

SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF NEGATION IN AKAN

BY

JOANA SERWAA AMPOFO

(10275032)

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DECLARATION

I declare that except for references to works which have been duly cited, this thesis is a result of my original research, under the supervision of Professor Kofi Korankye Saah and Dr. Seth Ofori, and that it has neither in whole nor in part been presented for another degree elsewhere.

CANDIDATE

.....
JOANA SERWAA AMPOFO

.....
DATE

SUPERVISOR

.....
PROF. KOFI KORANKYE SAAH

.....
DATE

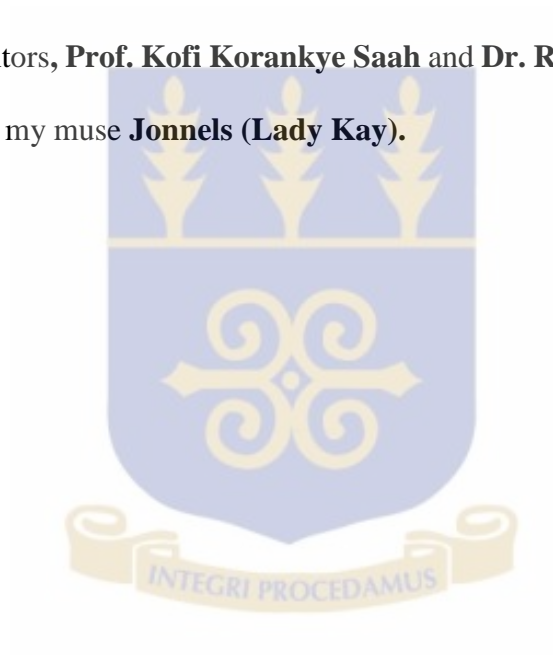
SUPERVISOR

.....
DR. SETH OFORI

.....
DATE

DEDICATION

To my mentors, **Prof. Kofi Korankye Saah** and **Dr. Reginald Akuoko Duah**, my **family** and my muse **Jonnels (Lady Kay)**.



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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the concept of negation in Akan, a Kwa language. It focuses on how negation is marked in Akan and on negative polarity items. Negation in Akan is marked by a homorganic nasal. This marker is prefixed to the verb stem. Adopting the X-Bar theory in the analysis of data on negation, the study discusses the types and scope of negation. Negation projects a negative phrase (NegP) following Saah's (1995) account. There are two categorizations of negation types—*syntactic* and *semantic*. Based on the syntactic categorization, the types of negation identified are *sentential* and *constituent*. *Explicit* and *implicit* negation are the types identified based on the semantic categorization. Negation takes scope over the VP in an Akan sentence since it c-commands VP. Therefore, objects are also under the scope of negation.

Under negation, there are certain expressions that occur only in negative sentences. These words are referred to as Negative polarity items. In this study, some NPIs identified in Akan include *huu*, *hwee*, *ka se*, *di gyina*, among others. These NPIs occur in different positions based on their word classes. Also some have restricted occurrence, while others do not. In Akan, it is only negation that licenses NPIs. They cannot be licensed in downward entailing environments as Ladusaw (1980) proposes. Also, Akan NPIs are bound, as stated by Progovac (1991). They are licensed by clausemate negation. They may, however, be licensed by higher clause negation.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1SG	1 ST Person Singular Pronoun
2SG	2 nd Person Singular Pronoun
3SG	3 rd Person Singular Pronoun
AUX	Auxiliary verb
COMP	Complementizer
COMPL	Completive
COND	Conditional marker
CONS	Consecutive marker
DEF	Definite determiner
DET	Determiner
FOC	Focus marker
FUT	Future Tense
INANIM	Inanimate
NEG	Negative marker
OBJ	Object
OPT	Optative

PAST	Past Tense
PERF	Perfect Aspect
POSS	Possessive
PROG	Progressive Marker
Q	Quantifier
SUBJ	Subject
UNIV	Universal

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This thesis explores the concept of negation in Akan. It focuses on how negation is marked in various sentence structures in Akan, and also negative polarity items (items that are found only in negative sentences).

This chapter gives a general introduction to some issues of negation. It discusses the types of negation, negative concord, double negation, and negative polarity items. It also states the research gap this thesis seeks to fill and the research questions that guide the study. The objectives, significance of study, and the organization of the thesis are also presented in this introductory chapter.

1.1 Background to negation

‘Negation is one of the distinctive properties of human language (Horn 2001): every natural language includes at least one device that can express the negation of an affirmative constituent’ (Xiang et al. 2014:3). Every natural language expresses negation: reversing or denying the truth-value of an assertion or proposition (Zeijlstra 2013). Every proposition, therefore, is either true or false. This is to mean that, ‘when p is true, not- p is false, and vice versa’ (Miestamo 2007:552). Negation is overtly expressed in all languages: every language adopts at least one method of expressing negation. The expression of this pervasive phenomenon, however, is language-specific: Languages may vary in the form, number and position of the

negative markers in a sentence (Zeijlstra 2013:1). Before discussing negation in Akan, I introduce various aspects of negation below.

1.1.1 Negation Representation

Natural languages mark negation¹ either by morphological, phonological, syntactic and/or semantic means (Xiang et al. 2014:6).

Morphological marking of negation refers to overtly attaching a negative affix, a clitic, or a free morpheme to a lexical category or sentence. This is the commonest way of marking negation: Every language marks negation by morphological means. Examples of such languages are English (*-n't, un-, no*), Ewe (*me..o*), French (*ne..pas*).

Some languages also mark negation by phonological means. In that, there is intonation on the word or sentence. Example is in English (*'Riight'*) (Lawler 2007).

There are some lexical words that, though not affixed by any negative morpheme, connote negative meaning. These are semantic negatives. The negative meaning the word connotes is implicit. Not only lexical words, but also phrases and idiomatic expressions, may be negated. For instance, words like *seldom, few, lift a finger*.

¹ A language may express all means of negation marking. For instance, English (*un-, Riight, few*).

1.1.2 Types of Negation

Negation can be grouped into types depending on some parameters:

First, we can group negation into *explicit negation* and *implicit negation*, based on the source of negative meaning (Xiang et al. 2014:6). Explicit negation refers to ‘negation expressed as part of the asserted meaning of an utterance’ (Xiang et al. 2014:6), whereas implicit meaning refers to that expressed as part of the non-asserted meaning of an utterance. All overt negative markers and words, such as *un-*, *no*, *not*, are examples of explicit negation.

Another sub-categorization of negation is based on syntactic and semantic terms. The syntactic types are sentential and constituent negation. With sentential² negation, the entire sentence is negated. That is to say that negation scopes over the entire clause. This is illustrated below.

1. (a) John ate the food.
(b) John did *not* eat the food.

In (1b), the truth value of (1a) is averted: The assertion that John ate the food is nullified by the negative marker *not*. This sentence can have various interpretations:

2. (a) John did not eat the food; Ama did.
(b) John did not eat the food; she drank the water.

In order to disambiguate this sentence, we need to negate the constituent under discussion. This is termed constituent negation. A constituent is negated to narrow

² There are three classes of marking sentential negation: negative verbs, negative markers, and negative particles (Zeijlstra 2013:4). See also Zanuttini (2001).

the scope to only that category. In negating a constituent, various language-specific strategies are adopted. One strategy is constituent clefting³. In constituent clefting, the category being negated is focused. This is illustrated below.

3. (a) [It is not John] who ate the food.

(b) [It is not the food] that John ate.

In the examples in (3), *John* (a) and *the food* (b) are the entities negated.

The semantic types coincide with the syntactic types of negation. The two types of negation grouped in terms of the meaning scope they carry are *Wide* and *Narrow* (Amfo 2010). Negation is said to take scope over an entire sentence when we talk of wide scope of negation. This coincides with sentential negation. However, when a constituent is negated (constituent negation), it is said that negation takes a narrow scope (that is, scopes over only the constituent).

1.1.3 Multiple Negation

Some languages permit a negative sentence to have two or more negative markers. A clause with two negative markers may be interpreted as one (concord) or double cases of negation (where they neutralize each other) (Haegeman & Zanuttini 1996:117). Examples can be seen below.

4. (a) Ik heb *niet niets* gezegd. (Standard Dutch)

I have not nothing said

³ The cleft expression is 'It is not X', as indicated by the square brackets in example (3).

(b) *Nu am vazut pe nimeni.* (Romanian)

NEG have seen nobody

‘I haven’t seen anybody.’

(Haegeman & Zanuttini 1996:117-118)

Example (4a) illustrates double negation, and (4b) illustrates negative concord.

1.1.4 Negative Polarity Items

Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) refer to “words or expressions that can only occur in contexts that are in some sense negative: (Penka & Zeijlstra 2010:772). Lawler (2007:1) defines NPI as ‘a term applied to lexical items, fixed phrase, or syntactic construction types that demonstrate unusual behavior around negation’. They can be found in almost every natural language (Giannakidou 2008). Examples include *any* in English (Krifka 1995, Rothschild 2009, Giannakidou 2011), *tipota* ‘anything’ in Greek, *ook maar iets* ‘anything’ in Dutch (Giannakidou 2011) as illustrated in (5) below.

5. (a) Bill didn’t buy *any* books.

(b) *Bill bought *any* books.

(Giannakidou 2011:1661)

In the above sentences (5a & b), we can deduce that *any* occurs in negative contexts (as seen in (a)), but not in positive sentences (as in (b)). According to Rothschild, NPIs “seem happy under negation and are sometimes unhappy without negation” (Rothschild 2009:2).

One feature of NPIs is their ‘exclusion from positive assertions with simple past’ (Giannakidou 2011). In (5) above, usage of *any* in simple past tense in a sentence (5b) renders the sentence ungrammatical.

Another feature of NPIs is that they ‘give rise to minimal pairs of affirmative and negative sentences, of which only the negative member is grammatical.’ (Hoeksema 2000). This accounts for the ungrammaticality of the affirmative sentence in (6a) below.

6. (a) *I have *any* book.
(b) I don’t have *any* book.

1.2 Akan and its speakers

Akan belongs to the Kwa branch of the Niger-Congo language family, which is spoken primarily in Ghana and Ivory Coast. It has a population of approximately 47.5% (Ghana Statistical Service 2012), with several dialects including Asante Twi, Fante, and Akuapem Twi. According to the 2000 census, Akan carries majority (40%) of speakers in Ghana (Ghana Statistical Service 2000).

In this study, most the examples would be taken from the Asante Twi dialect. Where necessary, examples would be taken from the other dialects.

1.3 Problem Statement

One subject this thesis will touch on is Negative polarity items (NPIs) in Akan. This is a less researched area in Akan syntax. Negative Polarity Items refer to “words or

expressions that can only occur in contexts that are in some sense negative: (Penka & Zeijlstra 2010:772). For instance, *any* in English.

7. (a) Bill didn't buy *any* books.

(b) *Bill bought *any* books.

(Giannakidou 2011:1661)

In the above examples, it can be realized that *any* operates better in a negative context (with the introduction of *not*) but otherwise without it (as in *b.*).

According to Giannakidou (2008), almost all natural languages have NPIs. In this research, I find out if Akan has NPIs, and if it does, what their distributions and behavior are in negative sentences.

Kobele & Torrence (2006), claim that NPIs are licensed in the direct object position.

8. (a) Me [n-hia *hwee*]. "I don't need anything"

(b) *Me hia *hwee*. "I need anything"

Is it possible to have an NPI in any position other than the direct object position in Akan? If that is possible, how do we interpret its scope under negation?

9. (a) [*Hwee*] re-n-hia me.

(b) [*Hwee*] na me-n-hia.

In (9a), the NPI is in the subject position. I would analyse whether it can be licensed in that position. Also, as in (9b), I find out how possible NPIs are to occur without negation.

Therefore, this thesis to find answers to negation and the fresh ground of research (negative polarity) in Akan.

1.4 Objectives

The objectives of this study are to:

- a. Find out the various ways in which negation is expressed in Akan.
- b. Describe the structure of negative sentences.
- c. Identify and describe the distribution of NPIs in negative sentences in Akan.

1.5 Research Questions

This research therefore seeks to answer the following questions:

1. What are the types of negation in Akan?
2. How do we account for negation in various sentence structures?
3. What are the types of NPIs in Akan?
4. What licenses or triggers NPIs in Akan?
5. What is the distribution of NPIs in negative sentences?

1.6 Significance

This research would serve the following purposes:

- a. It would provide a comprehensive description of negation in Akan.

- b. It would serve as a reference point for future research in the language and other related languages in the area of syntax.
- c. It would add up to already existing literature on negation and Akan.

1.7 Methodology

1.7.1 Sources and methods of data collection

Data for this study were sourced from both primary and secondary sources. Primary data was gathered from some recordings of a panel discussion program called *Yekeka* on Adom TV. Also, data was gathered from native speakers of the language (This was done in two ways—first, some natives gave me examples of NPIs; Also, acceptability judgements were conducted) and my native speaker intuition.

Secondary sources such as attested materials like the Twi Bible and some published Akan books such as *Bediako* (by Victor Amarteifio 2010) and *Me ne m'akyinkyinakyinkyin yi* (by Gyekye-Aboagye 2011) and the Akan dictionary (Legon-Trondheim pilot project) were consulted for data. These books are important sources of data since they present various dialects of Akan: *Bediako* is in the Akuapem Twi dialect, *Me ne m'akyinkyinakyinkyin yi* is in Asante Twi. Also, various published articles were resorted to for relevant examples.

1.8 Thesis Overview

Chapter 1 is the general introduction. It gave an overview of the key concepts related to negation (multiple negation and negative polarity). It also included the

problem statement, research questions, objectives, significance of study, method of data collection and analysis, and the overview of the entire thesis.

Chapter 2 will be in two sections: Literature review and theoretical framework. I would review literature on negation and negative polarity items. The theoretical framework section will give an understanding of the Government and Binding theory and Progovac's (1993) EN-BI theory, and reason(s) for the adoption in analyzing negation in Akan.

In Chapter 3, I will discuss negation marking in certain sentence structures in Akan. The subsections of this chapter will tackle the interaction between negation and tense/aspect/mood, categorizations of negation, and the scope of negation.

Chapter 4 will explore the Negative Polarity items in Akan. It will be subdivided into; categories of NPIs, some NPIs in Akan and their distribution, and licensing of NPIs.

Chapter 5 will summarize the entire work, give the findings, conclusion, and recommendations.

1.9 Chapter Summary

This chapter has given the general introduction to negation. It discusses some key concepts related to negation (multiple negation and negative polarity). It also states the problem statement, research questions, objectives, significance of study, definition of key terms, and the organization of the thesis.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

Every language marks negation. This means negation is a very important aspect of the universal grammar. Before discussing negation in Akan, it is expedient to examine what already exists in the literature on negation. This chapter comprises two main sections: Literature review and theoretical framework. In the literature review section, relevant works done on negation, both in Akan and other languages are discussed. The other section involves explanation of the theory that guides the analysis of data.

2.1 Review of related literature

Negation has been investigated from different perspectives. Most works on negation focus on its expression, that is, the strategies for expressing negation and its typology. Others focus on issues such as negative concord, double negation, Neg-raising, scope of negation, negative polarity items, and the representation of negation in complex constructions.

In reviewing the literature on negation, therefore, it is necessary to group these under certain headings. The headings include; how negation is represented,

types of negation, multiple negation, negative polarity items, and negating complex constructions.

2.1.1 Negation Marking

Natural languages mark negation either by morphological, phonological, syntactic and/or semantic means (Xiang et al. 2014:6). Negation, though a ubiquitous phenomenon, may vary in form, number of negative markers, and position of the negative markers (Zeijlstra 2013:1) in various languages. In this section, literature discussing these strategies will be reviewed.

2.1.1.1 Morphological marking of negation

Morphological marking of negation refers to overtly attaching a negative affix, a clitic, or a free morpheme to a lexical category or sentence. This is the most pervasive phenomenon of marking negation. Languages mark negation by morphological means. Examples of such languages are English (Lawler 2007, Morante et al. 2011), Ewe (Agbedor 1995), French (Rowlett 1998), Kiswahili (Ngonyani 2001).

Ngonyani (2001) discusses the morphosyntax of negation in Kiswahili, a Bantu language. According to him, Kiswahili uses four strategies for expressing negation: (a) negation in tensed clauses, (b) prefix *-si-*, (c) negative copula *si*, and (d) *kuto-* in gerundive and infinitival clauses (page 18). In Kiswahili, the negative

marker is prefixed to the verb. The form of the affirmative verb in Kiswahili is: Subject Agreement Marker (SAM) + Tense marker (TM) + Verb stem (VS).

- Affirmative sentence: SAM + TM+ Verb stem.
- Negative sentence: Negative marker + (SAM)⁴ + TM + Verb stem.

The negative marker can be realized in various forms depending on the type of pronoun the subject is: *si-* before first person singular pronoun, *h-* before second and third person singular pronouns, *ha-* before plural forms. This is illustrated below.

1. (a) nitaondoka ‘I will have’ sitaondoka ‘I will not have’
 (b) utaondoka ‘you will have’ hutaondoka ‘you will not have’
 (c) wataondoka ‘they will have’ hawataondoka ‘they will not have’

(Ngonyani 2001:19)

In the first person singular negated form, it is realized that the Subject Agreement marker ‘*ni*’ is dropped. (See Ngonyani (2001: 19) for an elaboration on this process).

Also, in Kiswahili, negative sentences are realized differently depending on the type of Tense/Aspect they are in. Aside the negative marker, the Tense marker is realized differently in various tense forms:

⁴ The SAM is put in bracket in negative sentences because, depending on the pronoun, it may be dropped. This can be seen in the illustration in (1a), where the *ni* is dropped.

- The present tense negative sentence replaces the final vowel with the suffix *–i*. (Ngonyani *ibid*: 20)
- In the past tense the negative sentence replaces the past tense marker *-li-* by *–ku-* (its negative counterpart).
- In the future tense, the negative and the affirmative counterparts have the same tense marker (nothing changes).

These are illustrated in the table below (with the negative markers underlined).

Table 1: Negation in various tense and aspect forms in Kiswahili

Tense/ Aspect	Affirmative	Glossing	Negative	Glossing
Present	Wanaondoka	‘They are leaving’	<u>Hawaondoki</u>	‘They are not leaving’
Past	Waliondoka	‘They left’	<u>Hawakuondoka</u>	‘They did not leave’
Future	Wataondoka	‘They will leave’	<u>Hawataondoka</u>	‘they will not leave’
Perfect	Wameondoka	‘They have left’	<u>Hawajaondoka</u>	‘They have not left’

(Data from Ngonyani 2001: 19-20)

The pattern of the past negative sentence can also be seen in negating the perfect aspect. The aspectual marker *–me-* is replaced with the negative form *–ja-* as illustrated in the table above.

It seems then that negation is marked twice in Swahili. Furthermore, Ngonyani (2001:31) argues that these are two different markers (not discontinuous). Ngonyani (2001:21), comparing Kiswahili with other Bantu languages, shows that all Bantu languages observe the same pattern of negation.

It is necessary in discussing negation in Akan (a Kwa language) to take a look at other Kwa languages. Agbedor (1995) discusses negation in Ewe, a (Gbe) Kwa language. He identifies the Ewe negative morpheme as a discontinuous element *mé... ò*. In marking negation in Ewe, the element *mé-* is prefixed to the verb stem with the clitic *ò* ending the clause. For instance,

2. Kofi **me-de** suku **o**.

Kofi NEG-go school NEG

‘Kofi didn’t go to school.’

(Agbedor 1995: 123)

According to Dolphyne (1987), negation is marked in Akan by a homorganic nasal prefixed to the verb stem. The negative marker appears before any other prefix attached to the verb, such as tense/aspect markers. This is one of the maiden works done on negation in Akan. In this work, Dolphyne discusses ten tense/aspect forms in Akan and their corresponding negative forms. In this study, I analyze data on negation using the x-bar theory in Akan.

2.1.1.2 *Phonological marking of negation*

Some languages also mark negation by phonological means. In that, there is intonation on the word or sentence.

According to Lawler (2007:1), English marks negation phonologically by intonation. An example is the pronunciation of *right* as ‘*Riight*’.

Also, in Mende, a language of the Mande family, negation is frequently expressed by the lengthening of the final vowel of the subject clitic (Lipski 2001:13).

Agbetsoamedo (2014) in describing the aspects of the grammar and lexicon of Selɛɛ, a Ghana-Togo Mountains Kwa language spoken in parts of the Volta Region, claims that one way of marking negation in the language is via phonological means. In that, a change in the tone of a verbal affix from non-high to high negates the sentence. For instance, *àn-sa si-nu* ‘she sings (always)’ becomes *án-sa si-nu* ‘she does not sing (always)’ (pp.50).

2.1.1.3 Position of the negative marker

The negative marker may take various positions in various languages. In Turkish, for example, the negative marker is found after the verb, before the ‘temporal and personal inflectional affixes’ (Zeijlstra 2013:797). However, in Berber, negation may appear before the verb (Ouali 2005). Berber adopts several strategies in marking negation, depending on which dialect. In Akan, the negative marker occurs before the verb stem (Dolphyne 1987, Osam 2004).

2.1.2 Types of Negation

Negation can be grouped into types depending on some factors. In this section, I review some typologies on negation. These are Xiang et al.’s (2014) explicit and implicit negation, Cygan 1974, and Huddleston et al. (2002) typologies of negation.

2.1.2.1 Xiang et al.'s (2014) typology of negation

Xiang et al. group negation into *explicit negation* and *implicit negation*, based on the source of negative meaning (Xiang et al. 2014: 6). *Explicit negation* refers to ‘negation expressed as part of the asserted meaning [sentence meaning] of an utterance’ (Xiang et al. 2014: 6), whereas *implicit negation* refers to that expressed as part of the non-asserted meaning (speaker meaning) of an utterance. For instance, a response from Mary that “*I have some work to do*” to a question “*Are you coming to the party tonight?*” has two levels of meaning: ‘(1) what the sentence asserts (explicit) is that *Mary has work to do*. (2) What the sentence does not assert, but nevertheless conveys (implicit), is that *Mary can’t come to the party*’.

All overt negative markers and words, such as *un-*, *no*, *not*, are examples of explicit negation. They state, however, that explicit negation does not imply morphologically overt negation. Words such as *few*, *seldom*, *scarcely*, *hardly*, are examples of explicit negation. These words, according to them, are ‘syntactically and semantically negative under a number of well known... diagnostics (Horn 2001, Postal 2005, etc.)’, though they are not morphologically marked (Xiang et al. *ibid*: 6).

Implicit negation refers to ‘negative meaning whose source is beyond what is said on the surface’ (Xiang et al. *ibid*: 8). Xiang et al. classify emotive factive predicates as examples of implicit negation. Emotive factives are words that ‘depict certain emotions or attitudes... towards the content of an embedded clause, which is in turn presupposed to be true’ (Xiang et al. *ibid*: 8). They include words like

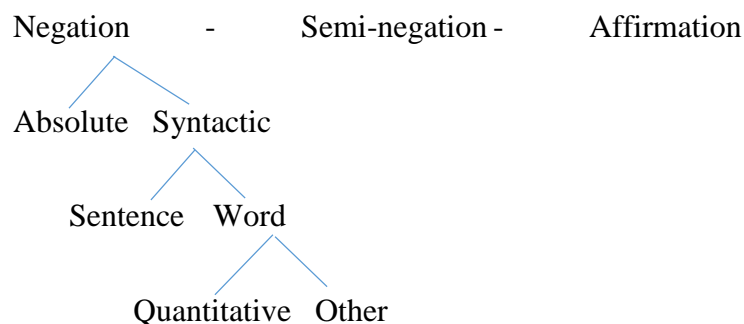
amazed, lucky, disappointed, odd, and strange (Xiang et al. *ibid*: 8). These affirmative words or expressions are semantically negative.

Xiang et al.'s typology of negation discusses both the syntax and semantics of negation. Since this work is on the syntax and semantics of Akan negation, I will adopt this typology and try to find out if Akan exhibits both types of negation that Xiang et al. identify.

2.1.2.2 Cygan's (1974) typology of negation

Cygan (1974: 296) groups negation into 3 major ways: *negation*, *semi-negation*, and *affirmation*, based on a linear order of their appearance. Under the *Negation* kind identified, he sub-classifies it into *Absolute* and *Syntactic*. The *Syntactic* type is also sub-divided into *Sentence* and *Word* negation. *Quantitative* and *Other* (or *Special*) are the two sub-types of *Word* negation. He summarizes the manner and sub-types of negation into a diagram illustrated below in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Typology of negation (Cygan 1974:296)



In figure 1 above, Cygan (*ibid*) explains that the *Negation* type (and all its subtypes) appear before the *Semi-negation* and *Affirmation* types.

According to him, *Absolute negation* constitutes the whole of an utterance response. This is normally used in answering polar questions. The *absolute negation* in English is *no*. It is used ‘in situations where the negative answer is hasty, abrupt, decisive and final’ (p. 299). It may also introduce ‘a fuller response’ (p. 300). These are illustrated below.

3. (i) Are we at the top?

Response: *No*.

(ii) Do you know what A means, little Piglet?

Response: *No*, Eeyore, I don’t.

(Cygan 1974: 300)

In the above illustration, *no* in (3ii) introduces the fuller response, while in (3i), it constitutes the entire utterance.

Under the *syntactic* subtype of negation, Cygan identifies two sub-types: *sentence* and *word* negation. *Sentence negation* is described as negating the verb. Attaching the negative marker to the verb negates the whole clause. *Word negation* refers to the type of negation where only a part of the whole utterance is negated. This implies that the sentence remains positive with only the part with the negative element attached negated.

Cygan (1974) further sub-categorizes *Quantitative* and *Special* forms of negation under *Word* negation. Quantitative is classified into two; based on its *form* (positive/negative) and *function* (assertion/denial). Some examples for quantitative include *nowhere*, *nothing*, *nobody*, and *none*. *Special* (or *lexical*) negation type is

expressed in two ways in English: either by prefixing the word with *not* (*not* happy), or affixing the word with a negative affix (*un-*, *-less*, *dis-*).

After discussing the sub-types under the *Negation* type of negation, Cygan (*ibid*: 318-324) continues with the other two types of negation: *Semi-negatives* and *Implied negation*. Semi-negatives include words such as *hardly*, *scarcely*. With the implied negation, he states ‘a particular negated word is actually equivalent to a positive word of synonymous meaning’ (p. 319). Here, he discusses the other ways in which negation is expressed, aside the phonological and morphological markings.

Cygan’s (1974) *Negation* and *Semi-negation* connote similar meaning as Xiang et al.’s (*ibid*) *Explicit* negation. The third type of negation (*Affirmation*) identified by Cygan (*ibid*) refers to the *Implicit* type of Xiang et al.’s (*ibid*) categorization of negation.

In this work, I try to find out which types are there in Akan. He bases his groupings mainly on the structure of Polish.

2.1.2.3 Huddleston et al.’s (2002) typology of negation

Huddleston et al. (2002) devote one whole chapter to discussing negation in English. In that chapter, they identify four types (contrasts) in expressing negation. These are *Verbal* vs *Non-verbal*, *Analytic* vs *Synthetic*, *Clausal* vs *Subclausal*, and *Ordinary* vs *Metalinguistic*. Of these four, the first two describe the form the negation takes, while the other two deal with meaning the negation connotes.

In verbal negation, the negative marker is attached to the verb, whereas in non-verbal negation, the marker is attached to a 'dependent of the verb: an adjunct... or object' (page 788). This is illustrated below.

4. (a) You *didn't* hurt him (b) You *aren't* tactless.

(4a) represents non-verbal negation, and (4b) is an illustration of verbal negation.

Huddleston et al. (2002) further sub-categorize verbal negation into: *Primary*, *Imperative* and *Secondary*. Primary negation refers to the form of negation where the negative marker attaches itself to the main verb. Imperative negation requires *do* to be inserted into the construction 'even if the corresponding positive does contain an auxiliary' (pp.788). (Non-imperative) secondary negation refers to any form of negation where the negative marker attaches itself to constructions containing a secondary verb-form: infinitivals, subjunctives, gerund-participials, and so on (pp. 788) with the exception of imperatives.

5. (i) You aren't tactless. [primary]
(ii) Don't be tactless. [imperative]
(iii) It's important not to be seen. [secondary]

Another typology of negation in relation to its form is Analytic vs Synthetic negation. With analytic negation, one is dealing with words whose 'sole syntactic function is to mark negation' (p. 788). Examples include *not*, *no*. Synthetic negation deals with words whose function is not just negation, but serves other syntactic functions too. They further sub-classify synthetic negation into three types (p. 788):

Absolute negators (no), *Approximate negators* (few, little, barely, seldom), and *Affixal negators* (un-, non-, -less, etc).

2.1.2.4 Other typologies

Another sub-categorization of negation is based on **syntactic** and **semantic** terms. The syntactic types are *sentential* and *constituent* negation. With sentential⁵ negation, the entire sentence is negated. That is to say that negation scopes over the entire clause. This is illustrated below.

6. (a) John ate the food.

(b) John did *not* eat the food.

In (6b), the truth value of (6a) is averted: The assertion that John ate the food is nullified by the negative marker *not*. This sentence can have various interpretations:

- John did not eat the food; Ama did.
- John did not eat the food; He drank the water.

In order to disambiguate this sentence, the constituent (*John* and/or *the food*) is negated. This is termed *constituent negation*. A constituent is negated to narrow the scope to only that class. In negating a constituent, various language-specific

⁵ There are three classes of marking sentential negation: negative verbs, negative markers, and negative particles (Zeijlstra 2013:4). See also Zanuttini (2001).

strategies are adopted. One strategy is constituent clefting⁶. In constituent clefting, the category being negated is focused. This is illustrated below.

7. (a) [It is not John] who ate the food.
(b) [It is not the food] that John ate.

In the examples in (7), *John* (a) and *the food* (b) are the entities negated.

Various diagnostics have been given for identifying sentential and constituent negation (Klima 1964, Xiang et al. 2014). Among Klima's (1964) tests include points such as "continuations by positive question tags or *either* phrases; sentences involving constituent negation, by contrast, can only be followed by negative question tags or *too* phrases" (Zeijlstra 2013:794) as illustrated in (7) and (8) below respectively.

8. (a) With no clothes is Sue attractive, is/*isn't she?
(b) With no clothes Sue is attractive, isn't/*is she?
9. (a) With no clothes is Sue attractive, and/or Mary either/*too
(b) With no clothes Sue is attractive, and/or Mary too/*either

(Zeijlstra 2013:794-795)

Critiquing Klima's tests, Zeijlstra (2013:795) states that this test cannot apply to all languages. (It can only apply to English). He, therefore, proposes that sentential negation be treated as a scopal notion, not a syntactic notion.

⁶ The cleft expression is 'It is not X', as indicated by the square brackets in example (6) (Amfo 2010).

The semantic types coincide with the syntactic types of negation. The two types of negation grouped in terms of the meaning scope they carry are *Wide* and *Narrow* (Amfo 2010). We talk of wide scope of negation when negation is said to take scope over an entire sentence. This coincides with sentential negation. However, when a constituent is negated (constituent negation), it is said that negation takes a narrow scope (that is, scopes over only the constituent).

Based on the semantic implication of negation, Spychalska (2006) discusses negation of two sorts of predicates: *Opposites* and *Negatives*. According to her, some predicates express contrary or opposite properties (*Opposites*) while others express contradictory properties (*Negatives*). She illustrates with “unhappy” and “not happy”, claiming that ‘*unhappy*’ does not carry the same negative meaning as ‘*not happy*’ (Predicate negation is ‘*not happy*’, and Predicate *term* negation is ‘*unhappy*’). Some examples of *opposites* include “*long*” and “*short*”, “*open*” and “*close*”. Though “*long*” is not the negative of “*short*”, they are somehow close. This is to mean, “*not short*” does not mean “*long*”, but they are similar. Spychalska’s categorization groups a lot of words as negatives (such as *long* and *short*, etc). Not all words are negatives. Therefore, in this study, predicates that express opposite properties are exempted.

All these typologies discussed in this section throw light on negation and its categorizations. It can be deduced from all four typologies that the underlying types of negation are the syntactic and semantic types. All the typologies described either

the syntax, semantics or both of negation. Therefore, in this research, the syntax and semantics of negation are discussed.

2.1.3 *Multiple Negation*

It is possible to have two or more negative markers in a construction in certain languages. Some languages permit a negative sentence to have two or more negative markers. However, in interpreting these markers, languages adopt various methods. Some languages may interpret two negative markers as one case of negation. This is termed negative concord. According to Giannakidou (2002: 2), ‘situations where negation is interpreted just once although it seems to be expressed more than once in the clause’ refers to negative concord. Some languages that exhibit negative concord include Catalan, non-Standard English, Italian, and Hungarian (Giannakidou 2002: 2). According to her, negative concord comprises a sentential negation marker and a (n)egative-word (Giannakidou 2002: 3).

Others may also interpret such constructions as double cases of negation (where they neutralize each other) (Haegeman & Zanuttini 1996:117). Examples of double negation languages include Standard Dutch, Spanish, and Standard English.

Multiple negation is exemplified below.

10. (a) Ik heb *niet niets* gezegd. (Standard Dutch)

I have not nothing said

(b) *Nu am vazut pe nimeni.* (Romanian)

NEG have seen nobody

‘I haven’t seen anybody.’

(Haegeman & Zanuttini 1996:117-118)

Example (10a) illustrates double negation, and (10b) illustrates negative concord. In (10a), the negative markers *niet* and *niets* are both negative expressions. When put together in a construction as in (10a), they both have their independent meaning, therefore, interpreted as different instances of negation (double negation). However, in (10b), the Romanian, the two negative expressions, *nu* and *nimeni*, cancel out each other, therefore interpreted as a single instance of negation (concord).

It is necessary to review works on multiple negation because in this research, we look at Akan negation and how it is represented or marked in both simple and complex sentences. There may be cases of multiple negation. If there are, then knowing how these constructions are interpreted is crucial.

2.1.4 Negative Polarity Items

One aspect of negation that cannot be overlooked is Negative Polarity Items (NPIs). This is because in discussing, particularly, the structure of negative sentences, such concept is seen. NPIs are found in negative sentences. They therefore seem to have a feature of negation.

Negative Polarity Items refer to “words or expressions that can only occur in contexts that are in some sense negative” (Penka & Zeijlstra 2010: 772). Lawler (2007: 1) defines NPI as ‘a term applied to lexical items, fixed phrase, or syntactic construction types that demonstrate unusual behavior around negation’. They can

be found in almost every natural language (Giannakidou 2008). Examples include *any* in English (Krifka 1995, Rothschild 2009, Giannakidou 2011), *tipota* ‘anything’ in Greek, *ook maar iets* ‘anything’ in Dutch (Giannakidou 2011) as illustrated in (11) below.

11. (a) Bill didn’t buy *any* books.

(b) *Bill bought *any* books.

(Giannakidou 2011:1661)

In the above sentences (11a &b), we can deduce that *any* occurs in negative contexts (as seen in (a)), but not in positive sentences (as in (b)). According to Rothschild, NPIs “seem happy under negation and are sometimes unhappy without negation” (Rothschild 2009: 2).

One feature of NPIs is their ‘exclusion from positive assertions with simple past’ (Giannakidou 2011). In (11) above, usage of *any* in simple past tense in a sentence (11b) renders the sentence ungrammatical.

Another feature of NPIs is that they ‘give rise to minimal pairs of affirmative and negative sentences, of which only the negative member is grammatical.’ (Hoeksema 2000). This accounts for the ungrammaticality of the affirmative sentence in (12a) below.

12. (a) *I have *any* book.

(b). I don’t have *any* book.

In this research, I seek to find out the NPIs that are in Akan and if they behave as those in other languages, and also if they have the features Hoeksema (2000) and Giannakidou (2011) identify.

2.1.5 *Negation and Complex constructions*

Negation is seen not only in mono-clausal constructions, but also complex sentences. Complex sentences such as serial verb constructions, coordinate and subordinate structures can be negated. In this section, literature on negation of such complex constructions are reviewed.

2.1.5.1 *Serial Verb Constructions (SVCs)*

Ameka (2006) discusses the SVCs in Ewe. He gives the differences between SVCs and other multi-verbal constructions (MVCs) in Ewe. Among the differences he identifies includes the fact that verbs in a serial constructions cannot be independently negated whereas in other multi-verbal constructions (such as overlapping clauses and consecutive clauses), they can. He also states that the subject of an SVC in Ewe is expressed only once but in the MVCs, each verb has its subject represented. In negating an SVC in Ewe, all verbs are put in between the discontinuous morphemes *me...o*. In SVCs, even though *me* is placed before the first verb, it can have scope over either the first, second, or both verbs (Ameka 2006: 138). Negation in Ewe SVCs is an example of negative concord. Ameka (2006:3-4) argues that in Ewe, each component in an MVC can be ‘independently negated’, as seen in the example below.

13. **tu-i** **né** **me-mé** **o**
 2SG-grind-3SG CONSEC 3SG:NEG-fine NEG
 ‘Grind it and let it not be too fine’

In (13) above, only the second clause is negated, but not the first. This is however not so in Ewe SVCs.

Saah (1995:159) discusses negation in Akan SVCs. He defines SVCs as “constructions containing complex predicates consisting of a main verb and another verb or set of verbs used to add a dimension to the predicate”. He observes that in negative serial verb constructions in Akan, all the verbs inflect for negation. Osam (2004) makes a similar observation also on SVCs in Akan. Saah (1995) further argues that negation in SVCs in Akan indicates concord: “They do not cancel out each other” (pp. 160). They rather produce one negative meaning.

However, Osam (2004) observes that in some sub-dialects of Fante, it is possible to have some of the verbs in a serial construction not marked or inflected for negation (Osam 2004: 40). This, he states, happens because a certain format he calls *n-ke* format is adopted. When the *n-ke* or *n-ko* format is used, the second verb carries no negative marker. Negation on the initial verb still takes scope over the subsequent verb(s) (pp. 40).

14. Mo-**n-ko**-to bi a-ma wo
 1SG SUBJ-NEG-FUT-buy some CONS-give 2SG.OBJ
 ‘I will not buy some for you.’

It can be observed in (14) that the second verb *ma* does not carry any negation marker; ‘but it is understood that the negation on the initial verb has scope over the remaining verb’ (Osam 2004).

2.1.5.2 *The consecutive verb construction*

Dolphyne (1987) focusses on how the consecutive form of the verb is negated. In the affirmative forms of these sentences, the initial verb is either marked for future tense or progressive aspect, and subsequent verbs take *à-* consecutive marker. According to Dolphyne (1987), there are instances in Akan where the verbs in an SVC do not belong to the same tense or aspect. In negating such sentences, the non-initial verbs are not marked for tense or aspect, but are ‘dominated by the tense or aspect of the first verb’ (pp. 70).

Saah (1995) refers to Dolphyne’s (1987) consecutive verb constructions as coordinate structures. He differentiates these structures from SVCs. In that, in coordinate verb constructions (CVCs), we can insert a conjunction but not in SVCs. Also, SVCs bear the same Tense/Aspect forms but CVCs do not. In negating CVCs, it is either the first part of the conjoint or the second part is negated. Therefore, while one conjoint is negative, the other is positive, and vice versa.

All these works in Akan will provide the background from which I will launch my discussion of negation in both single and complex structures in Akan.

2.1.5.3 *Causative constructions*

Duah (2013), working on force dynamics and causation in Akan, first indicates that SVCs differ from causatives. He states that there are some syntactic properties which reveal that causatives involve “a more complex structure” (pp. 140). For causatives, Duah recognizes that all verbs in an analytic causative construction are marked overtly with the negative prefix. These negative prefixes, he remarks, “are

not negative heads (with independent negative scope) but may be considered as negative agreement markers (NAM) set by morphological rules of the language” (Duah *ibid*: 139).

The relevance of this section on complex constructions is to give a background to such constructions, since I seek to delve more into the concept of negating complex constructions in Akan. I will account for such types of distribution and the interpretation given.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

In various literature discussing the concept of negation, several theoretical backgrounds are adopted. In this section, the frameworks I employ in analysis of data are explained. Sub-section 1.2.1 talks of the Government and Binding theory (Chomsky 1989, Carnie 2013) which is adopted in this research. Under the G&B theory, I adopt the X-Bar theory of phrase structure in discussing the structure of negation in Akan, and Progovac’s (1993) account of Binding theory in discussing NPIs in Akan. The theory of Downward Entailment (Ladusaw 1980, Progovac 1993) is adopted in discussing the semantics of Akan negation and NPIs.

2.2.1 Government and Binding theory (Chomsky 1989, Carnie 2013)

The Government and Binding theory has several sub-theories. Among them include the X-bar theory, Binding theory, and Case theory. As stated earlier, in the analysis of data, I adopt the X-bar and binding theories.

2.2.1.1 X-Bar Theory

The X-bar theory focusses on how words are put together to form phrases then sentences. It postulates the same structure for all lexical (and functional) phrases. The theory gives basic phrase structure rules that can be used to account for languages universally. 'A phrase is a complex structure where a major element, its head, develops to incorporate other elements that complement its meaning' (Conde 2005). The phrase structure rules (PSR) are given below.

Phrase Structure Rules (PSR):

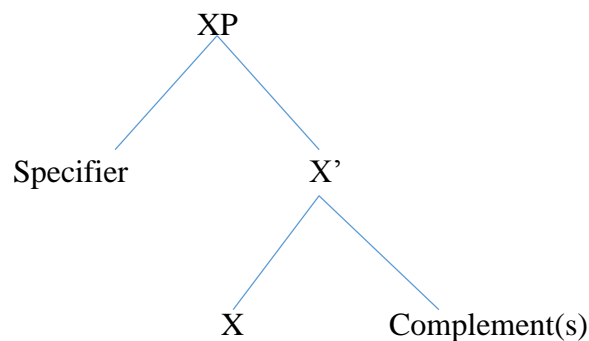
A. (for any lexical category X , $X^\circ = \text{Head}$)

$XP \rightarrow \text{Specifier } X'$

$X' \rightarrow X^\circ \text{ Complements } (=YP^*)$

The basic structure of a phrase (XP) is illustrated below:

Figure 2: A basic structure of a phrase



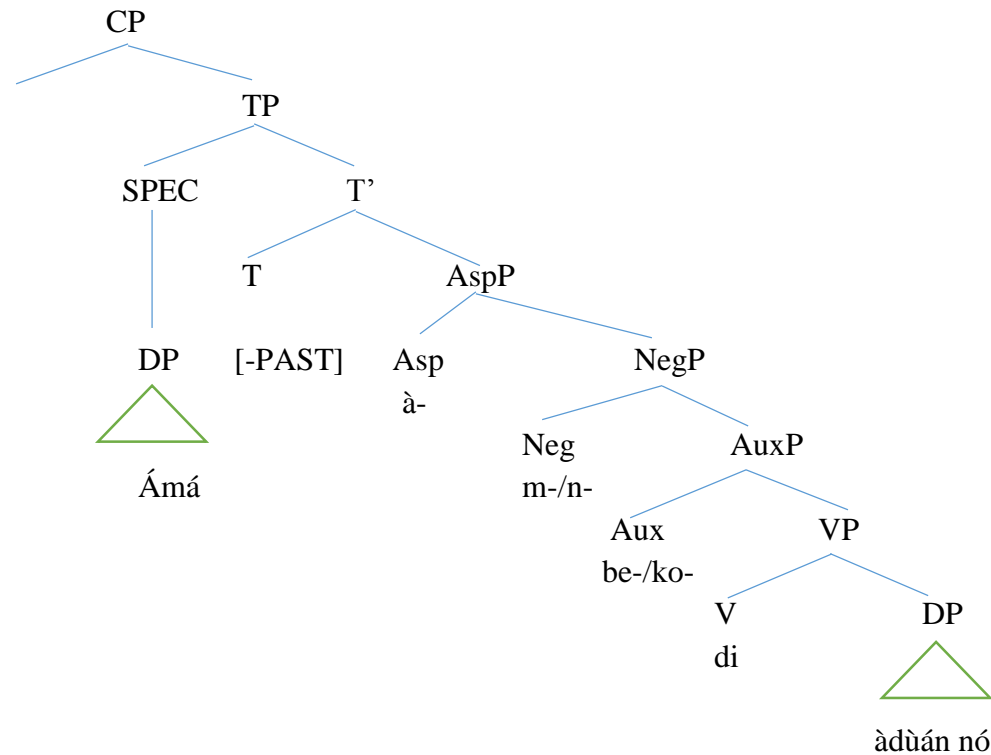
In the above structure, the head (X) takes scope over its complement. There is the feature of recursiveness, which means that a phrase can give birth to another phrase

(a phrase can be the complement of another phrase). Therefore, in negation, NegP takes the VP as its complement.

2.2.1.1.1 Negation as a functional head

Negation falls under the functional categories. Aside the lexical categories projecting their own phrases, functional categories such as Tense, Aspect, and Negation are heads that also project their own phrases. There are various submissions as to where the Negative Phrase (NegP) is positioned. Ouhalla (1990) groups languages into two based on the behavior of negation in such languages. The first group of languages include those in which ‘Neg selects tense as its complement’ (Saah 1995:154). An example of such languages is Italian. The other group takes the verb as its complement, such as English. In Akan, the Negative phrase (NegP) is projected before the VP, since it takes the VP as its complement. In this research, I follow Saah’s (1995) account of the position of the NegP. He adopts the Morphological Merger account which he deems ‘most suitable account of the Akan facts’ (pp. 156) over the V-Raising and/or Affix-lowering account(s). Following Marantz (1984, 1988), Halle and Marantz (1993) and Lasnik (1994), Saah (1995) assumes that ‘the inflected verb (verbal complex) in Akan is formed by a process of morphological merger by which the structurally adjacent Tns, Asp, Neg and Aux morphemes are joined to the verb in PF, thereby forming a sequence’ (pp. 156). This, he represents in the tree below.

15. Tree from Saah (1995: 157)



In the tree above, it can be seen that where there is an auxiliary, the negative morpheme is prefixed to the Aux. If not, then the Neg is prefixed to the main verb (taking the verb as its complement).

In this study, we focus on parameterizing certain negative sentence structures such as the SVCs, and bi-clausal constructions. The X-Bar theory hypothesizes that every phrase must have a head. In SVCs, do we account for each verb as a phrase on its own or all the verbs are considered as one VP? Also, in Akan, it is possible to have a serial verb construction where a verb is negated whereas other is not (see Osam 2004), but in all, have a negative interpretation. Is it that the negative marker on the initial verb scopes over all the verbs in the construction? Further discussions in the subsequent chapters would help in a better

understanding and appreciation of the concept of negation and its relation to X-Bar theory.

In the following section, we discuss the Binding theory and Downward entailment theory. I adopt Progovac's (1993) account of both theories in this study.

2.2.2 Progovac's (1993) Entailment and Binding theory (EN-BI)

Progovac's (1993) ENtailment and BInding (EN-BI) theory is a combination of Ladusaw's (1980) theory of downward entailment (DE) and Progovac's (1988, 1991) Binding theory. According to Progovac (1993: 149), 'a comprehensive analysis of polarity sensitivity should take into consideration two different factors:

- (i) elements that license Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) and
- (ii) locality conditions which hold between the licenser and the NPI'

This, she states, that the new theory she proposes (EN-BI) precisely accounts for --DE for licensing conditions and BI for locality conditions. This approach, according to her, 'is designed to solve the problems raised by either a purely semantic or a purely syntactic approach, while combining the virtues of both' (pp. 149).

A brief overview of both theories as propounded by Ladusaw and Progovac is given below in subsections 2.2.2.1 and 2.2.2.2.

2.2.2.1 Ladusaw's (1980) Downward Entailment

Ladusaw (1979, 1980) proposes a theory for analyzing NPIs. He posits that NPIs are licensed in downward entailing (DE) environments. Entailment can be simply defined by this proposition: *A entails B iff A is a subset of B*. This means *x is in A entails x is in B* (von Fintel 1999: 2).

“Ladusaw's (1980) licensing condition

α is a trigger for negative polarity items in its scope iff α is downward entailing. (where trigger is the expression that licenses α)”

Entailment can be categorized into two: Upward and Downward entailment. With the notion of downward entailment, it is said that “[a] context is DE if an expression occurring in it can be replaced by a semantically stronger (that is, more restricted) expression ... (without change of truth of the whole sentence)” (Krifka 1990: 160).

According to Ladusaw (1980), NPI-licensing has the “property of reversing the direction of entailment in their argument slot” (von Fintel 1999: 2). This, he exemplifies below, assuming that ‘*Italian ice cream* is semantically stronger than *ice cream*:

16. a. X in *Mary ate X* is UE, as it follows from *Mary ate Italian ice cream*
[entails] *Mary ate ice cream*.
- b. X in *Mary didn't eat X* is DE, as it follows from *Mary didn't eat ice cream* [entails] *Mary didn't eat Italian ice cream*’ (Krifka 1990:161)

In (16) above, (a) is an illustration of Upward Entailment, whereas (b) illustrates DE. In (14b), the direction of entailment (as seen in (16a)) is reversed. From the concept of DE, it can be realized that *Mary didn't eat Italian ice cream* does not entail *Mary didn't eat ice cream*: Probably she ate another type of ice cream. The concept of negation and NPI-licensing expressions share this property of reversing the direction of entailment von Fintel (1999: 1)

Ladusaw supports the occurrence of NPIs in contexts like negation, quantified NPs, determiners, etc. with illustrations and detailed discussions of these contexts. He, in fact, predicts that all these contexts carry some negative implications. For instance, *Mary is surprised that John bought any car*. It can be inferred that *Mary does not expect John to buy a car*.

Surprise, for instance, connotes an idea of negation, hence downward entailing (and NPI-licensing). Other examples like few, modals, conditionals, all have negative propositions.

This is a purely semantic theory of NPI analysis. Thus, Progovac combines it with the Binding theory, a syntactic theory.

2.2.2.2 Progovac's (1988, 1991) Binding theory

Progovac adopts the Binding principle of anaphors. She proposes that NPIs have similar features or functions as that of anaphors, and states therefore that, NPIs can be analyzed as such. The Binding principle of anaphors (Binding principle A) states that an anaphor must be A-bound. Progovac argues that NPIs are c-

commanded by negation in their binding domain. The binding domain of NPIs she defines as the clause.

In 1991, discussing the NPIs in Serbo-Croatian, Progovac identifies two forms of NPIs: *ni*-NPI and *i*-NPI. The *ni*-NPIs are licensed by a clausemate negation, and *i*-NPIs are licensed by superordinate negation (Progovac 1991: 568). Based on the data she gathers, she concludes that *ni*-NPIs require a clausemate negative item to license its existence in a grammatical sentence (just like an anaphor requires an antecedent).

A combination of these two theories in the analysis of NPIs is what Progovac in (1993) proposes. She posits a principle and one filter to account for NPIs.

(a) NPIs are subject to Principle A of the Binding Theory.

(b) UE Filter: *Polarity operator in an upward-entailing (UE) clause.

The antecedent of polarity items is ‘either negation or an empty polarity operator (Op)’ Progovac (1993: 150).

2.2.2.3 Reason for adopting the EN-BI theory

This theory is adopted because it presents a syntactic-semantic account of NPIs. As stated in the statement of the problem, this research seeks to identify the licensing and distribution of NPIs in Akan, and this fits perfectly into the aim of the EN-BI approach. Also, as stated above, this approach ‘is designed to solve the problems raised by either a purely semantic or a purely syntactic approach, while

combining the virtues of both' (Progovac 1993: 149). Since this research is based on both syntax and semantics, the theory would help analyze the data in both angles.

2.3 Chapter Summary

This chapter gave an in-depth overview of what has been done so far on negation. It discussed relevant literature on negative marking, the types of negation, multiple negation, negative polarity items, and negation in complex constructions. Also, in the theoretical framework section, the X-Bar theory (an aspect of the G&B theory) and EN-BI theory propounded by Progovac (1993) were explained and the reason for their adoption in the analysis of data also given. The sub-theories of the EN-BI theory, Ladusaw's (1980) Downward Entailment (DE) and Progovac's (1988, 1991) Binding theory, were also explained.

CHAPTER THREE

NEGATION IN AKAN: ITS SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS

3.0 Overview

In this chapter, I discuss how affirmative sentences are negated in Akan. It is subdivided into six sections: the nature of the negative marker in Akan, its interaction with tense/aspect/mood, how Akan negation is projected in X-bar theory, the syntactic typology of negation in Akan, then the semantic categorization of negation in Akan. Finally, I discuss the scope of negation in certain sentence structures.

3.1 Negation marking in Akan

In Akan, negation is marked by a homorganic nasal *N* prefixed to the verb stem (Dolphyne 1987; Saah 1995). This marker assimilates to the place of articulation of first sound of the verb. In the Asante Twi dialect of Akan, the initial consonant of the verb stem assimilates to the stricture of the negative marker. These are exemplified below⁷.

1. (a) Kofi ba ha.
 Kofi come here
 ‘Kofi comes here’.

⁷ In this thesis, examples are mainly drawn from the Asante Twi dialect. However, where necessary, examples are taken from the other two major dialects of Akan (Fante and Akuapem Twi). Therefore, such examples are marked as Fa=Fante, Ak=Akuapem, and As=Asante.

(b) Kofi m-ba ha. (Fa.)

Kofi NEG-come here

‘Kofi does not come here’.

(b’) Kofi m-ma ha. (Ak., As.)

Kofi NEG-come here

‘Kofi does not come here’.

(c) Kofi m-pra ha.

Kofi NEG-sweep here

‘Kofi does not sweep here’.

In the above examples, it is seen that the negative marker *m-* has the same place of articulation (that is the lips) as the initial sound of the verb *ba*. (1b-c) are all instances of negation in Akan. (1b-b’) are the realizations of the negated form of the sentence in (1a). (1b’) is the realization of negation in Asante Twi dialect of Akan. In that example, the initial sound of the verb also assimilates to the place of articulation of the nasal sound. This, however, affects only the voiced consonants. That means if the initial sound of the verb being negated is voiceless, then it does not undergo any assimilation. This can be seen in (1c), where the initial sound of the verb *pra* is maintained.

The next section is a discussion of the interaction negation has with tense, aspect and mood.

3.2 Negation, Tense, Aspect and Mood

Akan is a language that marks tense by affixation and tone. In Akan, tense and aspectual forms are marked by prefixing certain morphemes to the verb stem. Before discussing the interaction negation has with tense and aspect, we need to describe how tense and aspect are marked in Akan. There are three different views to the analysis of tense and aspect in Akan: Dolphyne (1987), Saah (2002), and Osam (2004). Let's take a look at these briefly.

3.2.1 Tense and Aspectual marking in Akan

Tense refers to 'the time of an event relative to the time at which the sentence is either spoken or written' (Carnie 2013: 276). Akan has three basic tenses: Past, Present, and Future. These tenses are marked either phonologically or morphologically.

3.2.1.1 Dolphyne's (1987) account of TAM in Akan

She discusses ten tense and aspect forms in Akan with their corresponding negative forms (Dolphyne 1987: 72). Her account is summarized below in the table.

Table 2: Ten Tense and Aspect Forms and their negative forms

TENSE/ASPECT	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
(a) Habitual	ɔ-dá 3SG-sleep 'He sleeps'	ɔ-n-da 3SG-NEG-sleep 'He doesn't sleep'
(b) Stative/ Continuative	ɔ-dà 3SG-sleep 'He is asleep'	ɔ-n-da 3SG-NEG-sleep 'He isn't asleep'
(c) Past	ɔ-da-eɛ 3SG-sleep-PAST 'He slept'	ɔ-a-n-da 3SG-PERF-NEG-sleep 'He didn't sleep'
(d) Perfect	ɔ-a-da 3SG-PERF-sleep 'He has slept'	ɔ-n-da-e 3SG-NEG-sleep 'He has not slept'
(e) Progressive	ɔ-re-da 3SG-PROG-sleep 'He is sleeping'	ɔ-re-n-da 3SG-PROG-NEG-sleep 'He won't sleep'
(f) Immediate Future	ɔ-re-bɛ-da 3SG-PROG-FUT-sleep 'He is about to sleep'	ɔ-re-n-da 3SG-PROG-NEG-sleep 'He won't sleep'
(g) Indefinite Future	ɔ-bɛ-da 3SG-FUT-sleep 'He will sleep'	ɔ-re-n-da 3SG-PROG-NEG-sleep 'He won't sleep'
(h) Consecutive	na ɔ-a-da and 3SG-CONS-sleep 'and then he will be asleep'	na ɔ-a-n-da and 3SG-CONS-NEG-sleep 'and then he won't be asleep'
(i) Imperative I	Da! sleep 'Sleep!'	N-da! NEG-sleep 'Don't sleep!'

(j) Imperative II	(ma) ɔ-n-da 3SG-OPT-sleep 'Let him sleep'	M-ma ɔ-n-n-da NEG-let 3SG-NEG-OPT-sleep 'Don't let him sleep'
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The past tense in Akan is marked in two ways: If the verb has a complement, then the past is realized by lengthening the final sound of the verb. However, if the verb takes no complement, then the past tense is realized by adding the suffix *-ee* to the verb, as indicated above in the table.

The present tense is sub-classified into two (Dolphyne 1987: 72): Habitual and Stative (or continuative). The distinction between these two tenses is seen in their tone. In the habitual tense, the verb is marked by a high tone, whereas in the Stative, the verb is marked by a low tone⁸. This is seen in the table above.

Dolphyne (1987) groups the future tense into two: Immediate and Indefinite, as can be seen in the table above.

There are several aspectual forms verbs take in Akan. These include Progressive and Perfect. The progressive is marked by the *re-* prefix attached to the verb stem (as in (e) in the table, repeated here as (2a)). The perfect (or completive) aspect is indicated by the prefix *a-* attached to the verb stem. This is illustrated in (2b) below.

⁸ This distinction is however limited to Asante dialect. In Akwapem and Fante dialects of Akan, the verb has a low tone both in the Habitual and Stative (Dolphyne 1987: 72).

2. (a) ɔ-re-da

3SG-PROGsleep

‘He is sleeping’

(b) ɔ-a-da

3SG-PERF-sleep

‘He has slept’

3.2.1.2 Saah’s (2002) account of TAM in Akan

Saah (2002:182) distinguishes three morphologically marked tense forms in Akan: present, past, and future. Following Givon (2001:285), he defines tense as ‘involving the systematic coding of the relation between two points along the ordered linear dimension of *time*: reference time and event time” (Saah 2002:182).

The present tense, also called ‘habitual tense’ in Akan is marked by tone. He further identifies *bɛ-* as the future marker in Akan. This morpheme is derived from the verb *bra* ‘to come’, and is prefixed to the verb as illustrated below.

3. (a) ɔ-bɛ-da.

3SG-FUT-sleep

‘S/he will sleep’. (Saah 2002:182)

This future marker, Saah continues to discuss, does not give a definite time the action or event will occur. Therefore, Dolphyne (1987) refers to it as ‘indefinite future’. In order for one to know the specific time of event, a speaker may resort to using temporal adverbs, as exemplified below.

4. Amma bɛ-ba seesei ara.

Amma FUT-come right now

‘Amma will come right now/very soon’. (Saah 2002: 183, ex. 12a)

He identifies other function of *bɛ-* as a directional (ingressive) marker. This, he states, cannot be interpreted as marking future. Consider the example below.

5. Bɛ-da!

COME-sleep

‘Come to bed’/*‘Will sleep’. (Saah 2002: 183, ex. 13a)

The above example cannot be analyzed as future as ‘it is not compatible with the imperative mood’ (Saah 2002:183).

Saah gives a similar analysis of the past tense as Dolphyne (1987) discusses. He, further, discusses three aspectual markers in Akan---Perfective, Progressive and Consecutive. He refers to what Dolphyne (1987) calls *immediate future* as a combination of the progressive and directional markers. For the consecutive marker, Saah (2002:190) posits that it is a ‘place holder’.

3.2.1.3 Osam’s (2004) account of TAM in Akan

Osam (2004:9) proposes an analysis of Akan as ‘predominantly aspectual language’. He states the following tense aspect forms in Akan—Future tense, Completive, Perfect, Progressive, and Habitual aspects (Osam 2004:9). He also identifies consecutive and continuative as secondary aspectual forms in Akan.

Osam (2004:10) refers to the past tense as Completive aspect. According to him, ‘eventhough this morpheme has past time as part of its meaning, its primary function is not to mark past time but perfective events’ (pp. 13). His main

motivation for calling the past tense as completive is that ‘it is found only on verbs which mark completed events’, but not imperfective, as shown below.

6. (a) Akosua re-su.

Akosua PROG-cry

‘Akosua is crying’.

(b) Akosua su-i.

Akosua cry-COMPL

‘Akosua cried’.

(c) *Akosua re-su-i.

Akosua PROG-cry-COMPL

‘Akosua cried’.

(Osam 2004:13, ex. 14a-c)

In the above examples, (6b) is in the completive aspect. (6c) however, cannot be in completive since the event is imperfective.

3.2.2 *Modality marking in Akan*

“Mood refers to the speaker’s perspective on the event – in particular, whether the event described is a possibility, a probability, a necessity, or an obligation” (Carnie 2013: 281). Owusu (2014), in her thesis on modality in Akan, distinguished two main types: Epistemic and Root modals. According to her, modals are mostly from the lexical category of Verbs. She identifies certain verbs and adverbs that function as modals. These include *susu* ‘to assume’, *nim* ‘to know’, *gye di* ‘to believe’, *annyebiara* ‘perhaps’, and *anhwe a* ‘maybe’. This is illustrated below.

7. Me-*susu* sɛ Kofi a-da.
 1SG-suggest COMP Kofi PERF-sleep
 ‘I assume Kofi is asleep’.

(Owusu 2014: 44)

3.2.3 *Negation and TAM*

In Akan, the negative marker may appear before or after the Tense or Aspect marker. Negation is immediately prefixed to the verb stem. This means all other affixes would appear before the Neg prefix or after the verb in a negative sentence. However, the Neg marker is always pre-verbal. Saah (1995:153) identifies the following patterns in how negation interacts with tense and aspect.

8. Negative Present [NEG+V+PRES]
 Negative Past [NEG+V+PAST]
 Negative Perfect [PERF+NEG+V]
 Negative Progressive [PROG+NEG+V]

As seen in the above table, the negation is expressed similarly in certain aspectual forms in Akan. For instance, the Progressive, Indefinite and Immediate future all have the same form. It is, however, the context of utterance that would help the listener to know which form the speaker means. This shows the syntax-semantics interface in negation.

The past and perfect tense forms have very interesting behavior with negation: The prefix used in the affirmative perfect form, *a-*, is used in the negative

past tense form of an utterance. The same is with the negative perfect: the affirmative past tense suffix is used as the perfect negative.

Therefore, in projecting the NegP, based on the linear order of the negative sentence, the TP is projected before the NegP. (The NegP is projected as the complement of TP, which in turn takes the VP as its complement). Also, in terms of the interaction between negation and modals, it depends on the type of modal: they inflect for negation just like non-modal verbs.

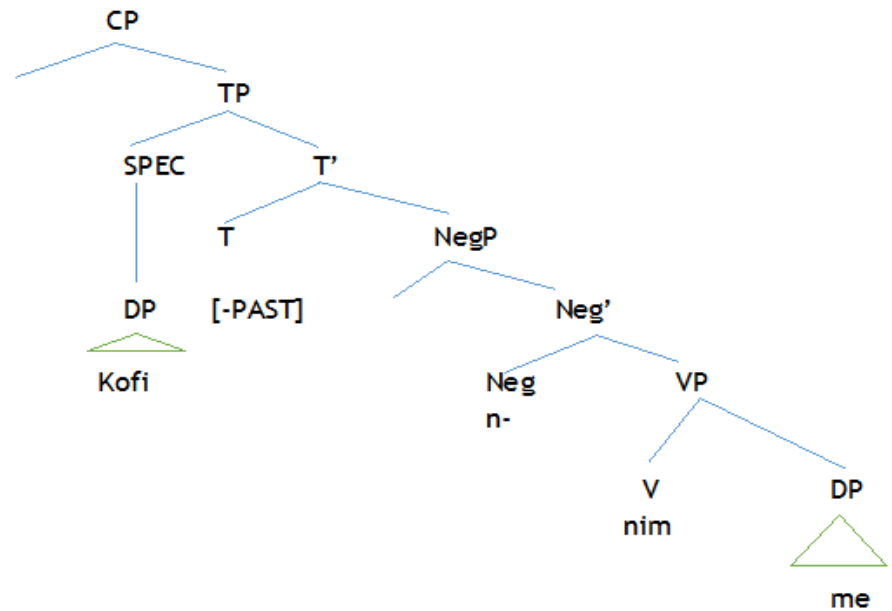
3.3 Representation of negation in X-bar theory

In negative sentences, the negative phrase (NegP) takes scope over the verb phrase (VP). Ota and Kato (1986) posit that ‘negation scope is determined by a linearity condition, where elements take scope over all materials to their right’. Therefore, subjects cannot be under the scope of negation. Scope, is syntactically related to the notion of *c-command*, where (Kato 1994, Ota & Kato 1986). C-command relation is given by Carnie (2013:127): ‘Node A c-commands node B if every node dominating A also dominates B, and neither A nor B dominates the other’. I find out if in Akan negation c-commands the VP.

Consider the following examples in (9a) and (9b).

9. (a) Kofi n-nim me.
 Kofi NEG-know 1SG.OBJ
 ‘Kofi doesn’t know me.’

(b)



Consider examples in (9). The tree clearly shows that NEG (*n-*) takes scope over VP (*nim me*). NEG symmetrically c-commands VP. Both Neg and VP are dominated by node NegP, and one doesn't dominate the other. Therefore, they are in c-command relation.

3.4 Syntactic categorization of negation

There are two basic types of negation based on their syntactic features: **Sentential** negation and **Constituent negation**. Akan exhibits both sentential and constituent negation (Amfo 2010). Sentential negation is represented by a negative marker

affixed to the verb, taking scope over the entire clause. In constituent negation, however, negation is restricted to only one entity in the clause. Therefore, negation takes scope over just a constituent in the clause. Negating an entire clause may result in ambiguity. See the example below.

10. (a) Me-n-kɔ fie nnɛ.
 1SG-NEG-go home today
 ‘I will not go home today’.
- (b) Ne bo a-m-fuw.
 3SG.POSS chest PERF-NEG-grow
 ‘He didn’t get angry’. (Amarteifio 2012:10)

Both (10a) and (6b) are ambiguous (10a), for instance, may mean that *I will not go home today*, *I will go to the market* or *I will not go home today*, *Kofi will* or *I will not go home today*, *I will go tomorrow*. If a speaker wants to avoid such vagueness, s/he may choose to negate just the entity s/he is referring to. This is termed constituent negation. In Akan, speakers adopt certain strategies in negating a constituent. One of these strategies is *clefting*.

It has the form **Enye X na** ‘It is not X that’ (Amfo 2010). Therefore, the various constituents in (6a) above can be negated as below.

11. (a) ɛ-n-yɛ me na mɛ-kɔ fie nnɛ.
 3SG.INANIM-NEG-be 1SG FOC 1SG-go home today
 ‘It is not I that will go home today.’
- (b) ɛ-n-yɛ fie na mɛ-kɔ nnɛ.
 3SG.INANIM-NEG-be home FOC 1SG-go today
 ‘It is not home that I will go today.’

(c) ɛ-n-ye nne na mɛ-kɔ fie.
 3SG.INANIM-NEG-be today FOC 1SG-go home
 ‘It is not today that I will go home.’

In all these examples, particular constituents are clefted and negated, making them have only one possible reading. According to Ofori (2011), focusing a constituent in a negative sentence does not mean negating only the constituent in question, but dissociating the constituent from the proposition made.

3.5 Semantic categorization of negation in Akan

Based on the meaning or semantic implications of negation, we can have two major types as identified by Xiang et al. (2014). These are *implicit negation* and *explicit negation*. *Explicit negation* refers to ‘negation expressed as part of the asserted meaning [sentence meaning] of an utterance’ (Xiang et al. 2014: 6), whereas *implicit negation* refers to that expressed as part of the non-asserted meaning (speaker meaning) of an utterance. For instance, a response from Mary that “*I have some work to do*” to a question “*Are you coming to the party tonight?*” has two levels of meaning: ‘(1) what the sentence asserts (explicit) is that *Mary has work to do*. (2) What the sentence does not assert (implicit), but nevertheless conveys, is that *Mary can’t come to the party*’ (Xiang et al. 2014).

Examples of explicit negation include all overt negative markers and words, such as English *un-*, *no*, *not*, *few*, *seldom*, *scarcely*, *hardly*. They, further, classify emotive factive predicates as examples of implicit negation. Emotive factives are words that ‘depict certain emotions or attitudes... towards the content of an

embedded clause, which is in turn presupposed to be true' (Xiang et al. 2014: 8). They include words like *amazed*, *lucky*, *disappointed*, *odd*, and *strange* (Xiang et al. 2014: 8). These affirmative words or expressions are semantically negative.

In Akan, there are instances of explicit negation, where the homorganic negative marker explicitly marks negation. However, in Akan, the negative marker attaches itself to verbs to give them negative reading. Without the negative marker, these words are interpreted as positive. This is illustrated below.

12. (a) Me n-taa m-fa ho.
 1SG NEG-often NEG-take there
 'I don't often pass there/ I seldom pass there.'
- (b) *Me taa m-fa ho.
 1SG often NEG-take there
 'I often don't pass there/ I seldom pass there.'

In (12), the verb *taa* 'often' cannot function without negation if it is to have a negative meaning. Therefore, (12b) is ungrammatical. In (12a), what is asserted is that *I don't often pass there*.

Emotive factives are also present in Akan. These are examples of implicit negation. Examples include verbs like *yɛ nwanwa* 'be surprised', *ti yɛ* 'be lucky'. These are exemplified below.

13. (a) Kofi ti yɛ sɛ Ama frɛ-ɛ no.
 Kofi head good COMP Ama call-PAST 3SG.OBJ
 'Kofi is lucky that Ama called him'.
- (b) ɛ-yɛ obiara nwanwa sɛ Ama frɛ-ɛ no.
 3SG-be everyone surprise COMP Ama call-PAST 3SG.OBJ
 'Everyone is surprised that Ama called him/her'.

In (13a) above, what is asserted is that *Ama called Kofi*. What is implied (i.e. not asserted) is that *it wasn't expected that Ama will call Kofi*. Similarly in (13b), it is explicit that *Ama called him/her*. But the non-asserted meaning is that *no one expected Ama to call him/her*.

In conclusion, Akan marks negation *explicitly* by having the negative marker in the sentence. Also, in Akan, certain words, though positive, have negative implications. These words are what Xiang et al. (2014) refer to as marking *implicit negation*. Xiang et al.'s (2014) typology is applicable to Akan language.

3.6 Scope of negation in certain syntactic structures

Under this section, we take a critical look at scope of negation and how it interferes in interpretation of sentences. Does negation in Akan scope over every entity to its right as Ota & Kato (1986) assert? I will look at both simple and complex constructions, how negation is represented in these structures, and their scope interpretations.

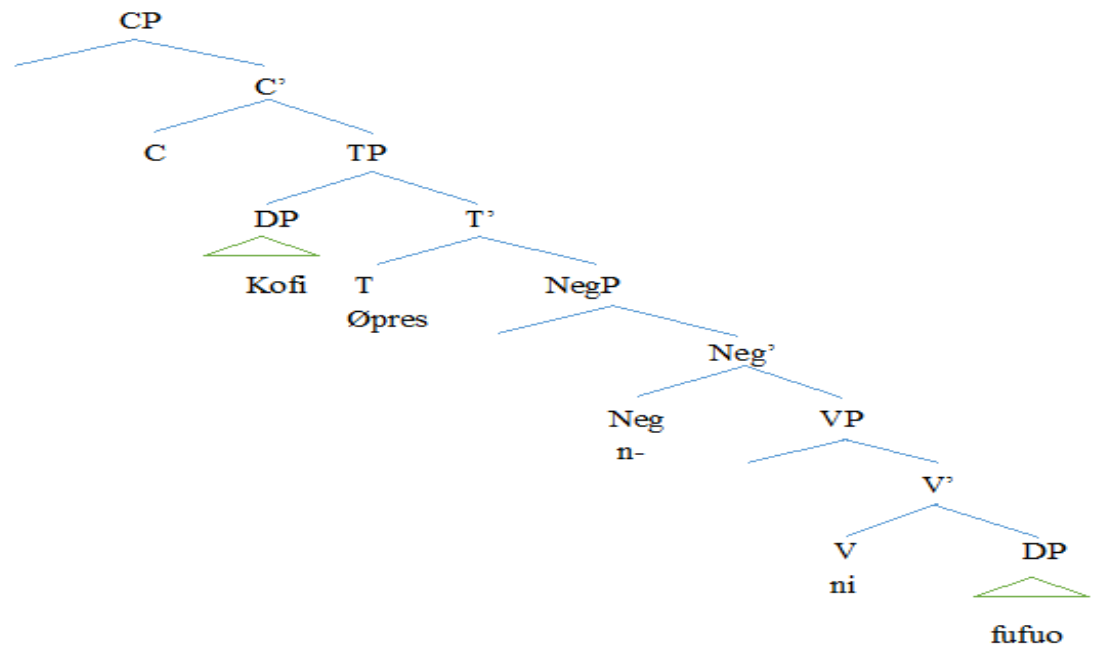
3.6.1 Simple clause

Negation in a simple clause is done by attaching the negative marker to the verb. It has already been stated that negation in Akan is pre-verbal. Simple clause, in this context, refers to a mono-clausal sentence with only one verb.

14. Kofi n-ni fufuo.
 Kofi NEG-eat fufu
 'Kofi doesn't eat fufu.'

In the example above, the negative marker *n-* appears before the main verb *ni*. The negative marker is said to take scope over the entire verb phrase. Therefore, the negative marker scopes over *di fufuo* ‘eat fufu’. This is illustrated in the tree below.

15. Tree diagram of a simple clause



One can conclude from the tree above that in negating a simple clause, the negative marker takes scope over the VP. The subject, however, takes scope over the negative marker. For instance, in her paper on negation in Akan, Amfo (2010) states that quantifiers take scope over negation in Akan.

16. Biribiara re-n-si.
Q-UNIV FUT-NEG-happen
'Nothing will happen.' (literally: everything/anything will not happen)
(Amfo 2010:106)

Negation in Akan seems to support the notion of c-command. Negation takes scope over all constituents to its right. However, since subjects are to the left of the negative marker, negation is unable to take scope over them.

3.6.2 Complex clause

Let's consider certain complex constructions. How is negation marked in such constructions as multi-verbal constructions, causatives and co-ordinate structures?

3.6.2.1 Serial verb constructions

In serial verb constructions, constructions in which there are more than one verb in a series, negation is marked on each verb. Osum (2004:34) identifies two types of serial verb constructions: clause-chaining (CC) SVC and integrated SVC (ISVC).

Clause-chaining serialization involves a series of ‘sequential’ ‘potentially independent events’, whereas Integrated SVC type ‘represents tightly integrated events’. ISVCs cannot be sub-divided, but CCs can be divided into their composite clausal constituents. See the examples below.

17. (a) Ama a-kɔ Kumasi a-ba.
Ama PERF-go Kumasi PERF-come
'Ama has gone to Kumasi and returned'.

(b) Aba yɛ-ɛ asɔr ma-a Kofi (Fa)
 Aba do-COMPL prayer give-COMPL Kofi
 ‘Aba prayed for Kofi.’ (Osam 2003:15)

(c) Gyasiba nya-a sika si-i dan tɔn-ee (Fa)
 Gyasiba get-COMPL money build-COMPL house sell-COMPL
 ‘Gyasiba got money, built a house and sold it’. (Osam 2003:15)

(17a & b) are examples of ISVC, whereas (17c) is an example of clause chaining. In negating an SVC, all the verbs in the series must bear the negative marker (Saah 1995). The sentence would be ungrammatical even if one verb in the series is not marked by negation.

18. (a) Kofi a-n-noa aduane a-n-ni.
 Kofi PERF-NEG-cook food PERF-NEG-eat
 ‘Kofi didn’t cook the food to eat.’

(b) Aba a-n-yɛ asɔr a-m-ma Kofi (Fa)
 Aba PERF-NEG-do prayer PERF-NEG-give Kofi
 ‘Aba did not pray for Kofi.’

(c) *Aba a-n-yɛ asɔr a-ma Kofi (Fa)
 Aba PERF-NEG-do prayer PERF-give Kofi
 ‘Aba did not pray for Kofi.’

(d) Gyasiba a-n-nya sika a-n-si dan
 Gyasiba PERF-NEG-get money PERF-NEG-build house
 a-n-tɔn. (Fa)
 PERF-NEG-sell
 ‘Gyasiba didn’t get money to build a house and sell.’

We can see in (18) that every verb bears the negative marker in Akan. (18c) is ungrammatical because one of the verbs *ma* remains positive.

Osam (2004:40) identifies some sub-dialects of Fante in which in an SVC, the negative marker can be on just the first verb. This, he states, happens because a

certain format he calls *n-kɛ* format is adopted. When the *n-kɛ* or *n-kɔ* format is used, the second verb carries no negative marker. Negation on the initial verb still takes scope over the subsequent verb(s) (Osam 2004:40).

19. Mo-**n-kɔ**-tɔ bi a-ma wo
 1SG SUBJ-NEG-FUT-buy some CONS-give 2SG.OBJ
 ‘I will not buy some for you.’

In (19) above, the second verb *ma* does not carry any negation marker; ‘but it is understood that the negation on the initial verb has scope over the remaining verb’ (Osam 2004).

Identifying the scope of negation on SVCs is a bit burdensome. This is because one needs to find out which actual verb gets the negative interpretation. Interpreting an SVC is mostly ambiguous. For example, (18a) may be interpreted as either *Kofi did not cook the food to eat (he cooked it for someone)* or *Kofi did not eat by cooking the food (he bought the food)*. (18b) may also be interpreted as *Ama prayed, but not for Kofi*, or *Ama didn’t pray for Kofi*. (18d) may also be interpreted in several ways, depending on which verb negation scopes over.

It is, therefore, very important to know the scope of negation on an SVC. To do this, the listener may refer to a previous sentence in the discourse to inform him/her about what the speaker implies. Also, the speaker might adopt the cleft construction to narrow the scope of negation to just the focused constituent.

20. Condition on negation

If $[\beta \dots \gamma]$ is an SVC, then all verbs or verb-like morphemes in $[\beta \dots \gamma]$ must agree in being $[\alpha \text{NEG}]$

It appears that negation takes scope over just one verb in an SVC. The other verbs only are marked by negation due to feature checking. It may be possible that because Akan is a polarity concord language, all verbs in the sentence must agree in features. So, the negative is marked on all the verbs, but the scope is on just one. Saah (1995:160) gives a condition on negation:

According to him, all verbs in a series must either be negative or positive (Saah 1995:161).

3.6.2.2 *Negating Consecutive verb constructions*

This construction, in Akan, is introduced by the future or progressive marker. In a multi-verb construction, the verb(s) following the verb in progressive or future is marked as consecutive. The consecutive marker is *a-* prefixed to the verb stem (Dolphyne 1987). Saah (1995) refers to Dolphyne's (1987) consecutive verb constructions as coordinate structures. He differentiates these structures from SVCs. In that, in coordinate verb constructions (CVCs), we can insert a conjunction but not in SVCs. Also, SVCs bear the same Tense/Aspect forms but CVCs do not. In negating CVCs, it is either the first part of the conjoint or the second part is negated. Therefore, while one conjoint is negative, the other is positive, and vice versa. This is illustrated below.

21. (a) ɔ-be-tete akutu a-kye a-ma mbofra no. (Fa)
 3S-AUX-pluck orange CONS-share CONS-give children the
 ‘S/he will pluck oranges and share (them) and give (them) to the children.’
(Saah 1995:161, ex. 29a)

(b) ɔ-re-n-tete akutu n-kyɛ m-ma mbofra no.

3S-PROG-pluck orange CONS-share CONS-give children the
 ‘S/he won’t pluck oranges and share (them) and give (them) to the
 children.’

(Saah 1995:161, ex. 30)

(c) ɔ-re-n-tete akutu na ɔ-a-kyɛ a-ma mbofra
 3S-AUX-pluck orange &THEN 3S-CONS-share CONS-give children
 no.

the

‘S/he won’t pluck oranges and share (them) and give (them) to the
 children.’

(Saah 1995:162, ex. 32a)

(d) ɔ-re-tete akutu na ɔ-n-kyɛ m-ma mbofra
 3S-PROG-pluck orange &THEN 3S-NEG-share CONS-give children
 no.

the

‘S/he is plucking oranges but won’t/isn’t about to share (them) and give
 (them) to the children.’

(Saah 1995:162, ex. 32b)

In the above examples (20a-d), we observe that if the construction is mono-clausal, then all the verbs must be either positive as in (20a) or inflect for negation as in (20b). However, when a conjunction is inserted, as in (20c & d), then, they may vary in polarity.

3.6.2.3 *Negation in Causative constructions*

In simple terms, causation refers to a construction in which somebody (or something) makes another entity do something as illustrated below.

22. John made the water boil.

In (22), *John* did something that caused the water to boil (perhaps he fanned the flame).

23. (a) Ansah frɛ-ɛ Yaa ma-a no bo-o Ama.
 Ansah call-COMPL Yaa make-PST 3SG-OBJ beat-PAST Ama
 ‘Ansah called Yaa and made her beat Ama’.

The structure of causatives is given below (Duah 2013:157).

24. [NP₁causer má [NP₂causee V...]]

In the above schema, the NP₁ is the causer (always the Agent); NP₂ is the causee (the Patient/ Agent/ Theme). The second bracket is the caused event.

Duah (2013) identifies 2 morphosyntactic types of causatives in Akan: **Periphrastic** and **Non-periphrastic** causatives. In causative constructions, the verbs exhibit the same Tense/Aspect/Mood.

Some examples of **non-periphrastic causatives** are lexical and cause-effect serialization. Verbs that fall under this type include *bu* ‘to break, fell’, *wae* ‘to tear, split’, *we* ‘to dry’, *woso/him* ‘to shake, tremble’, and *bae* ‘to loosen’ (Duah 2013).

25. Kofi kum-m akokɔ no.
 Kofi kill-COMPL chicken DET
 ‘Kofi killed the chicken’. (Duah 2013: 83)

In the illustration above, the Agent *Kofi* causes *akokɔ no* ‘the chicken’, which is the Patient, to die. This is an example of causation. This example only has two participants.

Periphrastic causatives in Akan are introduced by the causative verb *ma*, which occurs as the initial verb (Duah 2013). The other verb in the construction depicts the caused event or the effect of the causation, as exemplified below.

26. (a) Ansah frɛ-ɛ Yaa ma-a no bo-o Ama.

Ansah call-COMPL Yaa make-PST 3SG-OBJ beat-PAST Ama
 ‘Ansah called Yaa and made her beat Ama’.

- (b) *Ansah frɛ-ɛ Yaa ma-a no bo Ama.
 Ansah call-COMPL Yaa make-PST 3SG-OBJ beat Ama

The Causer in the above example is *Ansah*; Patient is *Ama*; and *Yaa* is the Causee: *Ansah causes Yaa to beat Ama*. It can also be realized that the verbs in the sentence *frɛ* ‘call’ and *bo* ‘beat’ are all in the past as in (21a). Example (21b) would therefore be ungrammatical.

In this section, I discuss issues on negating *ma*-constructions in Akan. In negating causative constructions in Akan, all the verbs inflect for negation as exemplified below.

27. (a) Ansah a-m-frɛ Yaa_i a-m-ma no_i
 Ansah PERF-NEG-call Yaa PERF-NEG-make 3SG.OBJ
 a-m-mo Ama.
 PERF-NEG-beat Ama
 ‘Ansah didn’t call Yaa and made her beat Ama.’

- (b) Ansah frɛ-ɛ Yaa_i a-m-ma no_i a-m-mo
 Ansah call-PAST Yaa PERF-NEG-make 3SG.OBJ PERF-NEG-beat
 Ama.
 Ama
 ‘Ansah called Yaa and caused her not to beat Ama’.

- (c) Ansah a-m-frɛ Yaa_i ma no_i bo-o Ama.
 Ansah PERF-NEG-call Yaa make 3SG.OBJ beat-PAST Ama
 ‘Ansah didn’t call Yaa and made her beat Ama’.

As can be seen in the example (25a), all the verbs bear the negative marker. There are other instances of causation where not all the verbs overtly mark negation. Let’s take a look at (25b &c). It may not necessarily be the case that if you omit negation

on a verb in a causative construction, then the sentence is ungrammatical. Both (25b&c) have at least one verb not inflected for negation. It is possible to have the embedded sentence remain positive while the main clause is negative, as in (25c).

3.6.2.4 *Conditional clause*

This refers to constructions with two clauses: an independent clause and a dependent clause. The dependent clause, also referred to as the subordinate clause, cannot stand on its own, but depends on the main clause. The main clause is independent, and can function without adding anything to it. Examples of such constructions are below. The subordinate clause mostly has the conditional maker *a* attached to it.

28. (a) Wo-da a, me-fɔ wo.
 2SG-sleep COND 1SG.FUT-wet 2SG.OBJ
 ‘If you sleep, I will wet you.’

In (29), the first part of the sentence is the subordinate clause (it has the conditional marker). Negating such construction is nothing different from the assertion made so far. It is possible to negate both clauses at the same time (as in 29a), or negate one part (as in 29b &c). This could be either the dependent or independent clause.

29. (a) Wo a-n-na a, me-m-fɔ wo.
 2SG PERF-NEG-sleep COND 1SG.FUT-NEG-wet 2SG.OBJ
 ‘If you don’t sleep, I will not wet you.’

- (b) Wo-da a, me-m-fɔ wo.
 2SG-sleep COND 1SG.FUT-NEG-wet 2SG.OBJ
 ‘If you sleep, I will not wet you.’

- (c) Wo a-n-na a, mɛ-fɔ wo.
 2SG PERF-NEG-sleep COND 1SG.FUT-wet 2SG.OBJ
 ‘If you don’t sleep, I will wet you.’

3.7 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I discussed certain aspects of negation in Akan. First, I introduced the Tense/Aspect/Mood systems of Akan, and how these interact with negation. Negation in Akan is marked by a homorganic nasal prefixed to the verb stem. The negative marker comes immediately before the verb stem. Any other affix appears before the negative marker or after the verb. I further discussed how negation is represented in X-bar theory. There, we found that negation c-commands the verb phrase. Therefore, negation scopes over the VP. However, it is not possible for negation to scope over the subject. Next, the categorization of negation was discussed. I first discussed the syntactic representation of negation. There, I looked at sentential and constituent negation. If the negative marker is attached to the verb in the sentence (sentential), its interpretation may be vague. Therefore, speakers adopt certain strategies to narrow the scope of the negation (constituent), such as clefting. Under the semantic categorization, I adopted Xiang et al.’s (2014) explicit and implicit types of negation. Overtly marking negation with the marker is an example of explicit negation. Sometimes, however, negative interpretation is implied (non-asserted). The hearer infers from the statement the speaker makes. Certain words aid him/her to make such inference. These include *yɛ nwanwa* ‘be surprised’.

The next sub-section discussed the scope of negation in simple and complex constructions, such as SVCs, causatives, consecutive (or coordinate) constructions, and subordinates. In that section, we discovered that the negative marker may not be marked on all verbs. Though Akan is a polarity concord language, not all constructions would have the polarity checked. It, however, seemed that if the construction is bi-clausal, then either the verbs in the embedded clause must agree in polarity or the verbs in the main clause must do so. It is not possible to have verbs in an immediate clause disagree in polarity. This gives the scope of negation constrained as the immediate clause. In serial verb constructions, the conclusion that was reached is that the negative marking on each verb is just an issue of polarity concord. Since such constructions are mono-clausal, they must all bear the negative marker so as not to violate the polarity concord rule. However, the negative marker scopes over just one verb, and may spread to other verbs in the series.

CHAPTER FOUR

NEGATIVE POLARITY ITEMS (NPIs) IN AKAN

4.0 Introduction

Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) refer to “words or expressions that can only occur in contexts that are in some sense negative” (Penka & Zeijlstra 2010: 772). Lawler (2007: 1) defines NPI as ‘a term applied to lexical items, fixed phrase, or syntactic construction types that demonstrate unusual behavior around negation’.

They can be found in almost every natural language (Giannakidou 2008). Examples include *any*, *fathom*, *in weeks*, etc. in English (Krifka 1995, Lawler 2007, Rothschild 2009, Giannakidou 2011). Consider the following examples from Giannakidou (2011).

1. (a) Bill didn’t buy *any* books.
- (b) *Bill bought *any* books.

(Giannakidou 2011:1661)

In the above sentences, we can deduce that *any* occurs in negative contexts as seen in (1a), but not in positive sentences as in (1b). According to Rothschild (2009: 2), NPIs “seem happy under negation and are sometimes unhappy without negation”.

In this chapter, I discuss the nature or types of some NPIs in Akan and look at the contexts in which they occur. I will also examine how the NPIs are licensed and what these licensors are.

4.1 Categories of NPIs

NPIs are not only words; phrases can also occur in negative contexts. Certain expressions like idioms and collocations can be negative polarity items (Lawler 2007:1). Some English examples include *any*, *fathom*, *ever*, *in weeks*, *not too bright*, *drink a drop*, *dare (not) reply* (Lawler 2007) etc. These are used in sentences like those below.

2. (a) John didn't ***ever*** meet his professor for lunch.

(b) *John ***ever*** met his professor for lunch.

(Lawler 2007)

3. (a) They haven't found a reliable contractor ***yet***.

(a') *They have found a reliable contractor ***yet***.

(b) Mark didn't contribute ***a red cent*** to the relief fund.

(b') *Mark contributed ***a red cent*** to the relief fund.

(c) I'm not ***all that*** anxious to visit them.

(c') *I'm ***all that*** anxious to visit them.

(Ladusaw 1996:4)

The negative sentences in (3a, b, c) are originally from Ladusaw (1996). The affirmative ones (3a', b', c') are given to show the contrast and make a point that these words cannot occur in affirmative sentences. These words and phrases as seen in the examples above make an affirmative sentence unacceptable.

It is worth stating that NPIs may occur in other non-negative contexts. Some of these contexts are said to have covert negation. For instance, the word *surprise*

may be used when something is *not expected*. Therefore, it has a negative connotation, though it is not a negative word. In a sentence with *surprise*, a negative polarity item will thrive as grammatical. Let's take a look at the example below from Pietarinen (2003).

4. (a) I was surprised that he ***budged an inch***.

(Pietarinen 2003:3, ex. 3)

In (4) above, *surprise* allows the NPI *budged an inch* to function well in the sentence. The word *surprise*, as stated earlier bears a negative connotation. This is why the sentence is grammatical.

4.2 Negative polarity items in Akan

Like other languages of the world, Akan also has negative polarity items, though the number is few. They include the following:

<i>hwee</i>	any/nothing
<i>huu</i>	nothing
<i>di gyina</i>	to last long
<i>si aga</i>	get nowhere
<i>ka se</i>	be distasteful
<i>twa tawu</i>	be forceful

These expressions may occur in sentences as the following.

5. (a) Wo a-n-ka ***hwee***.
 2SG.SUBJ PERF-NEG-say anything
 'You didn't say anything'/'You said nothing'.

(b) *Wo ka-a *hwee*.
 2SG.SUBJ say-PAST anything

6. (a) Wo-n-tumi n-ye *huu*.
 2SG-NEG-be.able NEG-do anything
 ‘You can’t do anything’.

(b) *Wo-be-tumi a-ye *huu*.
 2SG-FUT-be.able CONS-do anything

7. (a) Nea wo-re-ye yi n-*si* *aga*.
 what 2SG-PROG-do this NEG-end nowhere
 ‘What you are doing will not get anywhere’/..will get nowhere’.

(b) *Nea wo-re-ye yi be-*si* *aga*.
 what 2SG-PROG-do this FUT-end nowhere

8. (a) Nea wo-re-ye yi n-*ka* *se*.
 what 2SG-PROG-do this NEG-touch teeth
 ‘What you are doing is distasteful.’

(b) *Nea wo-re-ye yi *ka se*.
 what 2SG-PROG-do this touch teeth

9. (a) E-a-n-*ni* *gyina* na ɔ-ba-eɛ.
 3SG-PERF-NEG-eat stand FOC 3SG-come-PAST
 ‘He came in no time.’

(b) *E-*di*-i *gyina* na ɔ-ba-eɛ.
 3S-eat stand FOC 3SG-come-PAST

10. (a) ɔ-n-***twa*** ***tawu***.⁹
 3SG-NEG-cut nothing
 ‘He is not hardworking.’

- (b)*ɔ-***twa*** ***tawu***.
 3SG-cut nothing

In the examples above, the expressions **boldened** and *italicised* are the NPIs. It can be seen that they occur in negative contexts. Some nouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives may function as NPIs. For example, in Akan, NPIs are from various categories: *hwee* and *huu* are nominal, *ka se* and *twa tawu* are verbal, while *di gyina* is adverbial.

These NPIs would be discussed in the subsequent sections: their features and distribution in sentences.

4.3 Features of Akan NPIs

Negative polarity items can be grouped into two: strong and weak NPIs (Martins 2000, Zwarts 1998). Strong NPIs are words that occur only in negative sentences. They have one and only one specified feature [+NEG] (Martins 2000). These include *hwee*, *huu*, *di gyina*, *si aga*, *twa tawu*. There are weak NPIs too. As

⁹ My attention was drawn to the fact that there is ***tawu*** in Akan, which means ‘fast’ as in the example below.

Yɛ no tawu tawu.
 do DEF fast fast
 ‘Do it in a hurry’.

This is however different from the NPI. The NPI is not only ***tawu***, but ***twa tawu*** (of which without negation is ungrammatical).

their name suggests, weak NPIs occur in negative and other non-negative contexts like conditional clauses, questions, imperatives and comparatives (Lawler 2005).

11. (a) Did you see *anybody*?

(b) He prefers beer to *any* other drink.

(Lawler 2005:1)

The English NPI *any*, as seen in (11), can be found in non-negative contexts. In (11a), *any* is found in questions, whereas in (11b), it is found in a comparative.

What makes a word a negative polarity item in Akan? One major feature of Akan NPIs is that they occur in negative sentences. Of the few ones identified in the thesis, none can be found in non-negative contexts. Based on this, we can assert that Akan NPIs are found in negative contexts, in which their affirmative counterparts are ungrammatical. This can be seen in (6), repeated here as (12).

12. (a) Wo-n-tumi n-yɛ *huu*.
 2SG-NEG-be.able NEG-do anything
 ‘You can’t do anything’.

(b) *Wo-be-tumi a-yɛ *huu*.
 2SG-FUT-be.able CONS-do anything
 ‘You can do anything’.

As (12) shows, Akan NPIs require a negative (NEG) marker. However, since (12b) does not contain NEG, the NPI cannot be licensed, and hence the sentence is ungrammatical.

4.4 Syntactic Analysis of NPIs

Under this sub-section, I discuss the structure of negative polarity items: the features, locality condition, and distribution of NPIs in certain sentence structures.

4.4.1 NPIs in Akan: their distribution and formal behavior

Below, I discuss some negative polarity items in Akan.

4.4.1.1 Hwee ‘anything’

This is a nominal NPI. It occurs in both subject and object positions. This is seen in the examples below.

13. (a) Me-n-ka hwee.
 1SG-NEG-say nothing
 ‘I will not say anything’.

- (b) *Me-ka hwee.
 1SG.FUT-say nothing
 ‘I will say anything’.

14. (a) Hwee re-n-hia no.
 nothing PROG-NEG-need 3SG.OBJ
 ‘He is needful of nothing’.

- (b) *Hwee re-hia no.
 nothing PROG-need 3SG.OBJ
 ‘He is needful of nothing’.

It can be observed that *hwee* occurs in both subject (14) and object (13) positions. However, it cannot occur in affirmative sentences as in (13b) and (14b). *Hwee* is grammatical only in negative contexts as in (13a) and (14a).

Hwee is described by Saah (1995) as a negative quantifier. He further states that it is not a negative polarity item. He bases his argument on DeGraff's (1993) diagnosis of distinguishing between negative quantifiers and NPIs. According to DeGraff (1993), NPIs 'must be in the scope of an appropriate trigger'. For instance, **Anybody saw me* is ungrammatical because the NPI scopes over negation (its trigger). DeGraff (1993) gives three tests for describing a word either as an NPI or a negative quantifier. He states that, NPIs may not be modified by 'almost'. The second point is that NPIs cannot occur in isolation. Then lastly, conditionals and comparatives license NPIs in their scope.

Of all three tests, it is only one that is applicable to Akan. As Saah correctly points out, there is no English equivalent of the word, *almost*. In terms of its isolation, *hwee* qualifies as an NPI. In Akan, conditionals may not license NPIs. Therefore, DeGraff's test is not a good diagnosis to determine the status of *hwee* as an NPI or not. In this thesis, *hwee* is treated as an NPI. Negative quantifiers may occur without negation. Example of negative quantifiers is *nobody*. This word does not need to be in a negative context. *Hwee* in Akan, on the other hand, always needs to be in the scope of negation. This warrants it as an NPI.

4.4.1.2 *Huu* (*tee*)

This is also a nominal NPI. This word seems to be used to depict inability or impossibility on the part of someone. It occurs only in object position. Consider the examples below.

15. (a) Kofi n-yɛ *huu*.
 Kofi NEG-do nothing
 ‘Kofi does nothing.’

- (b) * Kofi yɛ *huu*.
 Kofi do nothing
 ‘Kofi does nothing.’

- (c) * *Huu* n-yɛ Kofi.
 nothing NEG-do Kofi
 ‘nothing will happen to Kofi’

16. (a) Me-n-suro *huu*.
 1SG-NEG-fear nothing
 ‘I’m afraid of nothing.’ (Gyekye-Aboagye 2011:1)

- (b) * Me-suro *huu*.
 1SG-fear nothing
 ‘I am afraid of nothing.’

From the examples above, *huu* can occur in negative sentences but not affirmative ones. This is seen in (13a) and (14a). (13b) and (14b), the affirmative sentences, are ungrammatical. It can also be observed that in (13c), it is impossible for *huu* to occur in subject position.

This word does not allow for any other complement or even an adjunct. Unlike *hwee* that can take an adjunct like *koraa* ‘at all’, *huu* does not. There’s a certain optional element, however, that *huu* can occur with—*tee*. It intensifies the degree

of inability of the entity or subject under discussion. Let's take a look at the sentences below.

17. (a) Kofi n-tumi n-yε **huu** tee.
 Kofi NEG-be.able NEG-do nothing at.all
 'Kofi can do nothing at all.'

- (b) *Kofi n-tumi n-yε **huu** koraa.
 Kofi NEG-be.able NEG-do nothing at.all
 'Kofi cannot do anything at all.'

(15b) is ungrammatical because, as stated above, **huu** cannot occur with **koraa** or any other adverb for that matter, except **tee**.

4.4.1.3 *Di gyina*

Aside the nominal, it is possible to have verbal entities functioning as NPIs. Certain verbs, together with their complement, may operate as NPIs in Akan. Anytime there is the expression **di gyina** in a sentence, then the sentence must be negative. This expression cannot occur in affirmative sentence. Let's take a look at examples below.

18. (a) E-a-n-**ni** **gyina** na Ama wo-oeε
 3SG-PERF-NEG-eat stand FOC Ama give.birth-PAST
 'Ama gave birth in no time.'
- (b) *E-**di**-i **gyina** na Ama wo-oeε
 3SG-eat-PAST stand FOC Ama give.birth-PAST
 'Ama gave birth in time.'

This NPI must always occur in focus constructions. It is impossible to have it in either subject or object position. It is an adverbial NPI---it describes how soon a

situation occurred. We would have an ungrammatical sentence if what the expression modifies is not attached. For instance;

19. (a) *Kofi a-n-ni gyina.
 Kofi PERF-NEG-eat stand
 ‘Kofi didn’t keep long.’

- (b) Kofi a-n-ni gyina na ɔ-ba-a fie.
 Kofi PERF-NEG-eat stand FOC 3SG-come-PAST home
 ‘Kofi didn’t keep long before he came home.’

4.4.1.4 *Si aga*

This expression is only and always found in negative contexts. It is an inherent complement verb. It means ‘*to amount to nothing*’, literally as ‘*end nowhere*’. Let’s take a look at the data provided below to throw more light on the features of *si aga*.

20. (a) ɔ-a-n-tumi ne no
 3SG.SUBJ-PAST-NEG-be.able CONJ 3SG.OBJ
 a-n-si aga.
 PAST-NEG-end nowhere
 ‘He couldn’t battle with him.’

- (b) *ɔ-tumi ne no si-i aga.
 3SG.SUBJ-be.able CONJ 3SG.OBJ end-PAST nowhere
 ‘He could battle with him.’

- (c) Kofi nhyehyee no a-n-ko-si aga.
 Kofi plans DET PAST-NEG-go-end nowhere
 ‘Kofi’s plans didn’t get anywhere.’

- (d) *Kofi nhyehyee no ko-si-i aga.
 Kofi plans DET go-end-PAST nowhere

‘Kofi’s plans didn’t get anywhere’

(e) *Kofi nhyehyɛ no *aga* a-n-ko-si.

Kofi plans DET nowhere PAST-NEG-go-end

si aga as illustrated in the data above cannot behave well in affirmative contexts (as in 20d). This expression is a verb phrase on its own; where *si* is the verb and *aga* is its direct object (its complement). Therefore, *aga* must appear immediately after *si* (not before it, as in 20e) without any intervening node. Also, the phrase can take an object. If it does, the object comes in between *si* and *aga* as in 20d above.

4.4.1.5 *Ka se*

This expression is a verbal NPI. It is a verb phrase: verb *ka* ‘touch’, with the DP *se* ‘teeth’ as the complement. It occurs only in negative clauses. Its occurrence in affirmative constructions renders the sentence as ungrammatical. Consider the following examples.

21. (a) Nea wo-re-yɛ yi *n-ka* *se*.
 what 2SG-PROG-do this NEG-touch teeth
 ‘What you are doing is distasteful.’

(b) *Nea wo-re-yɛ yi *ka* *se*.
 what 2SG-PROG-do this touch teeth
 ‘What you are doing is distasteful.’

It is ungrammatical to put *ka se* in an affirmative sentence as in (19b).

4.4.2 *Distribution of NPIs in various constructions*

In this section, I discuss the position of Akan NPIs in various constructions.

Among these constructions include questions and focus constructions.

4.4.2.1 *Questions*

According to Sano et al. (2009:233), NPIs cannot appear as elliptical answers to questions in English. For instance,

22. Q: What did you see?

A: ***Anything**.

(Sano et al 2009: 233)

In the above example, one cannot answer a question by just stating the NPI. To use an NPI, then we need negation (*I didn't see **anything***). This goes to support the assertion that NPIs need to be licensed; they cannot occur without the licenser. This is similar to what happens in Akan. An Akan NPI cannot be an elliptical answer to a question, as illustrated below.

23. Q: Wo ka-a deɛn?
 2SG.SUBJ say-PAST what
 ‘What did you say?’

A: i. **Hwee*

A: ii. Me a-n-ka **hwee**
 1SG.SUBJ PERF-NEG-say anything
 ‘I didn't say anything’.

24. Q: E-ko-si-i sɛn?

3SG.INANIM-go-end-PAST how
 ‘How did end it?’

A: i. **Aga*

A: ii. A-n-ko-si aga
 PERF-NEG-go-end nowhere
 ‘It amounted to nothing.’

From the above illustration, it can be seen that NPIs in Akan cannot be used as elliptical answers (23Ai, 24Ai). In answering a question, an entire sentence must be given. This is because, negation (licenser) is very critical to NPIs, as indicated in (23Aii, 24Aii).

4.4.2.2 *Focus constructions*

Anytime a speaker realizes that the information he or she is giving is unexpected to the listener, he or she highlights that (new) information. To do this, the speaker uses focus construction. In Akan, focus marking is done both prosodically (Kugler & Genzel 2011), morphologically and syntactically (Saah 1998). The focused element is moved to the sentence initial position then the (obligatory) focus marker (*na*) is attached to the focused constituent. Any grammatical element can be focused (either subject or object), as illustrated below.

25. (a) Ama bà-à ha.
 Ama come-PAST here
 ‘AMA came here’.

(b) Ama **na** ɔ-bá-à ha.
 Ama FOC 3SG-come-PAST here

‘It was AMA who came here’.

- (c) ϵ ha **na** Ama bá-à- ϵ .
 here FOC Ama come-PAST

‘It was HERE that Ama came’.

26. (a) Ama a-m-mà ha.
 Ama PAST-NEG-come here
 ‘Ama didn’t come here’.

- (b) Ama **na** ɔ - a-m-mà ha.
 Ama FOC 3SG- PAST-NEG-come here
 ‘It was AMA who didn’t come here’.

- (c) ϵ ha **na** Ama a-m-mà.
 here FOC Ama PAST-NEG-come
 ‘It was HERE that Ama didn’t come’.

From the examples above, it can be said that phrases in an Akan construction can be focused, whether a subject DP (23b) or an object DP (24c). In clauses with NPIs, there still has to be negation in the scope of the NPI. Therefore, the cleft structure (“it isn’t X that/who”) is used. However, certain NPIs in Akan cannot be focused, such as *si aga*. See below for illustrations.

27. (a) ɔ -m-fa hwee ho.
 3SG-NEG-take anything self
 ‘S/he doesn’t care about anything’.

- (b) ϵ -n-y ϵ hwee na ɔ -fa ho.
 3SG-NEG-be anything FOC 3SG-take self
 ‘It isn’t ANYTHING that s/he cares about’.

- (c) * ϵ -y ϵ hwee na ɔ -m-fa ho.
 3SG-be anything FOC 3SG-NEG-take self
 ‘It is ANYTHING that s/he doesn’t care about’.

(25) illustrates the clefting of the polarity item *hwee*. In (25b), since there is negation in the cleft construction, the NPI can be triggered, hence, the grammaticality of the sentence. In (25c), since there is no negative marker in the cleft construction, though the other part has a negative marker, the sentence is ungrammatical. This is because, the position of the negative marker in (25c) cannot trigger or license the NPI.

4.4.3 Locality condition of negative polarity items

Adopting Progovac's (1993) account of the Binding theory, as explained in the second chapter of this thesis, we find out how Akan NPIs behave with negation.

I first examine the occurrence of NPIs in different sentence structures before tackling their locality constraints.

4.4.3.1 NPIs in mono-clausal constructions

Every NPI has its part of speech or word class. These NPIs fill their slot in a sentence. For instance, *hwee* and *huu* are nouns. It also seems that NPIs have specific positions in multi verb constructions, such as SVCs. For instance, when the NPI is in the object position, then the NPI must be a complement to the verb. See the examples below.

28. (a) m'-a-n-tumi a-n-kɔ-fa *hwee*.
 1SG-PERF-NEG-be.able CONS-NEG-go-take anything
 'I couldn't go to pick anything'.
- (b) *m'-a-n-tumi *hwee* a-n-kɔ-fa.
 1SG-PERF-NEG-be.able anything CONS-NEG-go-take
 'I couldn't go to pick anything'.

In (28) above, *tumi* does not take *hwee* as its complement (28b), but the verb *fa* (28a). Therefore, *hwee* must be a complement to *fa*.

- | | | | | | |
|---------|---|-------------|-------------|--------|-------|
| 29. (a) | Me-n-tu | <i>hwee</i> | m-firi | fam | ho. |
| | 1SG-NEG-uproot | anything | NEG-from | ground | there |
| | 'I will not uproot anything from the ground'. | | | | |
| (b) | *Me-n-tu | mfiri | <i>hwee</i> | fam | ho. |
| | 1SG-NEG-uproot | NEG-from | anything | ground | there |

NPIs do not occur after the last verb in a series, but they occur after whichever verb they complement in the series. For instance, in (29), *hwee* complements the verb *tu*. Therefore, it would be ungrammatical to position *hwee* after the last verb in the series *firi*. It must occur immediately after *tu*.

4.4.3.2 NPIs in bi-clausal constructions

In a sentence with an embedded or dependent clause, a negative polarity item may occur either in the embedded clause or the main clause. There is no limitation on its occurrence in any of the clauses. However, a constraint is placed on the occurrence with its licenser. This is to say that NPIs occur with their licenser (mainly negation) in the clause. Omission of the licenser renders the sentence ungrammatical. Let's see below for illustrations.

30. (a) wo-n-tumi n-yε no *hwee*.
 2SG-NEG-be.able NEG-DO 3SG anything
 ‘You cannot do anything to him/her’.

- (b) wo-yε no hwee a, ε-n-yε yie.
 2SG-do 3SG.OBJ anything COND 3SG-NEG-do well
 ‘Whatever you do to him/her, it will not work’.
- (c) *wo-yε no hwee a, ε-bε-yε yie.
 2SG-do 3SG.OBJ anything COND 3SG-FUT-be well
- (d) wo-a-n-yε no hwee a, ε-n-yε yie.
 2SG-PERF-NEG-do 3SG.OBJ anything COND 3SG-NEG-be well
 ‘If you do not do anything to him/her, it will not work’.
- (e) wo-a-n-yε no hwee a, ε-bε-yε yie.
 2SG-PERF-NEG-do 3SG.OBJ anything COND 3SG-FUT-be well
 ‘If you do not do anything to him/her, it will work’.

(30a) is a simple sentence. (30b-e) are bi-clausal constructions. The NPI in 30b is in the embedded clause while the negative marker is in the main clause. It would be ungrammatical to have the NPI without negation as in 30c. It is possible to have the negative marker in both the main and subordinate/dependent clause as in 30d. Looking at (30e), it is also possible to have the negative marker and the NPI in the embedded clause, leaving the main clause positive. A conclusion can be drawn that there should be at least one instance of negation in a clause to warrant the occurrence of an NPI.

4.4.3.3 *The Locality constraint on NPI licensing*

Let’s proceed to discuss the locality constraint on NPIs. According to Progovac (1993), NPIs are bound, and that they are subject to the principle A. *Bound* in the syntactic sense means NPIs are c-commanded by negation in their binding domain.

Progovac defines the binding domain of NPIs as the clause. We present data here to support the claims we would make about the locality conditions of Akan NPIs.

31. (a) *Hwee* m-fa ne ho.
 Anything NEG-take 3SG.POSS self
 ‘S/he cares about nothing’.
- (b) ∅-m-fa *hwee* ho.
 3SG-NEG-take anything self
 ‘S/he doesn’t care about anything’.
- (c) *∅-fa *hwee* ho.
 3SG-take anything self
 ‘S/he cares about anything’.
32. (a) Me-nim sɛ ∅-m-fa *hwee* ho.
 1SG-know COMP 3SG-NEG-take anything self
 ‘I know that s/he doesn’t care about anything’.
- (b) Me-n-nim sɛ ∅-m-fa *hwee* ho.
 1SG-NEG-know COMP 3SG-NEG-take anything self
 ‘I don’t know that s/he doesn’t care about anything’.
- (c) *Me-n-nim sɛ ∅-fa *hwee* ho.
 1SG-NEG-know COMP 3SG-take anything self
 ‘I don’t know that s/he cares about anything’.

The examples in (29) are simple constructions, whereas (30) are complex constructions. From the sentences in (29-30), it can be deduced that the negative marker *N-* must be present in a negative clause (as in 29*a*, 30*a-b*). Its absence would make the sentence ungrammatical (29*b*, 30*c*). Based on this, we can predict that the negative marker is the licenser of NPIs. Therefore, negation binds the NPI.

The binding domain of an NPI is the **immediate clause that carries the licenser**.

Therefore, the licenser (negative marker) and the negative polarity item must be in

the same clause. Yamashita (n.d), adopting Muraki's account (1978:(4)), posits the domain of NPI as below.

33. Clause-mate Condition (CMC):

NPI must be clause-mate with Neg.

(Yamashita *n.d*:4, ex. 4)

If the NPI is in the embedded clause, then the verb in the embedded clause must carry the negative marker. Without that, then the sentence would be ungrammatical.

34. (a) Bill-ga Pam-ni [Mary-to-*sika*_i John-ga t_i atta to]
 Bill-NOM Pam-DAT Mary-with-NPI John-NOM met C
 tutae-*nakat*-ta.
 tell-NEG-TNS
 'Bill (Neg) told Pam [[NPI] only Mary]_i John met t_i].'

- (b)* Bill-ga Pam-ni [John-ga Mary-to-*sika* atta to]
 Bill-NOMPam-DAT John-NOM Mary-with-NPI met C
 tutae-*nakat*-ta.
 tell-NEG-TNS
 'Bill (Neg) told Pam [John met [(NPI) only Mary]].'
 (Yamashita *n.d* pp.3, ex. 3)

35. (a) [Me-nim [sɛ ɔ-m-fa hwee ho]].
 1SG-know COMP 3SG-NEG-take anything self
 'I know that s/he doesn't care about anything'.

- (b) *[Me-n-nim [sɛ ɔ-fa hwee ho]].
 1SG-NEG-know COMP 3SG-take anything self
 'I don't know that s/he cares about anything'.

(34) affirms that NEG-NPI dependency cannot be cross-clausal: NEG in the matrix clause cannot license an NPI in the subordinate ("indicative") clause. Similarly, (35a) carries both the licenser (*m-*) and the negative polarity item (*hwee*) in the

same clause. (35b) is ungrammatical due to the fact that the licenser and the NPI are in different clauses.

There are situations, however, that prove otherwise. Sano et al. (2009:233) observed that in English, NPIs in an embedded sentence can be licensed by negation in a higher clause, as illustrated below.

36. [I didn't say [that John admired **anyone**]].

(Sano et al. 2009: 233)

It is possible, in Akan, to have the NPI in the subordinate clause licensed by a superordinate clause negation.

37. (a) [wo-yɛ no hwee a, [ɛ-n-yɛ yie]].
 2SG-do 3SG.OBJ anything COND 3SG-NEG-do well
 'Whatever you do to him/her, it will not work'.
- (b) *wo-yɛ no hwee a, ɛ-bɛ-yɛ yie.
 2SG-do 3SG.OBJ anything COND 3SG-FUT-be well
 'Whatever you do to him/her, it will work'.

In the above examples, the NPI in the subordinate clause is licensed by the negative marker in the main clause.

In some languages, NPIs are said to be licensed only in object position. Other languages also have the NPIs licensed only in subject position. In Akan, NPIs can be in both subject and object positions.

According to Ladusaw (1979), ‘the licenser must **linearly precede the NPI** if they are in the same clause’. This, he terms the *linearity constraint*. It means NPIs must be in the scope of negation (overt c-command) (Ladusaw 1979). In English, for instance, NPIs are licenced only in object position (where the negation appears before the NPI). See the example below.

38. a. **Anybody* didn't come.

b. Mary didn't see *anything*.

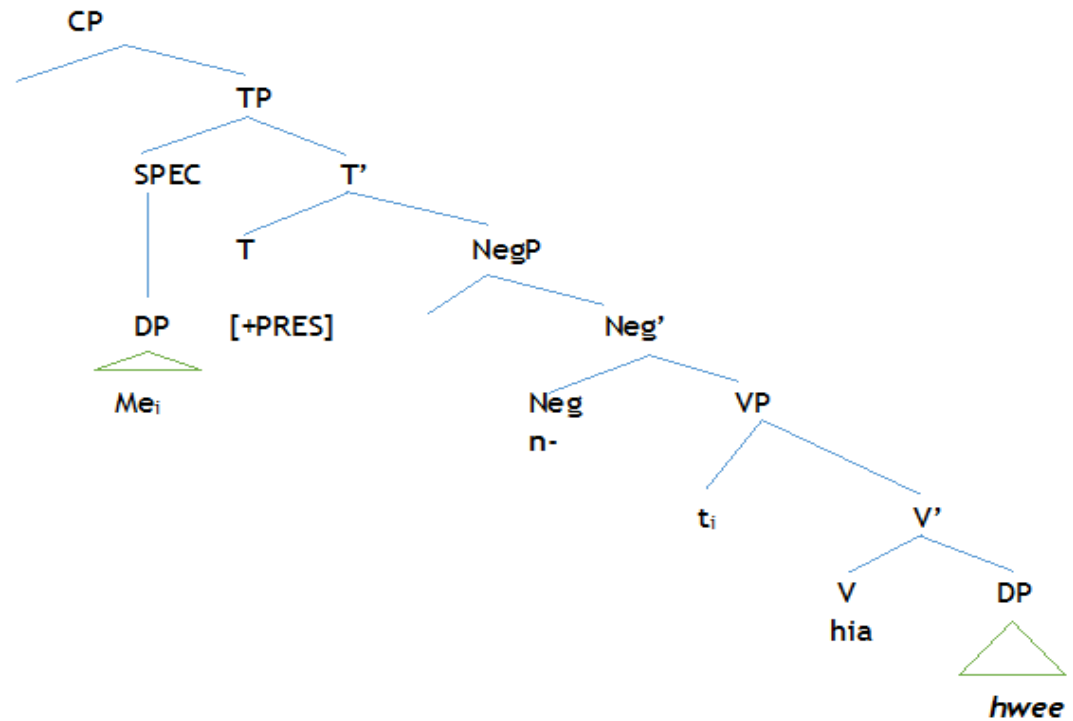
(Laka 1991:76)

From the sentences exemplified above, an English NPI cannot occupy the subject position as seen in (38a). It is rather the object position that an NPI must occupy (38b).

Kobele and Torrence (2006), writing on *intervention and focus in Asante Twi*, claim that NPIs are licensed in the direct object position. An example is given below.

39. (a) Me-n-hia *hwee*.
 1SG-NEG-need anything
 ‘I don’t need anything’.

(b) Me-n_i-hia *hwee_i*.



In the illustration above, the NPI *hwee* is in the direct object position (complement to the V). Therefore, the negative marker takes scope over it (NEG>VP).

In a language like Japanese, NPIs are licensed in subject positions (Yamashita *n.d.*), as illustrated below.

40. (a) John-ga Mary-to-*sika* awa-nakat-ta.
 John-NOM Mary-with-*NPI* meet-NEG-TNS
 ‘John _(Neg) met [_(NPI) only Mary].’

(Yamashita *n.d.*:3, ex. 2)

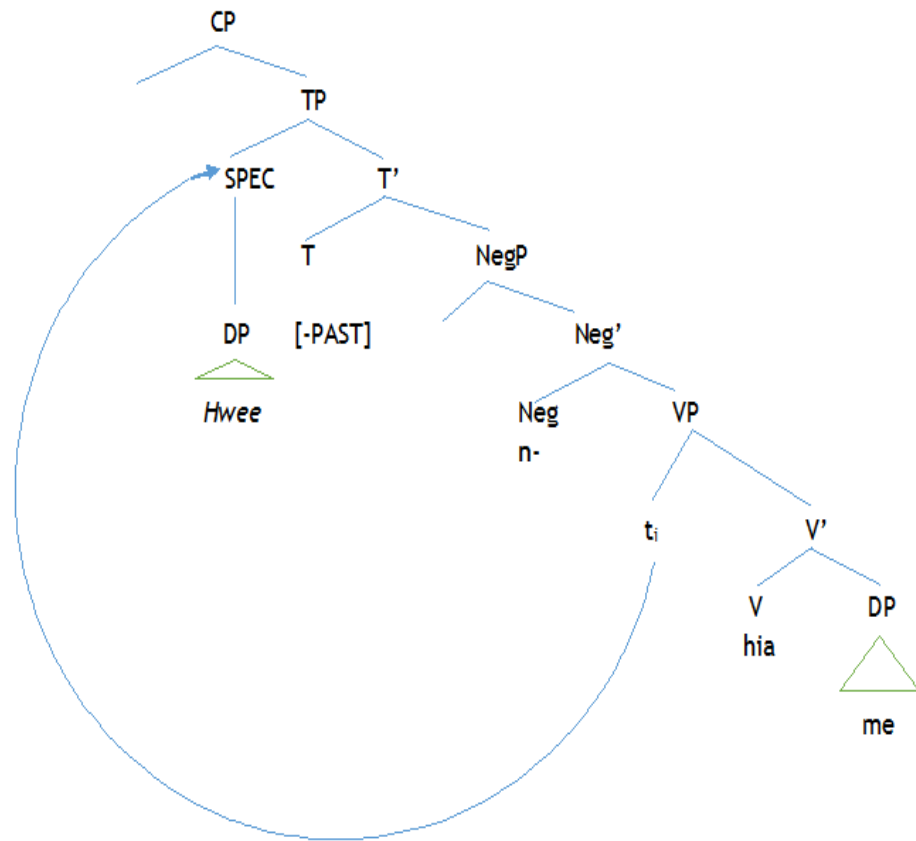
The NPI *sika* is seen in the subject position in the above Japanese sentence. In Akan, it is possible to have an NPI in subject position too. Take a look at this example.

41. (a) *Hwee*_i re-n_i-hia no.

nothing PROG-NEG-need him
'He is not needful of anything'.

From the examples in (41), the NPIs *hwee* is occurring in subject positions, preceding its licenser. We can base on this and say that, Akan NPIs do not behave like those NPIs in either English or Japanese. NPIs in Akan can precede or be preceded by their licensers (negation).

In the example above, though the NPI precedes its licenser, negation still takes scope over the NPI. A possible analysis would be that the NPI originates from the VP, then moves to get case (VP-Internal subject hypothesis as proposed by Haegeman 2006). This is represented on the tree below.



In the tree above, the NPI is first under the scope of negation (it is c-commanded by Neg). It originates from the VP to be assigned a theta role. It then moves to check its [+NOM] feature.

With the construction where the NPI is licensed by higher clause negation, a possible account is that the NPI and its licenser are first from the independent clause. Then, the NPI moves. That means the NPI checks its [+NEG] feature and also is assigned a theta role. The NPI does not need to check its [+NEG] feature anymore in the subordinate clause. This is illustrated below.

42. [wo-ye no *hwee*_i a, [ε_i-n-ye yie]].
 2SG-do 3SG.OBJ anything COND 3SG-NEG-do well
 ‘Whatever you do to him/her, it will not work’.

In the example, *hwee* in the dependent clause and ε- in the independent clause are co-indexed. It means that ε- is the resumptive pronoun of *hwee*. They both refer to the same thing. But since *hwee* moves, it leaves a resumptive pronoun in its place. This also takes care of the Extended Projection Principle (EPP), which states that every clause must have a subject (Carnie 2013).

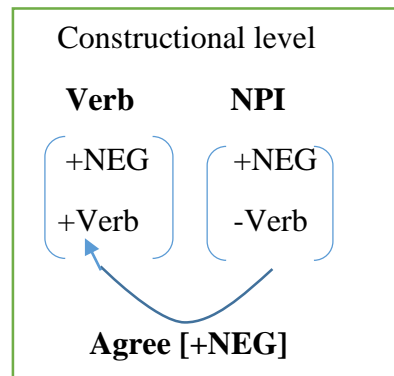
4.4.4 A possible semantic account for NPI occurrence in negative clauses

In sentence construction and interpretation, there are certain things we look out for. Words and phrases have certain features which restrict their usage. Verbs, for instance pick out their own arguments. An English verb like *smile* cannot take the argument *tree* as its subject because the verb requires a [+human] entity. In Akan, *nom* ‘drink’ would require liquids (*nsuo* ‘water’, *nsa* ‘drink’, *nkwan* ‘soup’) as its complement. Therefore, you cannot say *nom aboo* ‘drink stones’.

Similarly, in negation and polarity sensitive items, there are certain constraints. It has been already identified that negative polarity is a feature of negative concord languages. Therefore, concord can be used to account for the NPI occurrence, and why they need negation.

Akan is an SVX language (Amfo 2010:103). NPIs have a [+NEG] feature that needs to be checked in a sentence. See the diagram below.

43. Concord in negative sentences with NPIs (Ofori p.c)



NPIs seem to have an inherent negative feature [+NEG]. Therefore, in a construction with an NPI, the verb must also bear the [+NEG] feature. This is the reason the verb in a negative sentence always has a negative marker. Since an NPI is [-Verb], we get a grammatical sentence where the verb is already [+Verb].

This can be explained in terms of feature-checking as proposed by Chomsky (2000) in X-bar theory. What happens is that, Neg (the licenser) and the NPI (licensee) must **agree** in feature [+NEG].

4.4.4.1 Downward Entailment and NPIs

Ladusaw (1980:101) tries to account for NPI licensing in sentences. According to him, NPIs are licensed in downward entailing environments. In very simple terms, ‘a context is downward entailing if it supports inferences from supersets to subsets’ (Tonhauser 2001: 290). For example,

44. a. John doesn't own a car.

b. John doesn't own a Porsche.

(Tonhauser 2001: 290)

In the above examples, the superset is *car* and the subset is *Porsche*. (44a) entails (44b). It is true that, if John doesn't own a car, then he doesn't own a Porsche, a type of car.

NPIs are not licensed only in negative contexts, but also interrogatives, conditionals, etc. According to Ladusaw, so long as such contexts are downward entailing, then the NPI can be triggered. 'Any lexical item or phrasal expression is a trigger if its meaning is downward-entailing. Negations are simply one very obvious subclass of downward-entailing expressions' (Ladusaw 1980:101).

Applying this to Akan, a different result is obtained. Negation is downward entailing. Therefore, when there is a negative sentence, an NPI can thrive. For instance,

45. (a) Afua n-ni *hwee*.
 Afua NEG-have anything
 'Afua doesn't have anything.'

(b) Afua n-ni sika.
 Afua NEG-have money
 'Afua doesn't have money.'

(45a) downward entails (45b). If *Afua doesn't have anything*, then it must be true that *Afua doesn't have money*. The reverse, however, is not possible.

Certain words that can trigger NPIs in English include *reluctant*, *absurd*, *be-surprised*, *afraid*, *stupid*, and *ashamed* (Ladusaw 1980:104). This is exemplified below.

46. (a) We're surprised that anyone bought anything at all.

(b) X surprised that S \rightarrow X expect that neg S

Since surprise is downward entailing, the NPIs *anyone* and *anything* are licensed in (46a). (46b) gives the structure of (46a). (46a) means that *we expect that no one would buy anything at all*.

In Chapter three, we identified some Akan words that are implicitly negative. These words are downward-entailing. However, unlike English, NPIs are not triggered by such words. Without the negative marker, NPIs in Akan are not licensed. Therefore, in addition to these words, there must be the negative marker to license NPIs. Consider the examples below.

47. (a) * $\text{\text{E-y\text{e}}}$ me nwanwa se $\text{\text{ɔ-ka-a}}$ *hwee* koraa.

3SG-be 1SG surprise COMP 3SG-say-PAST anything at.all

'I am surprised that he said anything at all'.

(b) $\text{\text{E-y\text{e}}}$ me nwanwa se $\text{\text{ɔ-a-n-ka}}$ *hwee* koraa.

3SG-be 1SG surprise COMP 3SG-PERF-NEG-say anything at.all

'I am surprised that he didn't say anything at all'.

These examples above supports the fact that though *yɛ nwanwa* is inherently negative, it cannot trigger NPIs. The negative marker must necessarily be present in the sentence to trigger NPIs in Akan. Therefore, in Akan, the only downward-entailing context that NPIs can be found in is negation.

4.5 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I discussed the distribution and meaning of negative polarity items in Akan. I first discussed some Akan NPIs. Then, I examined their features and distribution (in mono-clausal and bi-clausal constructions). I also looked at their occurrence in questions and focus constructions. I further discussed their locality constraints. I conclude that NPIs are triggered or licensed by negation. Affirmative sentences with NPIs in Akan are ungrammatical. In discussing the scope of negation, we realized that NPIs may occur in subject position, though under the scope of NEG. The VP-Internal Subject hypothesis was used to account for this. Here, I claim that the NPI originates from the VP. Therefore, NEG takes scope over it. Then it moves to satisfy EPP and also be assigned case. Also, NPIs may be triggered by a higher clause negation.

The following structure can be given to summarize the distribution of NPIs.

$[(\text{NPI}_{[+\text{NEG}]}) \dots \text{NEG V} \dots (\text{NPI}_{[+\text{NEG}]})]$

After the syntactic analysis, I tried to give a semantic account of NPI licensing. I use the notion of negative concord, and the fact that Akan is a negative concord language to account for why NPIs occur with negation.

Not all NPIs have the same polarity strength. Some NPIs occur only in negative contexts, others may also occur in other non-negative contexts. Zwarts (1998) grouped polarity items into *superstrong*, *strong* and *weak*. Examples of the strong NPIs in Akan are *si aga* and *ka se*. These NPIs occur always and only in negative contexts.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Overview

This study explored how negation is expressed in Akan, a Kwa language spoken in Ghana. In the study, certain aspects of negation were discussed. The interaction between negation and TAM in Akan, types of negation and the scope of negation were discussed. Also, the concept of negative polarity was discussed. This chapter presents a summary of the entire thesis, a discussion of findings and recommendation for future research.

5.1 Summary

Chapter 1 of this study gave an overview of the entire thesis. In this chapter, the research gap I sought to fill was clearly stated, with the major questions that governed/ guided the study. The objectives and significance of the study were all stated in this introductory chapter. Also the methods of data collection and analysis were extensively discussed. This chapter ended with a brief organization of each chapter of the thesis.

Chapter 2 was sub-divided into two sections: literature review and theoretical framework. In chapter 2, I gave an in-depth overview of what has been done so far on negation as a concept. It discussed relevant material on five main aspects of negation- how languages represent or mark negation, the various types of negation,

the concept of multiple negation (negative concord and double negation), negative polarity items and negation in some complex constructions. Literature was reviewed in Akan and other languages. This section informed the reader on what has been done so far on negation both in Akan and other related and unrelated languages. Also, the theoretical framework governing the analysis of the data were extensively discussed. I adopted the x-bar theory and the EN-BI theory. Reasons for the adoption were stated.

Data was analyzed in chapters three and four. In chapter three, I focused on how negation is marked in Akan, and the various types (syntactic and semantic) of negation we have in Akan. The scope of negation using the x-bar theory was discussed. Chapter four introduced the concept of negative polarity items (NPIs) in Akan. The various NPIs in Akan were studied, taking a look at their features and distribution in sentences. In this chapter I also find answers to what licenses NPIs in Akan.

5.2 Findings

In this section, I discuss the major findings of the study based on the data analyzed in chapter 3 and 4. The findings shall be grouped into two main sub-headings.

5.2.1 *Negation*

It has been established that negation is marked morphologically in Akan. The negative marker is a homorganic nasal (*N*), which is prefixed to the verb stem. If there is a tense or aspectual prefix, the NEG marker occurs after it.

5.2.1.1 *Categorization of negation*

In analyzing data in the study, types of negation were identified, based on syntactic and semantic groupings. The first categorization was syntactic. It includes **sentential** and **constituent** types of negation. Sentential negation refers to negating an entire clause or proposition in the clause. In negating a clause in Akan, the verb is prefixed by the negative marker. One can also negate just the constituent in a clause. This is termed as *constituent negation*. In Akan, certain strategies are adopted to negate a constituent. A strategy identified in the thesis was *clefting*. It takes the form ‘*Enye X na*’ ‘It is not X that’ (Amfo 2010).

The second typology has a semantic basis. Two major types were identified: **explicit** and **implicit** negation. When a statement is made, two meanings can be drawn from the statement. First is the actual meaning of the sentence. The other is the implied or intended meaning (also called speaker meaning). Explicit is the sentence meaning and implicit is the speaker meaning of the utterance. Certain verbs, when used, carry negative connotation.

5.2.2 NPIs

There are different categories of negative polarity items in Akan. Some are nominal, others are verbal or adverbial. There are also two types of NPIs—strong and weak NPIs. All NPIs identified in this thesis are strong NPIs. The various NPIs the thesis discussed are *hwee* ‘anything’, *huu* ‘anything’, *si aga* ‘end nowhere’, *twa tawu* ‘be hardworking’, *di gyina* ‘in no time’, and *ka se* ‘be distasteful’. Their distributions and features are summarized below.

Two of the above Akan NPIs are nominal—*hwee* and *huu*. They both occur in object position. This is exemplified below.

1. (a) Kofi n-yɛ *huu*.
 Kofi NEG-do nothing
 ‘Kofi does nothing.’
- (b) Wo a-n-ka *hwee*.
 2SG.SUBJ PERF-NEG-say anything
 ‘You didn’t say anything’/‘You said nothing’.

These NPIs are under the scope of negation. *Huu* and *hwee*, though they are both glossed as ‘anything’, they differ. *Huu* is used in a more restricted context. *Huu* is used in reference to the impossibility or incapability of someone to do something. It takes *tee* as its modifier.

Unlike *huu* which occurs only in object position, *hwee* can occur either in subject or object position.

2. *Hwee*_i re-n_i-hia no.
 nothing PROG-NEG-need 3SG.OBJ
 ‘He is not needful of anything’.

5.2.3 *What licenses NPIs?*

In Akan, negation is the only thing that licenses NPIs. In Ladusaw's (1980) account of NPI licensing, he states that all downward-entailing contexts can license NPIs. In Akan, however, it is only the downward-entailing context of negation that can trigger NPIs.

Syntactically, NPIs in Akan are licensed by clause-mate negation. The negative marker takes scope over the NPI. In Akan, NPIs may also be triggered by higher clause negation.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

Though the study has provided insights into the concept of negation and its polarity, there are still more issues that deserve further research. Some are outlined below. I make recommendations on two major aspects: negation in general, and negative polarity items.

5.3.1 *Negation*

First, since this work focused on negation in Akan, related research on negation can be conducted in other languages. A cross-linguistic analysis can also be conducted to give more insight into negation. One very critical question that needs attention and much research, also, is in the aspect of negating complex constructions. If Akan is a negative concord language, it is expected that all verbs in an SVC for instance, must be marked or inflected for negation. However it is not so in certain dialects of Fante (Osam 2004). A theoretical account can be given for such occurrences.

Similar researches can also be conducted in other Ghanaian languages to see if complex constructions take the same form of negation as done in Akan.

5.3.2 NPIs

The concept of polarity sensitive items (PSIs) in languages is widely explored in many languages. Languages that exhibit polarity concord are said to have such items (PSIs). Not much focus has been given to this field of research and analysis in Akan. This research touched on just a small section of the whole PSI concept. Under PSI, there are negative polarity items (NPIs) and positive polarity items (PPIs). It would be interesting for researchers to investigate if Akan has PPIs and if it has, what their features are. One may also want to find out the distribution of these items in sentences.

In discussing NPIs in this study, I only focused on the strong NPIs. Therefore I recommend that research be conducted to find out some weak NPIs in Akan and how they are distributed in sentences. Another research could give a detailed theoretical analysis of the concept of negative polarity.

Similar research could be conducted in other Kwa languages on the concept of polarity sensitivity. It would be interesting to find out if any language is not polarity sensitive. Also, one can find out if any language that does not mark polarity concord has polarity sensitive items. Again, the phenomenon of negative and positive polarity items can be researched in other languages.

Finally, a cross linguistic analysis of this concept would be more efficient. It would help us come up with a theory that can account for various types and distributions of these polarity sensitive items.

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