

Negative Stripping and Pseudo-stripping in Persian

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1. Introduction

- In this work, I provide an analysis of the Persian stripping constructions in (1) and (2), which I refer to as Negative Stripping (NegS) and Pseudo-stripping (PseS), respectively.

(1) Araz ketāb kharid, **AYDA na** (NegS)
Araz book bought.3SG AYda NEG
'Araz bought books, Ayda didn't.'

(2) Araz ketāb kharid, **NA Ayda** (PseS)
Araz book bought.3SG NEG Ayda
'Araz bought books, not Ayda.'

- These two constructions look similar on the surface and the differences between them are:
 - the order of the negation and the DP *Ayda*
 - the element that carries a heavy stress (represented in CAPS)
- Questions:**
 - What is the nature of the negation in these structures?
 - Do both constructions involve ellipsis?
- Proposals:**
 - The negative marker in NegS is clausal negation; however, the negation in PseS involves constituent negation.
 - NegS is bi-clausal and involves ellipsis while PseS is mono-clausal and does not involve ellipsis.

- Roadmap of this presentation:**

2. Characteristics of NegS and PseS
3. Nature of the negation in these constructions
4. Analysis
5. Conclusion

2. Characteristics of NegS and PseS

2.1. Similarities between NegS and PseS

- Neither of these constructions can occur in an out of the blue context:

(3) Context: [Araz bought books but Ayda didn't]
a. # ARAZ ketāb kharid, **AYDA na** (NegS)
Araz book bought.3SG Ayda NEG

b. # ARAZ ketāb kharid, **NA Ayda** (PseS)
Araz book bought.3SG NEG Ayda

- Both structures have an obligatory corrective interpretation and can only occur in contexts in which a statement has been made.

(4) A: Araz va Ayda ketāb kharid-an.
Araz and Ayda book bought-3PL
'Araz and Ayda bought books.'

B: (na), ARAZ ketāb kharid, **AYDA na** (NegS)
No Araz book bought.3SG Ayda NEG
'(No, you are wrong), ARAZ bought books, AYDA did not.'

- In NegS, the hearer corrects the speaker by saying which alternative is true and which one is false (i.e. *Araz bought books* is true while *Ayda bought books* is false).
- The conversation in (4) can continue as shown in (5).

(5) A: āhān, pas, Ayda ketāb kharid.
okay then Ayda book bought.3SG
'Okay, then, Ayda bought books.'

B: (na), ARAZ ketāb kharid, **NA Ayda** (PseS)
No Araz book bought.3SG NEG Ayda
'(No, you are wrong), Araz bought books, not Ayda.'

¹ See Rasekhi (2018) for more discussion on the characteristics of these constructions.

- The speaker in (4A) states that *Ayda bought books*. However, the hearer corrects the speaker by saying that *it was Araz who bought books, not Ayda*.
- In PseS (5B), one alternative replaces the other (i.e. *Araz* replaces *Ayda*).
- A piece of evidence for the claim that these constructions have an obligatory corrective interpretation comes from *wh*-questions (6). NegS (6A1) and PseS (6A2) cannot be used as a response to *wh*-questions because the speaker in (6Q) does not make a statement but rather asks a question.

(6) Q: ki ketāb kharid?
 who book bought.3SG
 ‘Who bought books?’

A1: #ARAZ ketāb kharid, AYDA na (NegS)
 A2: #ARAZ ketāb kharid, NA Ayda (PseS)

2.2. Differences between NegS and PseS

- Despite their similarities regarding their interpretation and context of occurrence, a difference between these structures is that the sentence in NegS can be continued (7) while the sentence in PseS cannot (8).

(7) ARAZ ketāb kharid, AYDA na (**ketāb na-kharid**)
 Araz book bought.3SG Ayda NEG book NEG-bought.3SG
 ‘Araz bought books, Ayda did not (buy books).’

(8) ARAZ ketāb kharid, NA Ayda (***ketāb na-kharid**)
 Araz book bought.3SG NEG Ayda book NEG-bought.3SG
 ‘Araz bought books, not Ayda.’

- The second difference between these constructions comes from coordination.

(9) ARAZ ketāb kharid, AYDA na, MARYAM ham na (NegS)
 Araz book bought.3SG Ayda NEG Maryam also NEG
 ‘Araz bought books, Ayda did not, Maryam did not either.’

(10) *ARAZ ketāb kharid, NA Ayda, NA ham Maryam (PseS)
 Araz book bought.3SG NEG Ayda NEG also Maryam

- The data in (7)-(10) suggests that NegS is bi-clausal while PseS is mono-clausal.
- The third difference between NegS and PseS comes from the (im)possibility of reversing the order of the clauses while their interpretation remains the same.

(11) **ARAZ na**, AYDA ketāb kharid (NegS)
 Araz NEG Ayda book bought.3SG
 Lit: ‘Araz did not (buy books), Ayda bought books.’

(12) *NA **Araz**, AYDA ketāb kharid (PseS)
 NEG Araz Ayda book bought.3SG

- This suggests that we have two independent clauses in NegS.²

3. Nature of Negation in NegS and PseS

- As shown in (7), when we continue the sentence, we have two negative markers: one following the remnant *Ayda* and the other affixed to the verb.
- The *na* following the remnant cannot be the regular sentential negative marker.
- In Persian, sentential negation *na* (13) and constituent negation *na* (14) are homophones.³

² This also suggests that NegS allows backward ellipsis, i.e. the ellipsis site precedes the antecedent clause. In English, stripping does not allow backward ellipsis while VPE does.

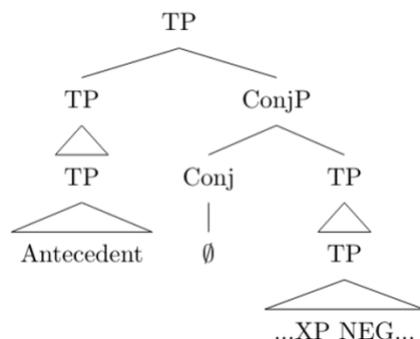
(i) ***Not John** (bought books), Mary bought books. (Stripping)
 (ii) **John did not** (buy books), but Mary bought books. (VPE)

³ In English, sentential negation is possible in stripping while phrasal negation is not.

(i) John bought books, **not** Mary.
 (ii) *John bought books, **no** Mary.

- (13) Ayda ketāb **na**-khaïd. (NegS)
 Ayda book NEG-bought.3SG
 ‘Ayda did not buy books.’
- (14) **na** man chini sohbat mikon-am, **na** unā (Kwak 2010: 624)
 NEG I Chinese harf do-1SG NEG they
 ‘Neither I nor they speak Chinese.’
- I propose that the negative marker in NegS functions as a focusing adverb while the negative marker in PseS is constituent negation. The evidence for this comes from Klima’s (1964) either-and neither conjoining test and adverbs.
 - Structures with sentential negation are grammatical with either-and-neither conjunction (15a) while the structures with constituent negation are not compatible with this type of conjunction (15b).
- (15) a. Mary isn’t a happy person and John isn’t either.
 b. *Mary is a not happy person and John isn’t either.
- This is similar to the coordination test we had in (9)-(10), repeated in (16)-(17).
- (16) ARAZ ketāb kharid, AYDA na, MARYAM ham na (NegS)
 Araz book bought.3SG Ayda NEG Maryam also NEG
 ‘Araz bought books, Ayda did not, Maryam did not either.’
- (17) *ARAZ ketāb kharid, NA Ayda, NA ham Maryam (PseS)
 Araz book bought.3SG NEG Ayda NEG also Maryam
- Only NegS is compatible with coordination, which indicates that it has sentential negation.
 - The second piece of evidence that shows negative marker in PseS is constituent negation comes from adverbs.
 - In NegS, an adverb can occur between the remnant and negative marker (18); however, this is not possible in PseS (19).
- (18) 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).’
- (19) *AYDA hamishe ketāb mikhar-e, NA **hamishe** Araz (PseS)
 Ayda always book buy-3SG NEG always Araz
- Now that we know the negation in PseS is constituent negation, I propose that the negation in NegS belongs to a class of adverbs such as *never* called focusing adverb (Rooth 1985, 1996).
 - In NegS, it is possible to replace the negative marker with the adverb *never* (20), while in PseS, this is not possible (21).
- (20) AYDA hamishe ketāb mikhare, ARAZ **hichvaqt** (NegS)
 Ayda always book buy-3SG Araz never
 ‘Ayda always buys books, Araz never (buys books).’
- (21) *AYDA hamishe ketāb mikahr-e, **HICHVAQT** Araz (PseS)
 Ayda always book buy-3SG never Araz
- #### 4. Analysis
- ##### 4.1. Boundedness
- Since it is possible to coordinate the stripped clause in NegS (16), we expect it to be unbounded. This expectation is borne out, as shown in (22).
- (22) māmān goft ARAZ ketāb kharid, (NegS)
 mom said.2SG Araz book bought.3SG
 [fekr kon-am AYDA na]
 thought do-1SG Ayda NEG
 ‘Mom said Araz bought books, I think Ayda did not (buy books).’
- In (22), the DP *Ayda* and the negative marker *na* in the second clause, and their antecedent in the first clause are embedded. This shows that they don’t have a locality requirement and their structure would be as schematically illustrated in (23).

(23)

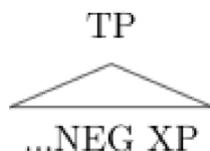


- On the other hand, since PseS is not possible with coordination (17), we expect it to be bounded. This is borne out, as shown in (24).

(24) *māmān goft ARAZ ketāb kharid, (PseS)
 mom said.2SG Araz book bought.3SG
 [fekr kon-am NA Ayda]
 thought do-1SG NEG Ayda

- PseS is not acceptable when it is embedded. This means that it has a locality requirement; the negative marker *na* and the DP *Ayda* must directly follow the clause that has the DP's corresponding element.
- In addition, we know that PseS is mono-clausal; therefore, its structures would be as schematically illustrated in (25).

(25)



4.2. Information Structure

- We have already seen that the DP in the second clause contrasts with its corresponding element in the preceding clause. This indicates that the DP is a focalized element. Further support for this comes from the examples below:

- We can only have one focalized element in a sentence (26) (but we can have more than one topicalized element).

(26) a. *KIMEA se-tā FILM did
 Kimea three-part film saw.3SG

b. KIMEA se-tā film did
 Kimea three-part film saw.3SG
 'It is Kimea who has seen three movies.' (Karimi 2005: 134)

- In NegS (27) and PseS (28), we can only have one focalized element.

(27)*AYDA ketāb-a-ro kharid, ARAZ MAJALL-a-ro na
 Ayda book-DEF-ACC bought.3SG Araz magazine-DEF-ACC NEG

(28)*AYDA ketāb-a-ro kharid, NA Araz MAJALL-a-ro
 Ayda book-DEF-ACC bought.3SG NEG Araz magazine-DEF-ACC

- The second piece of evidence that the DP in NegS and PseS is a focalized element comes from their compatibility with focus adverbs such as *only*.

(29) A: faqat Araz ketāb kharid.
 only Araz book bought.3SG
 'Only Araz bought books.'

B. HAME ketāb kharid-an, FAQAT 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 FAQAT Araz (PseS)
 everyone book bought-3PL NEG only Araz
 '(No, you are wrong) everyone bought books, not just Araz.'

(Adapted from López and Winkler 2000)

4.3. The Position of Negation in NegS

- Recall from the example in (7), repeated in (30), we have two negative markers in NegS: one follows the remnant *Ayda* and the other is affixed to the verb.

(30) ARAZ ketāb kharid, AYDA na (ketāb na-kharid)
 Araz book bought.3SG Ayda NEG book NEG-bought.3SG
 ‘Araz bought books, Ayda did not (buy books).’

- In Persian, the position of sentential negation is assumed to be in the CP level (31).

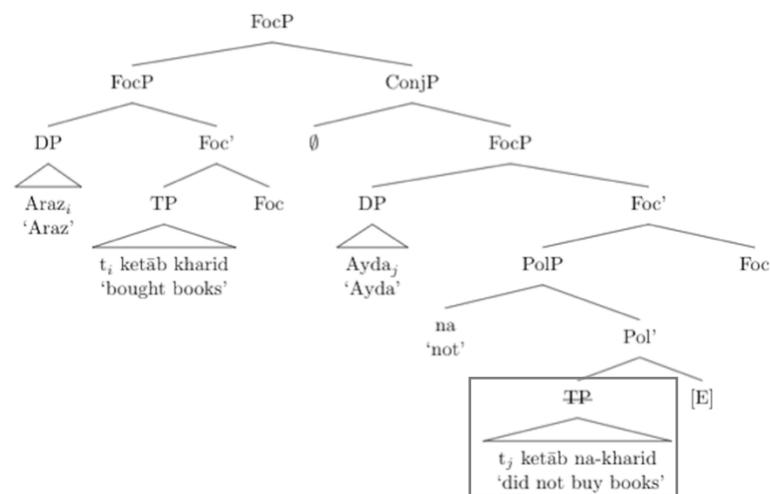
(31) [CP [TopP [FocP [NegP [TP [vP PredP]]]]]] (Karimi 2005: 147)

- Negation is morphologically realized on the verb through Agree relation between NegP, which bears an interpretable negation feature, and *v*, which bears an uninterpretable negation feature (Taleghani 2008).
- Since the negative marker in NegS precedes the sentential negation, which is prefixed on the verb, it has to be in a position higher than NegP.
- In addition, since the DP remnant moves to the Spec of FocP, the negative marker should be higher than NegP but lower than FocP.
- Adopting Kolokonte (2008), I propose that the negative marker, which functions as a focusing adverb, originates in the Spec of PolP (32).

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

- I propose the structure in (33) for NegS.

(33) Structure of NegS

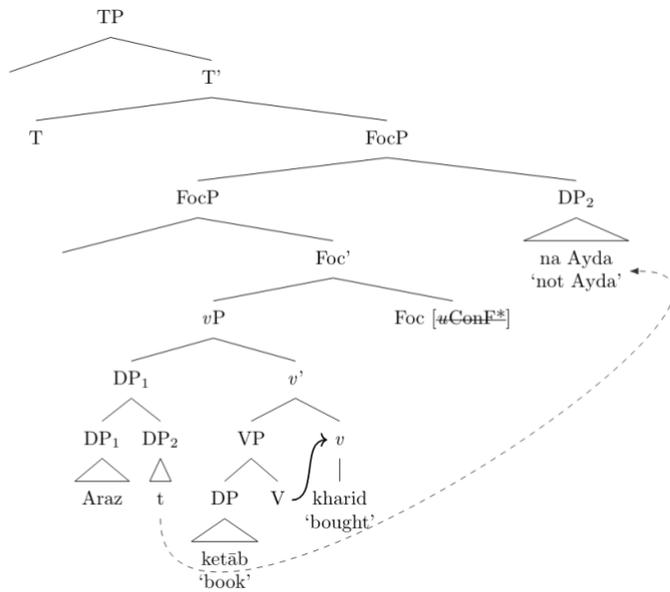


- The DP *Ayda* moves to the Spec of FocP, prior to ellipsis.
- The [E] feature (Merchant 2001) on the Pol head licenses the deletion of its complement at the PF level.

4.4. Structure of PseS

- Since PseS is mono-clausal (it can't be continued and is bounded), I propose that it is derived via movement rather than ellipsis.
- I propose that the NEG XP constituent originates adjacent to the XP's corresponding element. However, since the XP has a contrastive focus feature, it must move to FocP. I propose that it undergoes right-ward movement and adjoins to FocP, above *v*P, as illustrated in (34).

(34)



- Based on (34), the underlying structure of PseS would be as in (35):

(35) *ARAZ, NA Ayda, ketāb kharid
 Araz NEG Ayda book bought.3SG

- The word order in (35) is not acceptable⁴ since the *na Ayda* constituent must be in the sentence final position (36).

(36) ARAZ ketāb kharid, NA Ayda
 Araz book bought.3SG NEG Ayda

⁴ This word order is acceptable only in contexts in which we have two alternatives:

(i) Araz **na goosht** va **na sabzijāt** mikhore-e
 Araz NEG meat and NEG vegetables eat-3SG
 'Araz neither eats meat nor vegetables.'

- This suggests that there is an obligatory right-ward movement in this structure.
- The evidence that the underlying structure of PseS is as shown in (35) comes from German (37) and Spanish (38). In these languages, the *na DP* constituent can be either at the sentence final position or immediately after the DP's corresponding element.

(37) 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.)

(38) a. Anna taco el piano, **no María**
 Anna plays the piano not Maria
 'Anna plays piano, not Maria.'

b. Anna, **no María**, taco el piano
 Anna not Maria plays the piano
 'Anna, not Maria, plays piano.'

(Elías-Ulloa José p.c.)

- Kolokonte's (2008) Analysis of English PseS**
- PseS is also found in English (39).

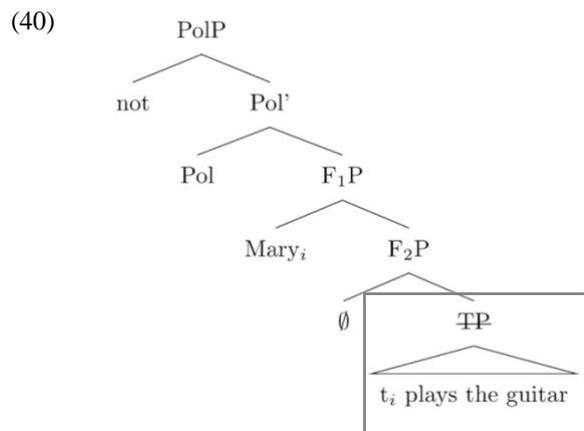
(39) John plays the guitar, not Mary.

- Based on Kolokonte's proposal, the sentence in (39) is bi-clausal.
- The DP *Mary* moves out of TP to the Spec of FocP, prior to TP ellipsis.
- The negation originates in the Spec of PolP.

(ii) Araz **na goosht** mikhore, **na sabzijāt**
 Araz NEG meat eat-3SG NEG vegetables
 'Araz neither eats meat nor vegetables.'

- The *na sabzijāt* in the sentence-final position has an obligatory corrective interpretation.

- Based on her proposal, the structure of the relevant parts of the sentence in (39) would be as illustrated in (40).



- As illustrated in (40), in Kolokonte's approach, there are two focus positions in the left periphery. The focus projection F2P is reserved for elements that have an information focus feature while F1P hosts elements that have a contrastive focus feature.

- There are three main issues with Kolokonte's analysis:
 - First, her proposal of two focus positions in the CP domain is not motivated.

⁵ Kolokonte 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).

- Second, we know that information focus is not subject to overt movement (Kiss 1998).⁵
- Third, Kolokonte proposes that Pseudo-stripping involves a clausal coordination; however, since it is not possible to continue the sentence after the XP, the TP undergoes an obligatory deletion. If Pseudo-stripping involves clausal coordination, we would expect to be able to coordinate it with another clause and it wouldn't be bounded.

5. Conclusion

- In this work, NegS and PseS were discussed. Even though there are some similarities between these constructions, I proposed that the mechanism of deriving them is different.
- I proposed that NegS, which has XP NEG word order, is bi-clausal and involves ellipsis.
- On the other hand, PseS, which has NEG XP word order, is mono-clausal and doesn't involve ellipsis.

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

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