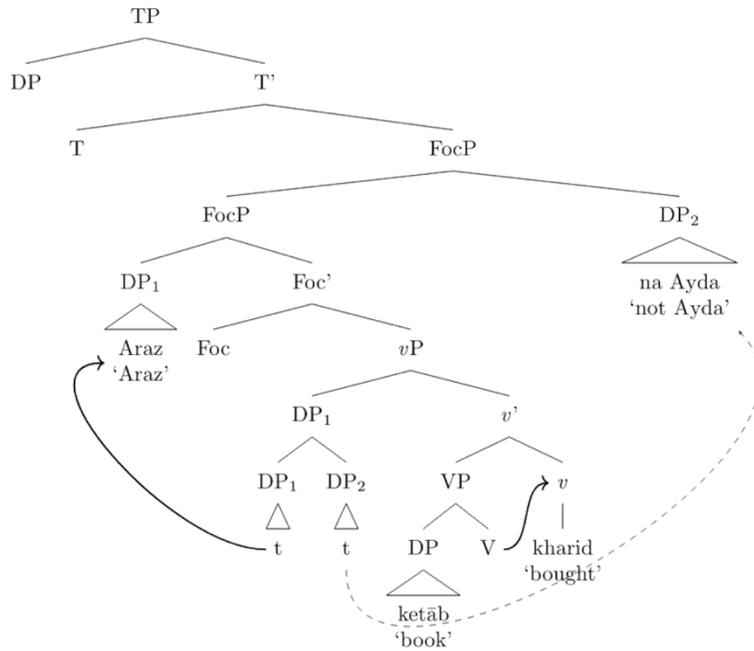
- a. Anna taca el piano, **no María**
 Anna plays the piano not Maria
 ‘Anna plays piano, not Maria.’

- b. Anna, **no María**, taca el piano
 Anna not Maria plays the piano
 ‘Anna, not Maria, plays piano.’

(Elías-Ulloa José p.c.)

The questions that need to be addressed are: How does the movement in (33) work? Where does the NEG XP move to? I propose that the *na Ayda* constituent undergoes right movement³ and adjoins to the FocP in the TP level, as schematically illustrated in (37).

(37) Structure of Pseudo-stripping



The *na Ayda* constituent adjoins to the DP *Araz*. However, since the DP *Araz* carries a contrastive focus feature, it moves to the right and adjoins to FocP.

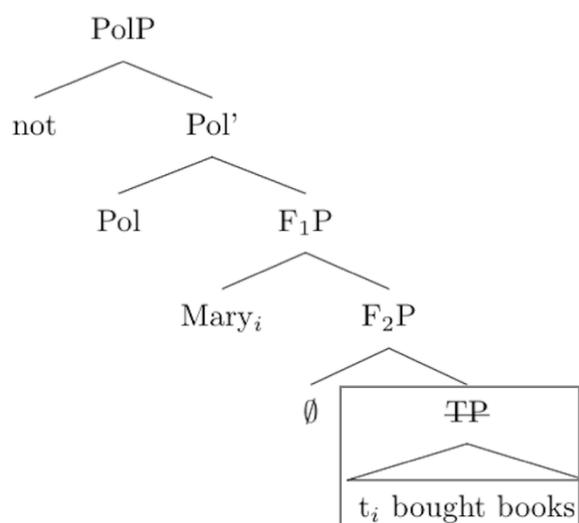
Kolokonte (2008) has proposed that Pseudo-stripping in English involves clausal coordination. Based on her analysis, the structure of the relevant parts of the English example in (38) would be as illustrated in (39).

(38) John bought books, not Mary.

³ To derive PseS via left-ward movement, one has to propose that the direct object ‘book’ and the verb ‘bought’ in (i) move out of the vP. This movement out of vP is not well-motivated.

(i) [_{FocP} ARAZ_i [_{TP} ketab_j kharid_k NA Ayda [_{vP} t_i t_j t_k]]]

(39) Structure of Pseudo-stripping in English (Kolokonte 2008)



In (39), the DP *Mary* moves to the Spec of F₁P in the left periphery, before TP deletion takes place. In addition, the negative marker originates in the Spec of PolP. There are three main issues with Kolokonte’s analysis. First, her proposal of two focus positions in the CP domain is not motivated.⁴ Second, we know that information focus is not subject to overt movement to FocP (Kiss 1998).⁵ Third, Kolokonte proposes that Pseudo-stripping involves

⁴ In her approach, F₁P hosts an element with a contrastive focus feature while F₂P hosts an element with an information focus feature.

⁵ She acknowledges that it is not possible for information focus to be preposed, as illustrated in (i).

- (i) Q: What did you order?
 A1: I ordered pizza.
 A2: *PIZZA I ordered. (Kolokonte 2008: 127)

However, following Baltazani’s (1999) analysis of focus constructions in Greek, Kolokonte proposes that first the focused element moves to the left, and then the TP remnant moves to the left. Based on this proposal, the sentence in (iA1) is derived as illustrated in (ii).

- (ii) Step 1: Focus movement Pizza_i [I ordered t_i]
 Step 2: TP-remnant movement [I ordered t_i] pizza_i t_j

Step 2 renders the same word order as in (iA1). The focus movement is obscured by the subsequent movement of the remnant TP to a position higher than FocP, presumably TopP. Kolokonte bases her proposal on Greek data but she does not provide any English data. It is not clear whether focus fronting in Greek can be extended to English.

a clausal coordination; however, since it is not possible to continue the sentence after *Mary*, as shown in (40), the TP undergoes an obligatory deletion.

(40) *John bought books, not Mary bought books.

If Pseudo-stripping involves clausal coordination, we would expect to be able to coordinate it with another clause. However, this is not possible as the ungrammaticality of the sentence in (41) shows.

(41) *John bought books, not Mary, neither Jack.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, I studied two Stripping constructions with negation: Polarity Stripping and Negative Stripping. I showed that these constructions involve clausal coordination. Prior to ellipsis, a constituent that contrasts with its corresponding element in the preceding clause moves out of TP, which is specified for deletion. The remnant in Polarity Stripping and Negative Stripping moves to the Spec of TopP and FocP, respectively. I proposed that the negative marker in these constructions, which functions as a focusing adverb, originates in Pol head. In the second coordinate, the Pol head, which carries an [E] feature licenses the deletion of its complement, TP, at the PF level.

I also studied another structure, Pseudo-stripping, that looks like Polarity Stripping and Negative Stripping. Based on the evidence from Persian, I argued that this structure does not involve ellipsis despite what has been claimed for English (Kolokonte 2008). I proposed that Pseudo-stripping is derived via right-ward movement. I provided evidence that the negative marker in this structure is constituent negation and proposed that the NEG XP constituent originates adjacent to XP's corresponding element. Since it carries a contrastive focus feature, it moves to the right and adjoins to FocP, above vP, in the TP level.

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