

## A Minimalist Approach Toward the Adjunct Construction in Persian: The Position of Negative Affixes

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### Abstract

The current paper examines adjunct construction in Persian, which is an Indo-Iranian language. Various researchers have studied adjuncts and adjunction among different languages. Although Adjuncts and adjunction are very important in Persian language, none of the researchers have examined them based on the Minimalist Program and Functional Grammar. Therefore, the present study sought to review the records of Persian and non-Persian linguistic research studies and to introduce adverbs and prepositional phrases in Persian language. Then, their syntactic position was determined based on Radford (2004). The results showed that in Persian sentences, the structural differences could be made to follow from the semantic one. It was found that the view of adverbial licensing made the overall grammar more restrictive by banning reference to different syntactic structures for different semantic classes of adjuncts.

**Keywords:** adjunct, adjunction, adverbial licensing, syntactic structures

### 1. Introduction

An adjunct is an optional part of a sentence, clause, or phrase that its removal would have no effect on the remainder of the sentence. An adjunct modifies the meaning of its head. It depends on another form, word, or phrase, being an element of clause structure with adverbial function (Lyons, 1968). Affix is a kind of bound morpheme which cannot be used independently. It must be attached to another part called 'root'. Whenever it comes before the root, it is called 'prefix' (Kalbasi, 2001). There are many prefixes in Persian language. However, in this paper, the focus is just on the negative prefixes.

Different studies have examined negative elements and negation among different languages. However, there has been scant attention to this phenomenon in Persian. Some Iranian and non-Iranian linguists and grammarians have discussed this field. For instance, Anvari and Givi (1991), Hajari (1991), Kalbasi (2001) and Shaghghi (2002) merely discussed the existence of negative prefixes and their classifications.

Klima (1964), Lasnik (1972), Pollock (1989) studied negation and negative elements; however, they did not examine their position in the Minimalist Program perspective. As a result, in the present article, having reviewed the Persian and non-Persian studies, the negative Persian affixes are to be introduced. Also, their positions are to be analyzed in accordance with Radford (2004). To respond to the above query, the following research questions were posed:

1. Which stems do host negative suffixes in Persian?
2. How does minimalism analyze negative element in Persian?

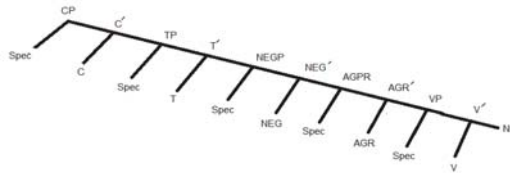
## 2. Literature Review

### 2.1 Studies of non-Iranian linguists

Pollock (1989) made one the major adjustments regarding the *X' theory*. He paid attention to Inflection phrase (IP= I") in his study, and divided IP into two smaller parts, namely Tense phrase (T" = TP) and Agreement phrase (Agr" = AgrP). In other words, morphemes such as, tense, agreement, negation, etc. which are associated with the inflected verb are regarded as a distinct syntactic phrase in the tree diagram of sentence.

Dabir-Moghaddam (2004) reconstructed a simple transitive sentence (in English) based on Pollock's (1989) explanations and tree diagrams (Dabir-Moghaddam 2004):

(1)



Klima (1964) stated that negative sentences can be determined by negative elements, which are pre-sentence structures governed immediately by sentence (S). The effect of the preverbal negative element is reflected in specific construction of sentence:

(2)

- a) Inside an auxiliary: Writers have not been accepted invitation.
- b) As a Noun Phrase subject: Not much rain fell.
- c) As a part of an adverb of place: They went no where.
- d) Inside a prepositional modifier: The writers of none of reports thought so.
- e) In an infinitival complement: I will force you to marry no one.

This variety of negative elements does not mean that they belong to that specific constituent. Negative elements can be used optionally as a part of sentence structure with NP subject, predicate, or interrogative WH-marker. Based on this assumption, the negative element structure is in relation with the structure of WH. This relation is not arbitrary. Negative and interrogative elements behave in the same manner with respect to constituent consistency. The influence of preverbal negative elements on evoking indefinite elements in a sentence is the same as the effect of WH. Furthermore, negative (NEG) feature and WH are alike with respect to the possibility of attachment to larger constituents and both of them would result in subject-auxiliary inversion:

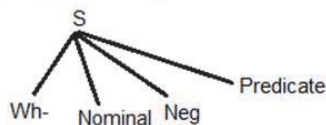
(3)

- a. Who (WH + someone) will accept suggestions ?
- b. No one (NEG + any one) will accept suggestions.
- c. When (WH + some time) will he marry again ?
- d. Never (NEG + ever) will he marry again.

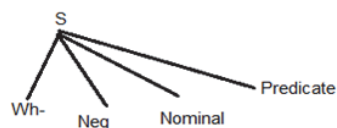
Klima claims that a negative sentence is determined throughout a NEG feature on a functional head. He also emphasizes on the role of *C-command*. Regarding the exact position of NEG feature in a sentence, Klima stated that the exact position of negative element in a chain consisting of nominal subject and predicate is not as clear as WH. He proposed two base positions for NEG:

(4)

a. before predicate

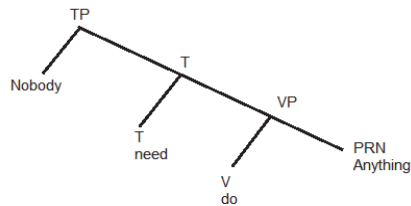


b. before declarative clause



Klima believes WH and NEG may cause in subject-auxiliary inversion in negative and interrogative sentences (Haegeman, 1995). Klima (1964) calls polarity expressions as affective constituent, which include negative, interrogative and conditional expressions. He adds that these constituents must c-command quantifiers and partitives. For example, 'nobody' is an affective expression that must c-command 'anything' which is a partitive, as follow:

- (5)  
a. Nobody need do *anything*.  
b.



As a matter of fact, Klima asserts that indefinite quantifiers such as any, anyone, etc. are bounded to existence of a c-commanding negative elements (Radford, 2004). He believed that affective verbs like unwilling, afraid, need, and deny are negative inherently and these verbs are opposed to factive verbs like regret (Kiparsky, 1971). While factive verbs presuppose the truth of their complements, affective verbs do not have such a property:

- (6)  
a. He denies that he has been there.  
b. He regrets that he has been there.  
As a matter of fact, affective verbs license partitives in complement clause:  
c. He denies / doubts that anything happened.  
d. He denies / doubts anything.

(6d) is ungrammatical, because partitive must be asymmetrically c-commanded by affective items. Therefore, partitives necessarily must occur in complement clause; however, in example (6d), the affective is used as a direct object that can c-command the affective item; this is mutual-command.

Laka (1990) and Progovac (1991) posit that affective verbs, select complements which their complementizers (c°) carry NEG feature. This feature licenses partitives (Haegeman, 1995).

Lasnik (1972) elaborates on Klima's analysis of negation (1964). His analysis is based on the Generative Grammar. Whereas Klima assumes only a single source for 'not' (pre-sentence element), Lasnik postulates two positions for sentential negation:

- a. Pre-sentences  
b. Auxiliary verbs

- (7)  
Not many arrows didn't hit the target.

In (7) the first 'not' comes at initial and co-occurs with the second occurrence of 'no' associated with auxiliary (Aux). The most salient characteristic of Lasnik's analysis is the intimate link he establishes between the sentential operators and the functional heads (Comp). NEG and WH are features associated with the heads of clausal projections; C is associated with the head of CP and I with the head of IP. Furthermore, the presence of NEG and WH features triggers subject – auxiliary inversion leads to I to C movement.

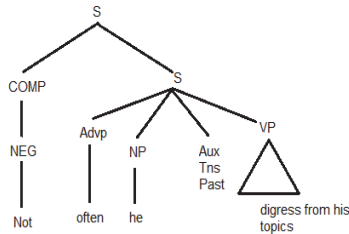
Lasnik believes that NEG and WH as pre-sentential constituents which are generated under Comp. The same has been offered concerning WH. The relation between complementizer C and NEG elements is not clear. According to Lasnik, it seems that I or Aux are the most natural heads to associate NEG element.

Following Klima (1964), Lasnik suggests that those negative elements which cause inversion (not often in 8a) and those which do not (not long ago in 8b) should be assigned two different structures in terms of the position of 'not' in the sentence. For example, 'not' in 'not often' (in 8a) would be generated under Comp and often moves towards the initial position and then combines with 'not'. In 'not long ago' in (8b), on the other hand, 'not' is not the pre-sentential particle, i.e. is not generated under Comp; rather, it is a part of the constituent with which it is associated at D-structure. Its scope is restricted to that constituent.

- (8)  
 a. Not often does he digress from his topic.  
 b. Not long ago it rained.

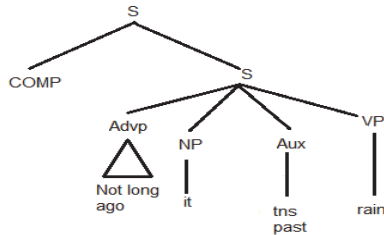
The structure of (8a) would be (9a); that is, subject-auxiliary inversion is triggered by NEG under Comp:

- (9)  
 a.



The structure of (8b) is (9b); that is, as Comp does not dominate NEG, there is no trigger for subject- auxiliary inversion (Haegeman, 1995).

- (9)  
 b.



If the NEG feature is base generated at the clausal level, it takes clausal scope. If it is base generated at a constituent level, it takes local scope. At S-structure, Lasnik assumes that NEG and pre-posed AdvP in (8a) form one constituent. He proposes that some strings like 'not often' and 'not many men' are surface structure constituents; however, he does not provide any syntactic arguments; rather, he assumes that they are constituents by some stage in the derivation. He also adds that to produce such derived structures there is a late rule, perhaps an 'adjustment' rule. Through this rule which is called *Not adjustment (NA)*, Not is incorporated in to the first constituent to its right (Lasnik, 1972, pp. 12-13).

The consequences of the proposed analysis in Klima and Lasnik's approaches are that a rather powerful 'adjustment' rule is needed to generate sentences such as (10):

- (10)  
 a. Under no circumstance I do it.  
 If one considers this example in the same way as the previous ones, then it would be concluded that underlying NEG feature has to be separated out from the pre-posed constituent.  
 b. [NEG] under any circumstances.  
 The lowering of NEG in (10b) will have to reach into the complement of the preposition. Under an approach in which the proposition phrase (PP), under any circumstances, raises to NEG, the amalgamation gives rise to problems as well (Haegeman, 1995).

## 2.2 Studies of Iranian Linguists

Iranian linguists such as Anvari and Givi (1998), Hajari (1998), Xanlari (1988), Kalbasi (2001), and Shaghaghi (2002) declare ideas regarding negative prefix. Kalbasi (2001), for instance, believes that affix is a kind of bound morpheme

which cannot be used independently; they must be attached to another part which called 'root'. Whenever it comes before the root, it would be named 'prefix', and prefix comes before the root. There are many prefixes in Persian language. In the present paper, the focus is just on the negative prefixes.

Anvari and Givi (1998) merely take into account four prefixes, namely bi- , na - , nā-, and lā-. Hajari (1998) determined negative prefixes as nā, na, ma, qeir, pād, bi. Xanlari (1998) says that verbs can be presented in two poles: positive and negative. 'na-' is used to negate verbs. In the case of imperative mood, it would be called prohibitive verb (negative imperative). It worth to note that 'ma-' is the allomorph of the negative prefix 'na-' in Persian: mazan, nazan (don't bit). Kalbasi (2001) mentions the following negative prefixes: na, pād, nā, lā. Shaghaghi (2002) presents these prefixes: nā, na, zed, pād, bi, lā. Here there are some samples which are formed with these prefixes:

- 1) bi- is a negative prefix that is used with nouns and produces adjectives: bigonāh ('not guilty'), biadab ('impolite').
- 2) na- is another negative prefix which is used with adjectives and the outcomes are negative adjectives like: nasanjideh ('unmeasured'), nashodani ('impossible'). It is used with nouns to make adjectives: nasepas ('ungrateful'). It is used with the verb stem to make adjectives: natars ('fearless'), nasuz ('fireproof'). It is also used in compound adjectives, and it is placed before their verbal components: xoda nashnas ('irreligious'), Zaban nafahm ('not amenable to reason').
- 3) nā- is a negative prefix that is used with adjectives and made negative adjectives :nābarabar ('unequivalent'), nābina ('blind'), nārava ('unjust'). It used with nouns to make adjectives, respectively: nāsepas ('unthankful'), nāomid ('hopeless'). It used with compound adjectives, such as: haq nāshenas ('ungrateful'), del nāchashb ('undesirable'). It used with the present tense stems to make adjectives: nāshenas ('unknown'), nāza ('barren'), nāres ('unripe'). It used with the past stems too, to make adjectives: nāshayest ('undeserved'), nābud ('non-existent'). Moreover, it is used with kinship adjectives: nāpedari ('step-father'), nāmadari ('step-mother').
- 4) pād- means 'against', and 'opposite'. It is seen in pādtan ('antibody'), and pādjen ('antigen').  
qeir- is another negative prefix in this language. It is attached to adjectives and produce negative adjectives. It should, of course, be mentioned that in this usage one additional marker (e) comes after qeir- and before adjective: qeir-e rasmi ('informal'), qeir-eqanuni ('illegal').
- 5) zed- is added to nouns to make adjectives. Here again an additional marker (e) comes after zed- and before adjective, like: zed-e āb ('waterproof'), zed-e ofuni ('antiseptic').
- 6) lā- is a loan Arabic prefix, which is expectedly used with the Arabic loan words in Persian; however, it could be accompanied with Persian words like lāmorovat ('ungenerous'), lāsho'ur ('silly'). Nowadays bi- is commonly used instead of lā like bimorovat ('ungenerous'), and bisho'ur ('silly').

### 3. Classifying Verbs

Quirk, Green, Leech, and Svartvik (1985) divides English verbs in to two groups, namely *auxiliary verbs* (non-lexical) and *lexical verbs*. They divide auxiliary verbs into two groups of *primary auxiliaries* such as have, be, and do, and *modal auxiliaries* such as could, might, must, would, may, should, can, will, and shall (Quirk et al. 1985). Moreover, they introduce marginal modals. These verbs behave like modal verbs in some cases such as used to, ought to, need, dare. Quirk et al. calls them auxiliary modals since "these verbs can just take the role of auxiliaries, not the role of lexical verbs" (Quirk et al. 1985).

Lambton (1966) mentions eight auxiliary verbs in Persian language: šodan, budan, tavānestan, xāstan, gozāstan (=ejazeh dādan), bāyastan, šāyastan and mānestan. He believes that xāstan can be used in two different meanings: first, when it is used as the future marker, it has the role of an auxiliary verb; second, by the meaning of inclination, it would be regarded somehow as a lexical verb and it is accompanied with a lexical verb. In this case it should be inflected for all phi features in all paradigms:

(11)

xāh-am raft .  
will-1sg go-1sg  
(I will go)

(12)

mi-xāh-am be-rav-am.  
IND-Will-1sg SUBJ-go-1sg  
(I will go).

Since there is no agreement among Persian linguists regarding auxiliary verbs' classification, and in order not to be involved in this matter, admitting the distinction between lexical and auxiliary verbs, authors postulate six auxiliary verbs in Persian:

Sodan ('would'), kardan ('to do'), tavānestan ('can'), xāstan ('will'), bāyestan ('should/ought to'), and dāstan ('be'). It would be illustrated that the strength of these verbs, in being lexical or non-lexical, plays a crucial role in prefixation of negative element to the verbs. This characteristic would be represented as a continuum in following pages.

#### 4. Negative Prefix in Persian Language

##### 4.1 Standard negative markers

###### 4.1.1 Lexical verbs

In Persian, 'na-', as a negative prefix, applies to all simple verbs in imperative sentences except progressive structures. In progressive mood, its allomorph, 'ne-' applies as a negative prefix. Negation in this language is done by adding negative prefix to the verb stem, and, in such a condition, stress would be placed on the negative prefix.

(13)  
man ne- mi- dān -am. (Intransitive durative)  
I NEG-IND-know-1sg

(I don't know).

(14)  
man qazā ne- mi- xor- am. (Transitive durative)  
I food NEG-IND-eat-1sg

(I don't eat).

(15)  
u be madrese na-raft. (Simple past)  
S/He to school NEG-go-PAST-3sg

('S/He didn't go to school').

Example (16) shows that, in existential verbs (ast = be) and all the verbs that initiate with a vowel, negative prefix is pronounced in PF as follow :

(16)  
na- ast → ni-st  
NEG-be-3sg → NEG-be-3sg

Negative prefix 'na-', as the result of vowel harmony between the initial vowel of existential verb (ast= be) and the final vowel of the negative prefix, would be pronounced as 'ni-', and the negative prefix is realized as a part of the stem of the verb, by eliminating the initial vowel:

(17)  
u mariz ni-st .  
S/He sick NEG-be-3sg

(S/He is not sick.)

In the same way, as the result of vowel harmony with the final vowel of the negative prefix 'na-' in all the verbs initiating with a vowel, a hiatus consonant (y) is inserted between them, like āmadan ('to come'), āvardan ('to bring'), and āmorzidan ('to forgive').

(18)  
na-ā → na-y-ā  
NEG -come → NEG - y-come-2sg-IMP  
(Don't come!)

###### 4.1.2 Compound verbs

In Persian language, compound verbs are made by combination of noun, adjective, adverb, and preposition with the stem of a verb. The negative prefix, in all these mentioned cases, comes between the two parts of the compound verb, and is attaches to stem of the verb as follow:

(19)

man diruz divār rā rang zad-am.

I yesterday wall OBJ paint-1sg-PAST

('I painted the wall yesterday').

(20)

man diruz divār rā rang na-zad-am .

I yesterday wall OBJ paint-NEG-1sg-PAST

('I did not paint the wall yesterday').

(21)

Ali az kāre xud xejālat kešid .

Ali of action his ashamed -3sg-PAST

('Ali was ashamed of his action').

(22)

Ali az kāre xud xejālat na-kešid .

Ali of action his ashamed NEG-3sg-PAST

('Ali was not ashamed of his action').

(23)

Maryam az qabuliy- e Ali xošhāl šod .

Maryam from acceptance-EZA Ali happy become-3sg-PAST

('Maryam became happy from Ali's acceptance.')

(24)

Maryam az qabuliy e Ali xoshāl na-šod .

Maryam from acceptance-EZA Ali happy NEG-become-3sg-PAST

('Maryam did not become happy from Ali's acceptance').

(25)

Ali az madrese dar raft.

Ali from school escape-3sg-PAST

('Ali escaped from school').

(26)

Ali az madrese dar na-raft

Ali from school escape NEG-3sg-PAST

('Ali didn't escape from school').

#### 4.1.3 Copula verbs

The negative prefix 'na-', in present tense of the copula of 'astan' (to be), is pronounced as 'ni-', the same as the existential form of this verb. However, in past tense, this verb changes to 'bud' (was/were) and the negative prefix 'na-' remains without any changes, since 'bud' is not initiated with a vowel:

(27)

a. U ostād-e xub-i ast .

S/He professor-EZA good-DEF be-3sg –PAST

('S/He was a good professor').

b. u ostād-e xub-i nist .

S/He professor-EZA good-DEF NEG-be-3sg –PAST

('S/He is not a good professor').

(28)

a. Maryam dar javāni zan-i zibā bud .

Maryam in youth woman-DEF beautiful be-3sg-PAST

('Maryam was beautiful in her youth.')

b. Maryam dar javāni zan -i zibā na-bud .

Maryam in youth woman-DEF beautiful NEG- be-3sg-PAST

('Maryam was not beautiful in her youth').

#### 4.1.4 Imperatives

Negation, in imperative sentences, is always done by adding negative prefix 'na-' to the stem of the verb:

(29)

xor → na- xor

eat → NEG-eat-1sg-IMP

('Don't eat!')

(30)

ro → na-ro

go → NEG-go-1sg-IMP

('Don't go!')

Moreover, this prefix has an allomorph 'ma-', which is mostly applied in verse; nowadays, they are not used colloquially:

(31)

begu → na-gu (= ma-gu (

tell-2sg-IMP → NEG-tell-2sg-IMP(NEG-tell-2sg-IMP (

('Don't tell!')

#### 4.1.5 Auxiliary verbs in negative sentences

In Persian language, auxiliary verbs such as *šodan* ('would'), *kardan* ('to do'), *tavānestan* ('can'), *xāstan* ('will'), *bāyestan* ('should/ought to'), and *dāštan* ('be') accompany main verbs. In unmarked forms, the auxiliary is the proper host for the negative prefix .

(32)

a. man mi-xāh-am be-rav-am.

I IND-will-1sg SUBJ-go-1sg

('I will go'.)

b. man ne-mi-xāh-am be-rav-am.

I NEG-IND-will-1sg go-1sg

('I will not go').

(33)

a. Ali bāyad dars be-xān-ad.

Ali should lesson SUBJ-study-3sg

('Ali should study').

b. ali na-bāyad dars be-xān-ad.

Ali NEG-should lesson SUBJ-study-3sg

('Ali should not study').

(34)

a. Maryam mi-tavān-ad doruq be-guy-ad.

Maryam IND-can-3sg lie SUBJ- tell-3sg

('Maryam can lie').

b. maryam ne-mi-tavān-ad doruq be-guy-ad.

Maryam NEG-IND-can-3sg lie SUBJ-tell-3sg

('Maryam cannot lie').

However, in the marked cases, stress and intonation have specific effect on negation; there is a particular collocation between negative and focal elements. This phenomenon is known in English as well.

(35)

I want to go.

(36)

I don't want to go.

(37)

I want not to go

As the examples (35-37), it's obvious that when the main verb is emphasized, the negative prefix attaches to the



main verb instead of auxiliary .

Now, it is time to see how the attachment of negative prefix to the auxiliaries *šodan* ('would'), *kardan* ('to do'), *tavānestan* ('can'), *xāstan* ('will'), *bāyestan* ('should/ oughtto'), and *dāštan* ('be') takes place informally in Persian:

*Tavānestan* ('can')

(38)

man mi-tun-am be-ram .

I IND-can-1sg SUBJ-go-1sg

('I can go').

(39)

man ne-mi-tun-am be-ram .

I NEG-IND-can-1sg SUBJ-go-1sg

('I cannot go').

(40)

man mi-tun-am NA-RAM .

I IND-can-1sg NEG-go-1sg

(\*I can, not to go').

(41)

man NE-MI-TUN-AM NA-RAM .

I NEG-IND-can-1sg NEG-go-1sg

(\*I cannot, not to go'.)

*šodan* ('would')

(42)

mi-še be-ri ?

IND-would SUBJ-go-2sg

('Would you go?')

(43)

mi-še na-ri ?

IND-would NEG-go-2sg

('Wouldn't you go?')

(44)

ne-mi-še BE-RI ?

NEG-would SUBJ-go-2sg

('Wouldn't you go?')

(45)

ne-mi-še NA-RI ?

NEG-IND-would NEG-go-2sg

(\*'Wouldn't you not to go?')

*bāyestan* ('should/ought to')

(46)

man bāyad be-ram .

I should SUBJ-go-1sg

('I should go').

(47)

man na-bāyad be-ram .

I NEG-should SUBJ-go-1sg

('I shouldn't go').

(48)

man bāyad NA-RAM .

I should NEG-go-1sg

('I should go').

(49)

man NA-BĀYAD NA-RAM .

I NEG-should NEG-go-1sg

('I shouldn't not to go').

d. kardan ('may')  
(50)  
na-kone be- gi .  
NEG-may SUBJ-say-1sg  
(\*May not say).  
(51)  
NA-KONE NA-GI .  
NEG-may NEG-say-1sg  
(\*May not, not to say).

The negative form of auxiliary 'kardan' is used as 'nakone' and, in this case, this is only the main verb which can be used in negative or positive form .

xāstan (' will')  
(It can be used as an auxiliary verb only when it is the future marker.)  
(52)  
man xāh-am raft.  
I will-1sg go-1sg  
(\*I will go').  
(53)  
man na-xāh-am raft.  
I NEG-will-1sg go-1sg  
(\*I will not go').  
(54)  
man NA-XĀH-AM NA-RAFT.  
I NEG-will-1sg NEG-go-1sg  
(\*I will not, not go').

\* (55)  
man xāh-am NA-RAFT .  
I will-1sg NEG-go-1sg  
(\*I will, not go').  
dāštan ('be')  
(56) dāšt-am mi-raft-am .  
be-1sg-PAST IND-go-1sg-PAST  
(\*I was going').

The auxiliary 'dāštan' is used only in its positive form and just with a positive main verb.

The examples show that auxiliary verbs, with respect to their strength of being auxiliaries, can be considered as a continuum. In other words, tavānestan, šodan, and bāyestan, which are not completely converted to auxiliaries yet and still have the footprints of lexical verbs, are on the one side of this continuum. On the other hand, the verb dāštan is on the opposite side, which is totally an auxiliary verb.



#### 4.1.6 The Other negative elements

The prefixes 'na-', 'nā-', 'qeir-' and 'bi-' are used for derivation of negative items from positive ones. In the same vein, English language makes use of the prefixes 'un', 'in', 'im' and 'il'. The prefix 'bi' in Persian is equal to the suffix '-less' in English.

(57)  
a. Ali šakibā ast.  
Ali patient be-3sg-PRES  
(\*Ali is patient.)

- b. Ali nā- šakibā ast.  
Ali NEG-patient be-3sg-PRES  
(‘Ali is impatient.’)
- (58)
- a. Maryam ādam-e bā-savād-i ast.  
Maryam person-EZA literate-DEF be-3sg-PRES  
(‘Maryam is literate.’)
- b. Maryam ādam-e bi-savād-i ast .  
Maryam person-EZA illiterate-DEF be-3sg-PRES  
(‘Maryam is illiterate.’)
- (59)
- a. In qazā qābel-e xordan ast .  
this food-3sg able-EZA eat be-3sg  
(‘This food is eatable.’)
- b. In qazā qeire-qābele xordan ast .  
this food-3sg unable-EZA eat be-3sg  
(‘This food is uneatable.’)
- (60)
- a. In ketāb -e bā-arzeš-i ast.  
this book -3sg-EZA worthy-DEF be-3sg  
(‘This book is worthy.’)
- b. In ketāb-e bi-arzeš-i ast.  
this book -3sg-EZA NEG-worthy-DEF be-3sg  
(‘This book is not worthy.’)

#### 4.1.7 Affective and Partitive expressions

Negative quantifiers and adverbs in Persian such as *hič-kas*, *hič-koja*, *be-hič-vajh*, *hič-čiz*, and *hargez* can be used in negative sentences. The interesting point is the difference between these elements with their English counterparts; that is, negative adverbs in English such as *never*, *nobody*, *nowhere*, *anything*, and *nothing* are inherently negative and negate the main verb in the sentence. Klima (1964) calls the negative elements and the quantifiers, affective and partitive expressions, respectively. Klima believes that partitive expressions should be asymmetrically c-commanded by affective expressions (Radford, 2004). Since English is a SVO language, Klima’s suggestion is satisfied. On the other hand, Persian, in unmarked cases, is SOV, with a rather free scrambling. Therefore, the asymmetric c-command does not work in this language.

In Persian, these elements in negative sentences should be accompanied with the negated main verb as well. Nevertheless, the outcome will be ungrammatical:

- (61)  
*Hič-kas be madrese na-raft .*  
no body to school NEG-go-3sg-PAST  
(‘Nobody has gone to school.’)
- (62)  
*U hargez doruq ne-mi-gu-yad .*  
s/he never lie NEG-IND-tell-3sg  
(‘S/he never lies.’)
- (63)  
*Maryam hič čiz ne-mi-xāh-ad be-xar-ad .*  
Maryam nothing NEG-IND-will-3sg SUBJ-buy-3sg  
(‘Maryam is not going to buy anything.’)

But in English this restriction does not exist. In Persian, in the presence of the negative adverbs and quantifiers, a negated verb should exist, including main or auxiliary. In unmarked sentences, there is a tendency for the negative prefix to attach to the auxiliary.

#### 4.1.8 Negation of regular quantifiers

Davison (1987), quoted by Reesink (1986), points out that SOV languages generally do not allow negation of regular quantifiers. This is supported by Payne (1985) who notes that not all languages permits negations like 'not many' and 'not all'. He notes Persian (which is an Indo-Iranian language) as one of these languages (Kahrel, 1994). Therefore, in standard Persian, there is no way to use negative element with regular quantifiers like *har*, *hame*, *bese-yari*, and *xe-yli*.

\*(61)

na hame-y-e kasâni ke da'vat šodand , âmad-and .  
NEG all-hiatus-EZA people that invite-PASS come-PAST-3pl  
(‘Not all the people which have been invited, came.’)

Authors believe that, to account for this kind of restriction in Persian, one should say that auxiliaries carry strong NEG feature in the negative sentences; nevertheless, it is the main verb which carry this feature .

Negative element in unmarked negative sentences, would be presented as follow:

- a) na-: all simple verbs - declarative sentences
- b) ne-: verbs with durative mood
- c) ni-: existential and copula verbs
- d) ma-: imperative verbs and literal texts

#### 5. Negative Prefix Position in Persian Based on Radford

Radford (2004) posits that an interrogative C is filled by a null question particle Q, and that Q attracts auxiliaries; therefore, auxiliaries move from T to C to attach to it, filling the strong C position. One possibility is to follow Chomsky (1995) in supposing that Q is affixal in nature and attracts an overt head to attach to it. Since affixes generally only attach to a particular kind of word (e.g. the past-tense-d affix can attach to verbs but not nouns, prepositions or adjectives), and since only tensed auxiliaries move to C, one implementation of this idea suggested in Chomsky (1993) is to suppose that Q carries a strong tense feature, and, hence, attracts the head T constituent of TP to move from T to C to attach to the invisible Q affix in C) (Radford, 2004).

(65)

- a. Will you marry me ?
- b.

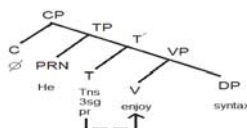


It should be noted that for this movement T must be c-commanded by C. Another example that Radford (2004) points out is the subject-verb agreement in absence of auxiliary; as a result, there is no overt auxiliary in T. T, in present-day English, contains a weak Tns affix (more specifically, an affix with a weak V-feature), and a weak Tns affix cannot attract a verb to move from V to T (as opposed to Elizabethan English in which verbs use to move). However, in present-day English, the main verb carries strong Aux-feature, which causes lowering of Tns affix on to the main verbs. Radford adds that in such auxiliariiless clauses, the weak tens affix in T undergoes the morphological operation of Affix Hopping in the PF component (Radford, 2004).

The interesting characteristic of this proposal is that, affix hopping occurs in the opposite direction of movements which used to be considered in minimalist program. It means that, movements in minimalist program are a kind of merging from bottom of the tree diagram toward its top. But affix hopping takes place vice versa (from upper head to lower one), lowering the affix on to the main verb in the manner shown by the arrow in (66) below:

(66)

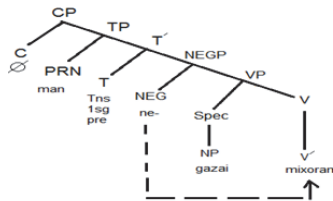
- a. He enjoys syntax
- b.



Thus, based on Radford's suggestion, particular constituents carry specific properties which attract other particular elements or cause them to move. According to the adjustment proposed by Pollock (1989), in which IP has been split into two smaller phrases, i.e. TP and AgrP, and considering other independent syntactic nodes, i.e. NegP, which is located between TP and VP (Dabir-Moghaddam, 2004), Persian negative sentences would be presented as follow:

(67)

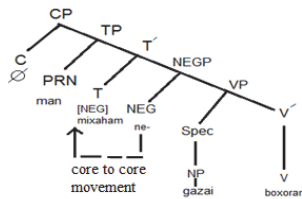
- a. man qazâ-i ne-mi-xor-am  
 I food-INDEF NEG-IND -eat-1sg  
 ('I do not eat food.')
- b.



In (67) the main verb carries strong NEG feature which causes the negative prefix to attract to the verb, which is done by virtue of affix hopping.

(68)

- a. man qazâ-i ne-mi-xâh-am be-xor-am  
 I food-INDEF NEG-IND-will-1sg SUBJ-eat-1sg  
 ('I will not eat food.')
- b.



In (68) there are both main and auxiliary verb. In unmarked cases the NEG feature on the auxiliary is stronger than this feature on the main verb, which can attract the NEG feature on to T. Hence, 'a head to head movement' occurs.

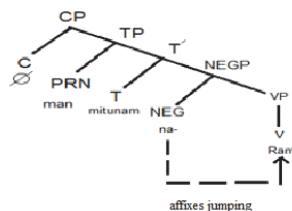
In Persian marked negative sentences, despite the presence of the auxiliary, and as a result of the main verb carrying stressed emphasis, the negative prefix is attached to the main verb through affix hopping, not to the auxiliary. In the examples below, the emphatic stress is shown by capital letters .

(69)

- man mi-tun-am NA-R-AM .  
 I IND-can-1sg NEG-go-1sg  
 (\*\*I can, not to go.)

The tree diagram for (69) would be as (70):

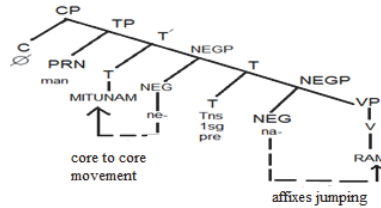
(70)



In (69) the main verb is emphasized, so the negative prefix is attached to the main verb instead of the auxiliary. On the contrary, we have (71):

(71)

- a. man NE-MI-TUN-AM NA-R-AM .  
I NEG-IND-can-1sg NEG-go-1sg  
(\*'I can not, not to go.)
- b.



In (71) both the main and auxiliary verbs are emphasized. In this case, two NEG phrases are postulated, which undergo two different processes, i.e. a head to head movement for auxiliary, and an affix hopping for the main verb.

## 6. Conclusion

It can be concluded that in Persian negative sentences both auxiliary and main verbs carry strong NEG feature, which causes the negative prefix move from the head of the NegP. This lowering movement is subject to affix hopping when the main verb is involved; on the other hand, whenever the negative element has to attach to an auxiliary (in unmarked cases), the movement will be a kind of head to head movement, and the landing site for the moved negative head is the head of TP, i.e. T, which carries an overt auxiliary. In both operations, prefixation takes place. The last but not the least, Persian data analysis prove that Radford's (2004) proposal is properly applicable in Persian.

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