Chapter 6

The syntax of negation in Anii

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This paper presents original field work data from the Bassila variety of Anii. We provide the first description of the Anii negation system and its interactions with indefinite noun phrases. We further analyze this apparently bipartite system as one in which a semantically negative preverbal particle obligatorily co-occurs with a postverbal negative focus marker, which does not itself contribute a semantic negation. We discuss the implications of this for our broader understanding of bipartite negation and the typology of negation systems more generally, suggesting a close relationship between focus and negation in systems such as the one found in Anii.

1 Introduction

In this paper we describe and analyze the syntax of negation in the Bassila dialect of Anii, a Ghana-Togo Mountain (possibly Kwa) language spoken on the border between Togo and Benin in West Africa. While previous studies (e.g., Heine 1968, Schwarz & Fiedler 2011, Morton 2012, 2014, Fiedler 2021) have explored various aspects of Anii grammar, phonology, and information structure, the negation system has not yet been fully described.

Using data from original field work, we illustrate the basic syntax of the negation system, and show how indefinite noun phrases interact with negation to yield certain types of negative meaning. Moving beyond these basic descriptions, we further show how, while at first glance Anii appears to fit in the category of languages with a bipartite negation system, with two negative particles marking a single semantic negation, its similarity to other bipartite negation systems

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such as French may be only apparent. We propose an alternative hypothesis in which the postverbal particle does not directly contribute to the semantic negation of the clause, but rather marks the clause as obligatorily focus-marked. The data and analysis provide new information on this relatively understudied language, which has the potential to inform broad and longstanding questions on the syntax of negation and the nature of focus more generally.

2 Data and methods

The original data presented in this paper come from recorded spontaneous conversations, written texts, and planned elicitation sessions with Anii native speakers. The elicitation data presented here were largely collected through in-depth sessions with 5 speakers, and some of the more complex cases were checked with 3–4 other speakers. There were relatively few cases of disagreement, and if these arose during elicitation sessions, speakers worked them out with each other and consulted elders in the community to resolve confusion. Elicitations were conducted primarily in French, which speakers learned as an academic language. They are all multilingual and report high levels of switching between Anii, French, and other languages in their daily lives. All are literate in Anii, with high levels of metalinguistic awareness. Elicitation sessions therefore involved collaborative transcription between the interviewer and the research participants. For each variable, participants were asked to translate constructed French examples into Anii, or to choose between minimal pairs or triplets of Anii sentences. Methods for conducting the elicitation sessions adhered as closely as possible to the Small N Acceptability judgment Paradigm (SNAP) (Mahowald et al. 2016): 5–10 examples were included for each aspect of negation observed (e.g., 5 fragment answers to *wh*-questions), and examples were presented to at least 5 people.

3 The basics of Anii negation syntax

The basic word order in Anii is SVO, with obligatory agreement with the subject noun-class, as shown in (1).[1,2]

[1]For expository purposes, the data in this paper are given in Anii orthography (Zaske & Atti Kalam 2014) unless otherwise noted. The use of orthography allows us to illustrate the relevant information without introducing complex yet orthogonal linguistic information such as the interaction of lexical and grammatical tone in verb stems. More information on the phonetics and phonology of Anii can be found in Morton (2014).

[2]Note that for noun class CL, we follow the noun-class naming conventions in the Anii orthography (Zaske & Atti Kalam 2014), where the noun classes are named with letters.

(1) a-sna a kə u-bu.
CL.∃-dog AGR.CL.∃ hit CL.E-snake
'The dog hit the snake.'

Like many other negation systems (e.g., French, Jespersen 1917; Gbe, Aboh 2010; among many others; see Bell 2004 for a review), the negation system in Anii can be described as bipartite, with both a preverbal negative marker *k*V and a postverbal negative marker *na* that obligatorily co-occur in a negative sentence (Morton 2014, Schwarz & Fiedler 2011).[3] The example in (2) illustrates how these markers typically appear relative to basic Anii word order, where the subject is a full nominal phrase.[4]

(2) Ba-smprə kə ba bʊŋa wʊɖa ɪkashɪ na.
CL.Y-women NEG AGR.CL.Y FAR.PST have CL.B.strength NEG
'Women didn't have power.'

The preverbal negative marker *k*V, realized as *kə* in (2), appears after the full nominal subject *basmprə* 'women', and precedes the agreement marker *ba*.

When the subject is not a full nominal phrase, the preverbal negative marker *k*V appears preceding the subject marker. This is illustrated in (3)–(4).

(3) Kə ba na nyəm na.
NEG 3PL.IRR IPFV steal.IRR NEG
'One doesn't steal.'

(4) Kə ba na kiɖe bʊ-ja na…
NEG 3PL.IRR IPFV watch.IRR CL.ƱƱ-years NEG
'They didn't look at age…'

It should be noted that there are two instances of the particle *na* in (3) and (4): the imperfective marker, which precedes the verb, and the postverbal (and in these cases sentence-final) negative marker. These two instances of *na* are readily distinguishable, however, since they are not homophonous: the imperfective marker is low-toned and the postverbal negative *na* is high-toned.[5]

[3]See Morton (2014: 376-377) for an analysis of the constraints on vowel insertion for *k*V.

[4]The marker *bʊŋa* is glossed as far past, but is not a tense marker. For further information on this marker, please see Morton (2014).

[5]There is a *na* with a high tone meaning 'and' or 'with' that is in fact homophonous with the postverbal negative marker, but it is easily distinguished from this marker by its position in the sentence.

Another basic element of Anii negated sentences is the presence of irrealis morphology. This can be observed by comparing the simple declarative in example (5a) with its negated form in (5b). (These data are given in IPA to illustrate relevant tonal differences, setting aside orthogonal surface-level phonetic implementation. See Morton (2014) for more detailed data and discussion.)

(5) a. [ń sàrà]
1SG.SBJ walk
'I walked.'

b. [kə̀ má sàrá ná]
NEG 1SG.SBJ.IRR walk.IRR NEG
'I did not walk'

Contrasting (5a) with (5b), we see that the negated form has a distinct subject marker and a high tone on the verb. Morton & Blanchette (submitted) analyze these elements as components of a single irrealis morpheme, which is introduced in the head of a modal phrase. (See Cristofaro 2012, de Haan 2012 for a review of irrealis.) In conjunction with the distribution of subjects, this leads us to propose that the preverbal negative marker is introduced in a negative phrase between TP and the irrealis-introducing modal phrase, as in Figure 1.

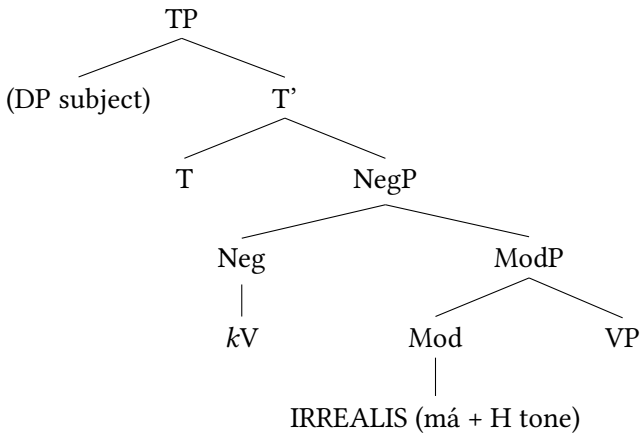

Figure 1: Structure of the Anii Clause

In Figure 1, the preverbal marker *k*V is introduced in the head of a negative phrase (NegP). This NegP is selected by a tense phrase (TP), and it selects for the irrealis-introducing modal phrase. It is this selection relation that Morton &

Blanchette (submitted) argue serves to explain the obligatory co-occurrence of negation and irrealis in Anii sentences. (The Anii system of irrealis marking and Morton and Blanchette's formal analysis of it are complex and it is beyond the scope of this paper to include further detail here.)

4 Indefinite noun phrases and negation

As noted by van der Auwera & Van Alsenoy (2016), while indefinite noun phrases differ crosslinguistically in terms of how they interact with negation, these interactions are often excluded from descriptions of negation systems. However, the behavior of indefinites gives us important insight into how negation systems work. Languages may or may not display Negative Concord, in which morphologically negative noun phrases and negative markers enter into a dependency relation and contribute to the same semantic negation. French (Déprez 1999) is an example of a Negative Concord language:

(6) Je ne vois rien.
1SG NEG see nothing
'I see nothing.'

In example (6), the negative particle *ne* and the noun phrase *rien* 'nothing' contribute to the same semantic negation. Such Negative Concord systems are relatively common across the world's languages, particularly in Romance, though, as van der Auwera & Van Alsenoy (2016) show, they are not the predominant pattern crosslinguistically.

Languages may also have noun phrases that have no overtly negative morphology, but which are sensitive to the polarity of a clause. Such noun phrases, known as Negative Polarity Items, appear to require the presence of a preceding and c-commanding negation or downward entailing operator (Ladusaw 1979). The example in (7) (from Collins et al. 2017: 2) illustrates a Negative Polarity Item construction in Ewegbe:

(7) Kofí *(mé)-kpɔ́ ame aɖéké o
Kofi NEG-see person any NEG
'Kofi didn't see anybody.'

In (7), the phrase *áɖéké* 'any' is dependent on the preceding negative marker *mé*, without which the sentence is rendered unacceptable. On the basis of data such as this, forms like *áɖéké* are hypothesized to be Negative Polarity Items that partake in a syntactic dependency with a preceding negation.

Given the possibilities for interactions between noun phrases and negation, it is relevant to ask whether dependencies such as Negative Concord and Negative Polarity are present in Anii. The results of our research suggest that Anii has neither a Negative Concord nor a Negative Polarity system, and it also does not have negative quantifiers that independently contribute negative meaning to a clause (e.g., English *nothing*). Instead, phrasal negative meanings are derived through interactions with preverbal *k*V and a set of non-negative indefinites.

Table 1 contains an inventory of common indefinite noun phrases, and provides information about their morphological composition. Many of the forms include the morpheme *ɖən* 'one', which can also be used freely as an indefinite article.[6] [7]

Table 1: Composition of Anii indefinites

Form	Root(s)	Translation
akoɖən	*ako* 'thing', ***ɖən*** **'one'**	'something'
arɛɖən	*arɛ* 'person', ***ɖən*** **'one**	'someone'
gaɖən	***ɖən*** **'one'**	'something'
gaɖu gaɖən	*ɖu* 'place', ***ɖən*** **'one'**	'somewhere'
ɔɖən	***ɖən*** **'one'**	'someone'
ɔwor	*wor* 'neighbor'	'someone' (friend)
gɪrɛpi	*gɪpi* 'seed', *arɛ* 'person'	'big/strong person'

Anii indefinite noun phrases such as those in Table 1 may appear under negation, and they may also appear in sentences with no preceding negation or other downward entailing operator, as in the examples in (8).

[6] While it appears that the initial morpheme in Anii indefinites is a noun-class marker, this may be only apparent. For example, if *akoɖən* and *gaɖən* both mean 'something', it is not clear why they do not share an initial morpheme. On the other hand, when used as an indefinite article in an analytic noun phrase, the morpheme *ɖən* co-occurs with the class marker of the noun it describes. We set this issue aside here.

[7] While we ultimately conclude that Anii does not have a general Negative Concord or a Negative Polarity system, it is possible that the form *gɪrɛpi* 'big/strong person', which derives from a root with opposite meaning (*gɪpi* 'seed', i.e., something or someone very small), evolved into its current meaning through interactions with the negation system. Our research further suggests that synchronically this form may have some polarity sensitivity. Since this appears to be a peripheral item that does not reflect the central tendencies of the Anii negation system and its interactions with indefinites, we set this matter aside for future research.

(8) a. K' a shee amʊ akoɖən na.
NEG 3SG.SBJ.IRR give.IRR 1SG.OBJ something NEG
'She did not give me anything.'
Lit. 'She did not give me something.'

b. A shee amʊ akoɖən.
3SG.SBJ give 1SG.OBJ something
'She gave me something.'

In (8a) the phrase *akoɖən*, 'something' is preceded and c-commanded by the negative particle *k*V, and the prose translation reflects a meaning equivalent to the English Negative Polarity Item 'anything'. However, as (8b) shows, this same phrase can also be used with no preceding negation. Comparing Anii examples like (8) with Ewegbe examples such as (7), we can conclude that unlike Ewegbe, Anii indefinites are not sensitive to the polarity of the clause.

Another context type relevant to our understanding of interactions between noun phrases and the negation system is negative fragment answers to *wh*-questions. Such contexts are often used as diagnostics for polarity sensitivity, as illustrated by the following English example:

(9) What did they say? Nothing./*Anything.

In example (9), the term *anything* is unacceptable as an answer to the *wh*-question because it is not preceded by a c-commanding negation or downward entailing operator, a reflection of its polarity sensitivity. The term *nothing*, on the other hand, is perfectly acceptable in such contexts and independently contributes the meaning of a negative quantifier, in the absence of any other negation marking.

Anii indefinites can also be used as fragment answers to *wh*-questions. Since they are not polarity sensitive and have the semantics of non-negative indefinites, in order to contribute a negative meaning in these contexts, they must be accompanied by another element that negates them. Interestingly, the particle that surfaces in such cases is neither preverbal *k*V nor postverbal *na*, but rather *baa*, as shown in (10).

(10) Context: What did they say?

a. *(baa) akoɖən
baa something
'nothing'

b. (*baa) fɔɪ
baa zero
'nothing'

Contrasting (10a) with (10b), we see that the indefinite *akoɖən* 'something' requires the particle *baa* to trigger the negative meaning 'nothing', whereas non-indefinite *fɔɪ* 'zero' is incompatible with *baa*, since it inherently contributes the meaning of 'nothing'. At first glance such examples suggest that *baa* is contributing a semantic negation. However, independent evidence suggests that *baa* may not actually be negative. Consider the examples in (11).

(11) a. Context: Describing a trip from Bassila to Cotonou (the biggest city in Benin)
Gɪ ta kpa **baa** m-pa m-paŋa njɪ,
1PL.SBJ if/when arrive baa CL.Ɛ.-village AGR.CL.Ɛ-each CL.Ɛ.FOC
aŋ tɪ taba, ba-ɖe ba tɪ lə amʊ ka
1SG.EMPH IPFV ask CL.Y-these AGR.CL.Y IPFV say 1SG.OBJ POSS
n-nyɪɖa
CL.Ɛ.-name
'When we would arrive at any village, I would ask and they would tell me its name.'

b. Context: Describing mango season
Ʊ ta kpa **baa** ŋka na, ɪ-maŋgo ba ɖa
2PL.SBJ if/when arrive baa where FOC CL.W-mango AGR.CL.W be.there
ɖa
be.there
'When you went anywhere, there would be mangoes.'

In examples (11a) and (11b), *baa* is not behaving as a negation marker. Instead, it seems to be acting in concert with another element, *mpaŋa* 'each' in (11a) and *ŋka na* 'where' in (11b), to refer to a set of elements: the set of all villages in (11a), and the set of all places in (11b). Moreover, speakers agree that the *baa* that appears in examples such as those in (11) is the same *baa* that appears in negative fragment answers such as those in (10).

Given the data above, we might say that the particle *baa* behaves like a non-polarity sensitive version of English *any*, which can also take on the meaning of a universal quantifier (as in free choice *any*, Dayal 2004), a negative quantifier (as in negative polarity item constructions) or a non-negative indefinite (e.g., under conditionals) (Collins & Postal 2014). Providing the precise syntax and semantics

of *baa* is beyond the scope of this paper. For now we merely observe that it acts as a negator of indefinites in fragment answers to yield the semantics of a negative quantifier. Future investigation of this particle can build on the description of indefinites provided in this paper, and has the potential to inform theories of ellipsis and quantification more generally.

Scope relations are another point of potential crosslinguistic variation for interactions between negation and indefinites (Matthewson 1998). In Anii, non-negative indefinites in matrix subject position may take wide or narrow scope with respect to negation, as shown in (12).

(12) a. Context: A woman washes her clothes, puts them in a basket, and hangs them out to dry, but accidentally leaves one washed item in the basket. When she discovers the item she neglected to hang, she says:
Akoɖən k’ ɪ kʊ na.
something NEG 3SG.INANIM be.dry NEG
‘Something is not dry.’

b. Context: A woman washes her clothes and puts them in a basket, but forgets to hang them out to dry. When she discovers them later, she says:
Akoɖən k’ ɪ kʊ na.
something NEG 3SG.INANIM be.dry NEG
‘Nothing is dry.’

In (12a), the indefinite *akoɖən* ‘something’ precedes the negation and takes surface scope, yielding a meaning in which there exists something that is not dry (∃ > ¬). In (12b), the indefinite still precedes the negation, but the context yields an inverse scope reading in which the negation, and not the indefinite, takes wide scope (¬ > ∃). In this case, the sentence is more readily translated as equivalent to an English (or a French) sentence with a negative subject (‘nothing’).

Indefinites in Anii are also used in constructions that would be stated as *there*-existentials in languages like English and French. The example in (13) contains the indefinite *gaɖu gaɖən* ‘somewhere’ in subject position.

(13) Ga-ɖu ga-ɖən ka ga ɖa a-shee sukuru k’
CL.C-place CL.C-one NEG AGR.CL.C be.there.IRR INORD-give school POSS
ʊ-pi a-cə tɪ lee sukuru na
CL.A-child INORD-go finally do school NEG
‘There was no place for the schoolchildren to go study.’
Lit: ‘Somewhere was not there for the schoolchildren to go study.’

Example (13) is interpreted similarly to (12b), with the negation taking wide scope over the indefinite *ga-ɖu ga-ɖən* 'somewhere', with a translation roughly equivalent to 'nowhere'.

5 The position of the postverbal marker

We now provide an initial description of the syntax of the postverbal marker *na*. Example (14) contains two negative sentences with adverbial adjuncts (*guyo laŋ* 'on the tree' in the first sentence, and *atəŋ* 'on the ground' in the second). In both sentences, the particle *na* follows the adjunct.

(14) Ka a sə [gʊ-yo laŋ] na, ka a sə [atəŋ] na.
NEG 3SG.SBJ sit.IRR CL.Ɛ-tree on NEG NEG 3SG.SBJ sit.IRR on.the.ground NEG
'He didn't sit on a tree, he didn't sit on the ground.'

Unlike in (14), in cases where an adverbial contributes a durational meaning, *na* may precede it. Durational adverbial phrases tend to be phonologically heavy in Anii, as with the phrase *halı a-ŋɔrɔ a-pə́ləmə* 'for the whole month' in example (15):[8]:

(15) Kali k' a nyem na k' a shıŋ jı ʊ-jɪʊ na [halı a-ŋɔrɔ a-pə́ləmə].
Kali NEG 3SG.SBJ.IRR drink.IRR and NEG 3SG.IRR either eat.IRR CL.E-food NEG since CL.A-month AGR.CL.A-entire
'Kali didn't drink or eat [for the whole month].'

In the interpretation of (15), the adverb is outside of the scope of negation: there was a whole month that was such that Kali did not eat or drink. This suggests that the position of the adverbial could be motivated by scope concerns. However, the following data illustrate that this is not the case:

(16) a. Arɛɖən ka kɔɔ tʊr gʊ-bɔ ŋgʊ-ɖe na bʊ-ja bʊ-nyɪʊ.
no-one NEG again read.IRR CL.Ɛ-paper CL.Ɛ-that NEG CL.Ʊ-years AGR.CL.Ʊ-two
'No one has read that newspaper for two years.'

[8]This example is particularly interesting since it shows two *k*V markers with one *na*, and involves VP coordination. These phenomena are discussed in more detail in Section 6 below.

b. Arɛɖən ka kɔɔ tʊr gʊ-bɔ ŋgʊ-ɖe bʊ-ja
no-one NEG again read.IRR CL.Ɛ-paper CL.Ɛ-that CL.Ʊ-years
bʊ-nyɪʊ na.
AGR.CL.Ʊ-two NEG
'No one has read that newspaper for two years.'

While example (16a), with *na* preceding the adverbial, is the preferred variant, speakers also allow for the order in (16b). In both cases, the adverbial is interpreted outside the scope of negation: there have been two years during which no one read the newspaper. This suggests that the appearance of *na* preceding durational adverbs is not motivated by scope. Below in Section 6 we propose a syntactic analysis that is compatible with the assumption that this positioning is instead due to the phonological heaviness of the durational adverbial phrase.

We now turn to the position of the postverbal particle in questions. Polar questions in Anii obligatorily occur with the clause-final question particle *aa*. When negated, *na* immediately precedes the question particle:

(17) a. Ʊ ce Kʊtɔnʊ aa?
2SG go Cotonou Q
'Did you go to Cotonou?'
b. K' á ce Kʊtɔnʊ na aa?
NEG 2SG.IRR go.IRR Cotonou NEG Q
'Did you not go to Cotonou?'

Examples such as (17) illustrate how Anii shows some behaviors that align it with some of the geographically proximate and likely (though not closely) related Gbe languages as described in Aboh (2010). In these languages, a series of particles marking elements generally understood to be part of the C-domain, such as topic, focus, and question markers (Rizzi 1997), cluster together toward the end of the clause. In languages with a postverbal negative particle, including those with an apparently bipartite negation system similar to Anii, the postverbal particle also immediately precedes these elements. Example (18), taken from Aboh (2010: 123), illustrates this in Ewegbe:

(18) Kòfí mé-xlẽ àgbàlẽ ò à?
Kofi NEG-read book NEG Q
'Didn't Kofi read a book?'

The structure of Anii example (17b) appears identical to Ewegbe example (18): the postverbal negative marker immediately precedes the sentence-final question

particle. Aboh (2010: 131) takes data such as this to support the conclusion that the sentence final marker serves a pragmatic function akin to "speech act modality". (See Biberauer 2009, 2015 for a related analysis of Afrikaans, and Beyer 2009 for an analysis of links between focus and postverbal negation in a number of West African languages.) Below in Section 6, we extend this idea to Anii, proposing that, like in Ewegbe, the Anii postverbal marker is part of the C-domain, where it serves to focalize the negated proposition.

But before presenting our analysis, we illustrate the distribution of post-verbal *na* in multi-clausal sentences, beginning with a coordinate structure:

(19) a. Kə ma ŋə am-a-ŋana na, (na) kə ma shıŋ
NEG 1SG.IRR see.IRR 1SG.POSS-CL.A-mother NEG (and) NEG 1SG.IRR nor
kɔɔ rəŋə am-pal ʊ-wələ na.
again hear.IRR 1SG.POSS.CL.A-younger.sibling CL.E-voice NEG
'I didn't see my mother or hear my younger sibling.'

b. Munifatu k' a jı ʊ-jıʊ na, (na) k' a
Mounifatou NEG 3SG.IRR eat.IRR CL.E-food NEG (and) NEG 3SG.IRR
raʊ a-nyanʊ na.
wash.IRR CL.T-dishes NEG
'Mounifatou did not eat, nor did she wash the dishes'

The coordination in (19) occurs at the clausal level, and each clause contains a negated proposition. In such cases, the syntax of negation is the same as in non-coordinated structures, with a preverbal *k*V and a postverbal *na* marking each propositional negation.

Subordinate clauses can be marked in a variety of ways. The example in (20) illustrates a negated proposition with a subordinate clause introduced by the complementizer *wàà*.

(20) Context: A bird flew up to God to ask for rain to end a drought. God responds:
Aɖe ka a jɔ wàà ga-tna ka-gʊ-jarı gʊ
3SG.DEF NEG 3SG.IRR know.IRR that CL.C-earth POSS-CL.Ɛ-king AGR.CL.Ɛ
tı lige aɖe laŋ na.
IPFV remember 3SG.OBJ on NEG
'He (God) did not know that the king of the earth remembered him.'

In example (20) postverbal *na* occurs sentence finally, following the subordinated clause. The preverbal negative marker precedes the matrix verb, and the negation takes matrix scope: the act of knowing (as opposed to remembering) is negated.

When an embedded clause introduced by *wàà* is negated, as in (21), postverbal *na* again occurs at the end of the clause.

(21) Context: Nouhoum is telling a story about how he was not let into school at the proper age because he was too short, so his father had to intervene:
Ama-wɛɛ adẹ tı lə am-ı-mɛɛtr wàà k
1SG.POSS-CL.B.father 3SG.DEF IPFV say 1SG.POSS-CL.W-teachers that NEG
a lee ʊ-pi na
3SG.IRR do.IRR CL.A-child NEG
'My father told my teachers: he is not a child.'

Although the negation takes embedded scope in (21), we are unable to determine whether *na* is contained within the embedded clause. Structures with the clause subordination marker *ma* serve to inform this question.[9] In such structures, exemplified in (22), *ma* marks the end of the subordinate clause, and the beginning of the clause may also be marked with a high tone (written orthographically only on third-person pronouns). These clauses typically occur sentence-initially, as in the following non-negated example:

(22) Context: You have a tradition of eating mangoes when you are angry.
N cam ʊ-nyana ma, n kəm ı-maŋgɔ
1SG hold CL.E-anger SUB 1SG.SBJ suck CL.W-mangoes
'Since I was angry, I ate mangoes.'

In (22), the end of the clause interpreted as 'since I was angry' is marked by *ma*, which indicates its subordinate meaning relative to the matrix clause: the speaker's state of being angry happened subordinate to the eating.

When subordinate clauses with *ma* are negated, the particle *na* immediately precedes this subordination marker. Example (23) is the negated version of (22):

(23) Context: You have a tradition of eating mangoes when you are happy.
kə ma cam ʊ-nyana na ma, n kəm ı-maŋgɔ
NEG 1SG.IRR hold.IRR CL.E-anger NEG SUB 1SG.SBJ suck CL.W-mangoes
'Since I was not angry, I ate mangoes.'

[9]This *ma* is low-toned, which is different from the *ma* that is the first-person singular subject in irrealis clauses (including negative sentences). The subject marker *ma* has a high tone. This tone difference is not marked orthographically because the difference is already clear from the position in the sentence.

In (23), postverbal *na* resides at the final edge of the negated clause (a proposition), but before the clause subordination marker *ma* which links it to the matrix clause.

A similar pattern is found in relative clauses:

(24) Context: Hakimou is telling a story about how he used to play at his friend's house as a child. His friend is Fulani, a different ethnic group.
a-rɛ n-ɖee ka cee a yɔ amʊ na ma,
CL.∃-person AGR.CL.∃-REL NEG PERF 3SG.IRR know.IRR 1SG.OBJ NEG SUB
a na yɔ yɔ wàà n lee a-fələnɖja na
3SG.SBJ IPFV know know that 1SG.SBJ do/be CL.∃-Fulani.person CL.∃.FOC
'A person who didn't know me, they would think that I was a Fulani person.'

In (24), the negation scopes within the relative clause in which it resides, and *na* precedes the clause final subordination marker *ma*.

Examples such as (23) and (24) might be taken to suggest that, in general, *na* precedes the clause subordination marker. However, consider the following example:

(25) Context: Malookia is telling a story about his middle school exams. At first, the school authorities said that everyone had passed the exams, but later they announced that half those who passed actually did not, and would be returned to middle school rather than continuing to the next school level. Malookia says "But me, I knew my name would be there on the passing list." Then he continues:[10]

Amʊ-n-nyıɖa kı n ɖa m-baɖee bá
1SG.POSS-CL.F-name NEG AGR.CL.F be.there.IRR CL.F-REL 3PL.SBJ.SUB
kɔɔ na ma ma na.
return with PL SUB NEG
'My name would not be there with those that were returned.'

[10]Note that the word for 'name', *nnyıɖa*, is noun class F, so the subject here is agreeing with that word, the *n* here is low-toned, where the *n* meaning 'I' is high-toned. Note also that there is a *ma* that is a plural marker. This marker is low-toned, like the clause subordination marker, and is used to mark plurality on verbs in some cases. We have checked with multiple native speakers as to which *ma* is which, and we are clear that the clause subordination marker is the second one.

In (25), *na* follows the clause subordination marker. Note that in this case, the relative clause contains the non-negated proposition that some (unnamed) group of people returned something (which we know to be names from the sentence context). The negated proposition in this example is instead the matrix proposition: the act of being there is negated.

Synthesizing these data, in cases where there is more than one proposition, the location of *na* coincides with the proposition over which the negation takes its scope. We therefore conclude that *na* appears at the edge of the proposition that is being negated.

We have shown that *na* precedes phonologically heavy adverbials, question particles, and sometimes the clause subordination marker *ma*, but otherwise occurs clause finally. Examination of multiclausal contexts suggests that *na* marks the final edge of the proposition over which negation takes its scope. This fact will be relevant to our analysis, which groups *na* together with elements that mark discourse-related functions.

6 Bipartite negation and focus marking

Since Jespersen (1917), bipartite negation systems have been understood to take part in a diachronic cycle in which negative meaning is gradually transferred from one negative particle to another. French, in which the preverbal negator *ne* and the postverbal negator *pas* together mark a single sentence negation, is a prototypical example of this. The Jespersen cycle begins with a single negator (*ne* in French) as the only element contributing semantic negation. A second negative element is then added (*pas* in French), and it is largely accepted that its purpose is to reinforce the first, which has undergone semantic weakening. The system then passes through a stage in which both negators are obligatory, contributing to the same semantic negation. Eventually the semantic negation is transferred to the second negator, and the initial one gradually disappears from the language.

Grouping Anii with such bipartite negation systems would lead to the conclusion that both preverbal *k*V and postverbal *na* are contributing to negating the sentence, since both are obligatory. However, there is independent evidence to suggest that postverbal *na*, and Anii more generally, might not participate in the Jespersen Cycle, and that the obligatory nature of this particle instead reflects a particular pragmatic status for negative propositions. (See Biberauer 2009, 2015 for a similar conclusion for Afrikaans, based on different types of evidence.)

Consider again the example in (15), repeated here as (26).

(26) Kali k' a nyem na k' a shɪŋ jɪ ʊ-jɪʊ
Kali NEG 3SG.SBJ.IRR drink.IRR and NEG 3SG.IRR nor eat.IRR CL.E-food
na [halɪ a-ŋɔrɔ a-páləmə].
NEG since CL.A-month AGR.CL.A-entire
'Kali didn't drink or eat [for the whole month].'

As noted above, (26) contains a phonologically heavy adverbial phrase preceded by *na*. This example is also a coordinate structure, with the coordinated verb phrases headed by *nyem* 'drink' and *jɪ* 'eat' sharing a subject *Kali*. The semantic interpretation of this sentence contains two negations: it is not the case that Kali ate, and it is not the case that Kali drank. Note, however, that these two semantic negations are marked by two *k*V particles, each modifying one of the verbs, but only a single *na*. See Aboh (2010) for similar data from Gbe.

The following example follows a similar pattern:

(27) ʊɖən k' a na rəŋə k' akoɖən gɪtenshile na
someone NEG 3SG.SBJ.IRR IPFV listen.IRR NEG something evening NEG
'No one listens to nothing in the evening.'
(='Everyone listens to something.')

Example (27) consists of a single clause with two semantic negations: it is not the case that there exists someone who does not listen to music in the evening.[11] The sentence above contains two semantic negations in a single clause, which is logically equivalent to an affirmative. Crucially, this is again achieved by the inclusion of two instances of preverbal *k*V, but only one postverbal *na*.

[11]In example (27), the particle *k*V appears to attach directly to the indefinite *akoɖən*, suggesting that it takes its scope directly over this indefinite, as opposed to at the sentential level. This is unusual, since constituent negation—negation that scopes below the propositional level—is not common in Anii. This can be seen in the following example, where something that would commonly be expressed with constituent negation in English requires a full clause in Anii:

(i) N ɖoo kə ma kara ama-pooloo na
1SG.SBJ go.out NEG 1SG.SBJ.IRR wear.IRR 1SG.POSS-coat NEG
'I went outside with no coat.'
(='I went outside, I didn't wear my coat.')

Example (27) suggests that negation can attach directly to indefinites within a proposition to contribute the meaning of a negative quantifier. We set aside the question of how such instances of constituent negation should be represented and the extent of their productivity for future research.

The same phenomenon occurs in biclausal (28). This example contains an instance of preverbal *k*V in both the matrix and the embedded clause, but only one *na*:

(28) Kə ma lə/faŋa wàà Kofi k' a jɪ
NEG 1SG.SBJ.IRR say.IRR/think.IRR that Kofi NEG 3SG.SBJ.IRR eat.IRR
akoɖən na
something NEG
'I didn't say/think that Kofi didn't eat something/anything.'

In cases of subordination containing a relative clause, again both the matrix and the subordinate clause are semantically negated by *k*V:

(29) Kə ma sɔlɔ ɪ-film mba-ɖee kə ba wʊ̀ɖa
NEG 1SG.SBJ.IRR love.IRR CL.W-film CL.W-REL NEG 3PL.SBJ.IRR have.IRR
kokoroko mba-ɖee n yɔ ma na.
CL.B.hero CL.W-REL 1SG.SBJ know SUB NEG
'I don't like films that don't have heroes who I know.'

Examples such as these suggest that *k*V is the true semantic negator in the clause, since more than one *na* is not necessary to express more than one semantic negation. This raises a number of interesting questions regarding the role of the postverbal negative particle. Given the strong obligatory nature of this particle, it does not appear to be weakening in any way (as in, e.g., French preverbal *ne*).

We would like to suggest instead, on both empirical and theoretical grounds, that the particle *na* is a negative focus marker. The obligatory occurrence of this negative focus marker results from a general requirement in Anii that negative sentences be focalized. This hypothesis follows and extends the analysis in Aboh (2010: 131), where Fongbe is hypothesized to have a peripheral clause-typing negation marker whose main contribution to sentence meaning is at the discourse-pragmatic level. We extend this analysis to suggest that the discourse-pragmatic function of the peripheral marker in Anii, and possibly other languages, is focal in nature. Before providing further theoretical support for this analysis, we illustrate some data that point toward a more general focal status of *na*.

There are a number of focus-marking strategies in Anii, including particles, fronting, changes in aspect marking, and clefting and nominalization of verbs. When focus particles are used, often in combination with fronting, they typically indicate object focus (Schwarz & Fiedler 2011, Morton 2014). Consider the examples in (30).

(30) a. Context: A friend and I see a child put something in her mouth. I ask my friend if the child ate a piece of meat.
Gɪ-ca jɪ a jɪ
CL.Đ-bean FOC.CL.Đ 3SG.SBJ eat
'She ate a BEAN.'

b. Context: A friend and I see a child eating. I ask my friend if the child ate rice.
A-ca nɪ a jɪ
CL.T-bean FOC.CL.T 3SG.SBJ eat
'She ate BEANS.'

In (30a), the singular object *gɪca* 'bean' is focused by the particle *jɪ*, and in (30b) the plural object *aca* 'beans' is focused by *nɪ*. The focus particles are morphologically distinct because they must agree in noun class with the noun they modify.

The examples in (31) (modified from Schwarz & Fiedler 2011) show that in cases where the subject noun class is unclear, the focus particle surfaces as *na*. In such cases, the focus particle has a high tone and is thus fully homophonous with the *na* in negative sentences:

(31) a. maakɔ na ʊ-pi a-nyɪʊtaja a pɪ na afal
what FOC CL.A-child AGR.CL.A-second AGR.CL.A come with home
'What did the second child bring home?'

b. ŋkəŋ na a təŋ ʊ-pur ʊ-ŋono gʊ-yá
there FOC 3SG.SBJ send CL.A-child.POSS CL.A-old CL.Ɛ-market
'That's when she sent her oldest child to the market.'

In (31a) the particle *na* serves to focus the *wh*-phrase in object position, and in (31b) it focuses a pronominal element (*ŋkəŋ*). Importantly, neither of these elements has a noun class. This suggests that *na* may serve as a general or default focus marker. While this remains to be tested more explicitly, we take it as an initial clue toward understanding the role of *na* in negative sentences.

Given these data, we would like to suggest that, in addition to serving as a general focus marker in non-negative contexts, the particle *na* acts as a sort of negative focus marker in negative sentences. Under this analysis, the presence of *na* is not triggered by the need for a semantic negator (contra what would be expected under a Jespersonian analysis). Instead, we propose that its presence is motivated by the inherently focal status of negation in Anii. Its obligatory nature can then be understood in terms of a requirement that negative propositions

be marked as focused. Under this hypothesis, it is possible that the negative focus marker is in fact underlyingly the same as the homophonous general focus marker that appears in (31). We leave further investigation of this possibility to future research.

The analysis suggested above raises the question of why negation might be obligatorily focused in Anii. To begin to address this question, we first consider what is meant by the term focus. As pointed out by López (2009), standard definitions of focus such as "new information" are relatively broad, and may fail to make precise predictions regarding what should be focused in a given language. López proposes instead that the traditional notion of focus should in fact be construed in terms of the related notion of contrast. Under his definition, contrast opens up a variable and simultaneously provides a value for that variable. For example, in (30b), the term *aca* 'beans' is part of a contrast domain of all the things the child might have eaten, and focusing (or contrasting) the item leads to its selection from that set.

In extending this analysis to English negation, Blanchette (2013) proposes that negation is inherently a form of contrast. The contrast domain for negation consists of the affirmative and negated forms of the negative-marked proposition, and the negated form is selected. In the context of the Anii data, it is possible that what we are seeing is a lexification of this inherently contrastive meaning of negation.

With respect to syntax, if *na* is a negative focus marker, then we would expect it to reside in the C-domain. Since this domain is peripheral, occurring at the beginning of a structure, this raises the question of why the marker surfaces sentence-finally. To explain this, we follow Aboh (2010) and others in hypothesizing that the entire Anii proposition undergoes fronting to a specifier position, yielding the surface order seen in negative sentences. While Aboh (2010) hypothesizes that in Gbe languages, such fronting occurs into the specifier of a NegP within this domain (as part of a successive pied-piping operation), we propose that Anii negated propositions are fronted into the specifier of a Focus Phrase (FocP), as shown in Figure 2 (which is example (3) repeated).

In the structure in Figure 2, the entire proposition *kə ba na nyəm* is fronted into the specifier of a focus phrase, yielding the sentence-final position of *na*.[12]

Recall from Section 5 that while most adverbials precede the sentence final particle in negated sentences, durational adverbials, which are phonologically heavy,

[12]We leave open for future research whether a successive pied-piping process occurs, such as the one proposed in Aboh (2010). This may be needed for questions, in which the question particle also occurs in a sentence-final position, and other similar sentence types.

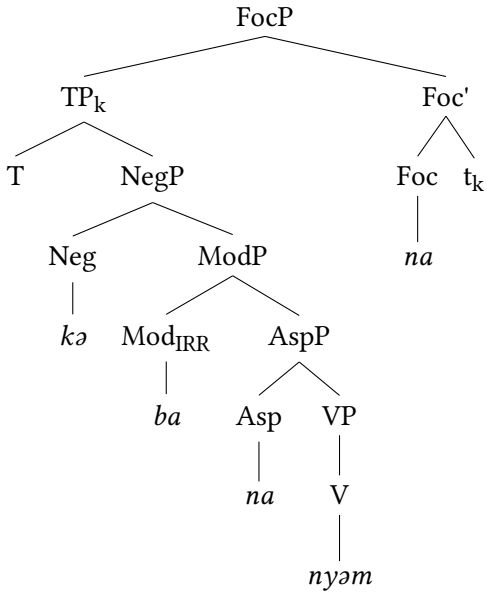

Figure 2: Tree for *kə ba na nyəm na*, 'One doesn't steal.'. The *ba* here is an irrealis subject marker, and may actually originate lower in the tree, though that is not crucial to the structures discussed here. For more discussion of the syntax of irrealis, please see Morton & Blanchette (submitted). This *na* is an imperfective marker.

tend to follow this particle. The fact that these phonologically heavy elements behave differently from other elements with similar syntactic status provides some additional support for the movement analysis we have presented here. Specifically, these can be analyzed as involving an adjunction structure in which the heavy adverbial is stranded in sentence-final position following raising of the focused negated proposition. The relevant structure is illustrated in Figure 3 (the sentence is example (15) repeated).

7 Summary and discussion

In this paper we have provided the first detailed description of the Anii negation system, including interactions between negation and indefinites. We have shown that, with respect to the preverbal negative marker, Anii places negation following TP. We briefly touched upon the relationship between negation and the notion of irrealis, which obligatorily co-occur in Anii, and pointed toward

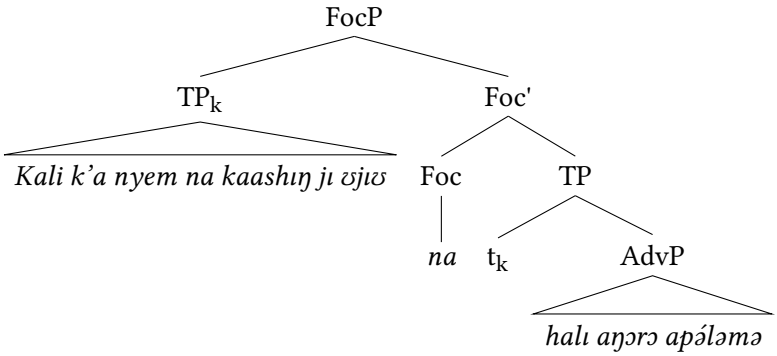

Figure 3: Tree for the sentence *Kali k' a nyem na kaashıŋ jı ʊ-jɪʊ na halı aŋɔrɔ apáləmə*, 'Kali didn't drink or eat for a whole month.'

an analysis of this in Morton & Blanchette (submitted) in which the irrealis morpheme reflects an underlying Modal Phrase selected by negation.

Moving beyond the basic architecture of Anii negative sentences and their interactions with indefinites, we further suggested that the apparent bipartite nature of the negation system in Anii may be a reflection of the inherent focal or contrastive status of propositional negation. We hypothesized that the postverbal marker *na* lexifies this inherent contrastive status, which is obligatorily marked in Anii. With respect to its syntax, this analysis places Anii in line with other apparently bipartite systems such as Ewegbe (Aboh 2010) and Afrikaans (Biberauer 2015), in which the postverbal marker is assumed to be generated in a peripheral position within the C-domain. One factor that distinguishes our proposal from the one in Aboh (2010) is that we do not analyze the postverbal particle as contributing to the semantic negation of the clause. Instead, we propose that its contribution is pragmatic in nature, and that its obligatory presence is due to the focal status of negation.

The hypothesis that the postverbal particle in Anii negative sentences is focal in nature leads to a number of questions. On the empirical side, one question is raised by biclausal sentences with a semantic negation in each clause and two *k*Vs but only one *na*. Under our proposal, if the sentence contains two negated propositions, then we might expect both propositions to be obligatorily focus-marked, leading to two occurrences of *na*. It is possible that, since focus is a discourse-level function, a single *na* is all that is needed to meet the requirement that negative propositions be focused within the discourse. Further discussion of this, however, is beyond the scope of this paper. To explore this question further, we would need to examine the semantics and pragmatics of more biclausal

sentences, along with the specific pragmatics of focus and the distribution of additional discourse-related particles in Anii.

Another question that our analysis gives rise to is whether there are other systems that have been analyzed along Jespersonian lines which could alternatively be analyzed as obligatorily focused negation. One aspect of the Anii system that distinguishes it from traditionally Jespersonian systems like French is the existence of focus particles. Anii has a complex system of morphological focus marking, with multiple focus particles whose distribution is determined by the syntactic properties of the focused constituent (Schwarz & Fiedler 2011). On the other hand, French does not have a focus particle, but instead marks focus through strategies such as clefting and prosody (Karssenberg 2017). An additional difference between Anii and French (and some other systems) pertains to how negative and indefinite noun phrases interact with negation: As illustrated in Section 4, French has a Negative Concord system while Anii does not. It is possible that these differences between Anii and French may be reflective of a more general typological distinction between truly bipartite systems and those in which the bipartite nature of the negative system is only apparent. That the Anii data we have presented in this paper lead to such questions and potential connections serves as an illustration of the potential this understudied language has to inform linguistic theory.

Abbreviations

Abbreviations in this chapter follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules, with the following additions.

CL	class marker	POL	polarity marker
EMPH	emphatic	REL	relativizer
INANIM	inanimate	SUB	clause subordination marker
INORD	infinitive-type marker meaning ‘in order to’		

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