

NEGATION IN EWE

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1.0. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is to introduce the data on Ewe negation, and discuss possible analyses in the light of current treatments of negation in the literature. I summarize the treatments by Chomsky (1989), Pollock (1989) and Laka (1990), and conclude that these analyses do not account for the Ewe negation data. Two types of negation are examined: sentence negation and constituent negation. It is suggested that the two types have different structures (i.e they are not derived from the same underlying structure). Constituent negation, it is suggested, is a cleft construction.

In the next section, I present some of the data on Ewe negation. In section 3, I discuss the analyses of Pollock, Chomsky and Laka. Section 4 looks at possible analyses of the Ewe data based on the previous analyses. An alternative proposal is made in Section 5. A comparison of the Ewe data with that of Akan, another language of the Kwa family, is made in this section as well.

2.0. THE DATA

The Ewe negative morpheme is a discontinuous element *me....o*, similar to the French *ne...pas*. Some examples follow.

1. a. Kofi de suku
 K. go school
 'Kofi went to school'
- b. Kofi mede suku o
 K. NEG-go school NEG
 'Kofi did not go to school'
2. a. Kofi-e Φ le agbale-a
 K.-FOC buy book-the
 'It was Kofi who bought the book'
- b. Menye Kofi-e Φ le agbale-a o
 NEG-be K.-FOC buy book-the NEG
 'It was not Kofi who bought the book'

The (b) example in each case is the negative counterpart of the (a) example. In (1a), the sentence is an ordinary indicative sentence. (2a) differs from (1a) in that the former has a focused subject (i.e, it is X, not Y, who performed the action denoted by the predicate). The negation in (1b) is sentence negation, while (2b) represents constituent negation. Note that constituent negation occurs

with focusing. There seems to be two processes involved; first, the constituent is focused as in (2a); then negation applies. Note also that the negative particle in both types of negative constructions precedes a verb or verbal element. In (1b), which represents sentence negation, the negative particle precedes, and is attached to the main verbal predicate *de* (go). In (2b), a constituent negation, the negative particle gets attached to a copula. The only difference between (1a) and (1b) is the negative markers *me...o*. But in (2b), apart from the negative particles, the copula verb *nye* appears (this copula is absent in (2a)). This suggests that the scope of negation in Ewe is clausal. That explains why a copula verb must appear in the constituent negation in (2b).

Now, let us consider the licensing of negative quantifiers (NQs). We notice that negation licenses both subject and object NQs. For example,

3. a. Naneke mele agba me o
Nothing NEG-be plate LOC NEG
'There is nothing in the plate'
- b. *Nane-ke le agba me
nothing be plate in
'There's nothing in the plate'
- c. Ama meϕle naneke o
A. NEG-buy nothing NEG
'Ama did not buy anything'
- d. *Ama ϕle naneke
A. buy nothing
- e. Ama ϕle nane
A. buy something
'Ama bought something'
- f. Ame-ade-ke mele aϕea me o
person-some-NQM NEG-be house LOC neg
'There is nobody in the house'
- g. Nye mekpɔ ame-ade-ke o
1sg. NEG-see person-some-NQM neg
'I did not see anybody'
- h. Ame-ade le aϕea me
person-some be house in
'There is someone in the house'
- i. *Ame-ade-ke le aϕea me
person-some-NQM be house in

The above examples involve NQs. It seems these NQs comprise the quantifier and a particle *ke*. Note that without this particle, the sentence does not require a negative marker, as in (3e), and

with the particle, negation is required, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (3d). There is no subject-object asymmetry with respect to NQ licensing in Ewe, as indicated in examples 3a, b, f, g. As noticed in (3b), the NQ *nane-ke* cannot occur in subject position without negation. The same applies to example (3h) involving an animate NQ. Note that examples (3f, g), also involving animate NQs are grammatical).

The suffix *ke*, which I call the negative quantifier marker (NQM), seems to occur only with nouns. Apart from the word *nane*, which it can attach to directly, all other nouns to which it attaches must first be suffixed by the quantifier *-ade*.¹ For example, compare *nane-ke* (nothing) with the following:

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| 4a. ame-ade
person-some "someone" | b. ame-ade-ke
person-some-NQM "nobody" |
| 5a. xeve-ade
bird-some "some bird" | b. xeve-ade-ke
bird-some-NQM "no bird" |

It cannot occur with words of any other category, apart from nouns or noun phrases, not even with wh-words.

It is evident from the examples of sentences involving negative quantifiers that there is some kind of double negation: we have a negative particle in the negative quantifier and we have the normal negative markers. But semantically, these sentences do not produce a reading of *double negation*, but rather a single instance of negation. So, for example, the sentence in (3a) does not mean *There isn't nothing in the plate*. This type of phenomenon is described as *negation concord*. This is contrasted with *double negation*, in which the two or more negative elements produce an interpretation which is equal to the sum of their individual negative forces; in other words, their negative forces are compositionally realized.² The following example of *double negation* is taken from Degraff (1993:4).

Personne n'est pas venu
nobody NE+is PAS come
'Nobody has not come (i.e everyone came)'

In the above example, the two negative elements cancel each other, producing a net positive statement. Ewe example is clearly *negation concord* because the negative elements in sentences (3a, c) do not have a compositional effect. The negative marker and the negative element of the negative quantifier seem to enter into a kind of agreement, which, according to Zanuttini (1991, cited in Degraff), is a Spec-Head relationship.

3.0. ANALYSES OF NEGATION

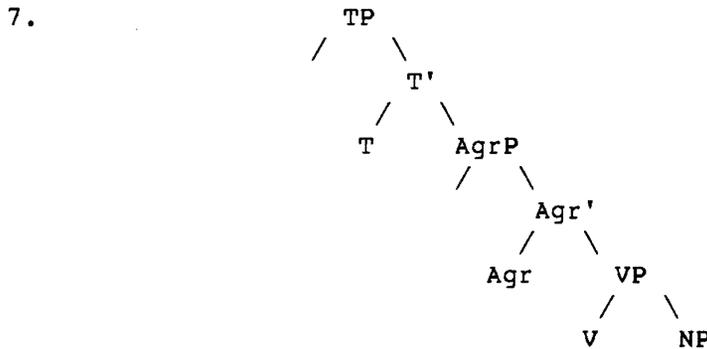
Negation has been analysed variously in various languages. Pollock (1989) and Chomsky (1989) analyse negation in different ways. In this section, I explore briefly the analyses of Pollock, Chomsky and Laka(1990).

3.1. Pollock (1989)

Prior to Pollock (1989), Emmonds (1976), comparing adverb placement in French and English, suggested that French has an obligatory rule of Verb-Raising to Aux (Infl), whereas in English, this rule was restricted to auxiliary verbs (see also Jackendoff (1972)). The presence versus absence of this rule accounted for adverb placement paradigms like:

- 6. a. *Mary kisses often John
- b. Marie embrasse souvent Jean
- c. Mary often kisses John

Pollock (1989) provides a reformulation of Emmonds' analysis, proposing an articulated Phrase Structure, where Infl is split into two separate heads: Tense, heading its own projection TP, and Agreement heading an AgrP as shown below.



According to Pollock, Verb-Raising to Infl now consists of two steps: first, movement of V to Agr and second, movement from Agr to Tense. Pollock argues that it is the first step (V-Agr) that distinguishes French from English, due to the different nature of Agr in the two languages. His claim is that there is a correlation between the strength of agreement and the ability of the verb to percolate its theta-grid through agreement once V to Agr movement has taken place. Thus French agreement is strong (transparent) enough to allow the verb to percolate its theta-grid down to its trace, after the verb has raised to Agr. English agreement, on the other hand, is opaque to such percolation. This makes it impossible for any theta-bearing verb to raise to Agr, since by doing so it would violate the Theta Criterion. Pollock proposes a NegP between AgrP and TP. To account for the **do-support** phenomenon in English, Pollock appeals to the Quantificational Theory. He suggests that Tense has a quantificational and operator-like property. Like any other operator, it must bind a variable. While this view of Tense as an operator makes Verb-Raising obligatory in French, it seriously clashes with the Theta Theory in English. To get around this problem, Pollock suggests that English allows an auxiliary verb as a substitute for the immovable main verb. This auxiliary verb is always higher up than VP, and it raises to Tense to create the variable the operator needs to satisfy Quantification Theory. In cases where there is no overt auxiliary, Pollock assumes an empty auxiliary which shares the properties of a lexical auxiliary.

3.2. Chomsky (1989)

Chomsky (1989) argues that **do-support** is forced by the ECP and the principle of Economy of Derivation (ED). This principle is a *least effort* condition in which the shortest derivation is desired, where possible, and language-specific devices are used as a last resort. So do support is used because **Move a** fails to salvage the given structure.

Chomsky follows Pollock in assuming the articulated phrase structure. He argues for Tense and Agr lowering onto the verb at s-structure for affirmative sentences. He assumes that after the lowering of Tense and Agr, Agr and its trace are deleted at LF, leaving the Agreement Projection empty. The trace left by Tense would satisfy the ECP by raising the inflected verb to the head Tense, creating a configuration where the trace is properly governed. In the case of negative sentences, however, Chomsky argues that lowering of Tense and Agr to the verb would violate the ECP, since the head Neg would block the government of the intermediate trace left by the verb. To salvage the derivation, Chomsky suggests that English resorts to **do** insertion in a modal position which then raises to Tense. So Tense does not have to lower to the verb; thus avoiding the ECP violation.

3.3. Laka (1990)

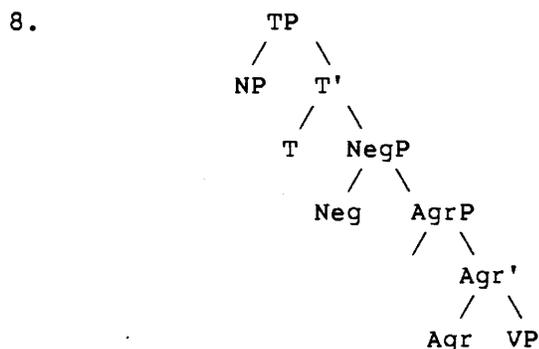
Laka (1990), drawing on evidence from deletion and the licensing of negative polarity items (NPIs), proposes a different structure for negation in Basque, in which NegP dominates IP. He also proposes a unified account of Chomsky and Pollock by employing the *Tense C-Command Condition*, which says that:

Tense must c-command at s-structure all propositional operators of the clause.

According to Laka, it is this condition that explains the difference in negation between English and French. Lowering of Tense in sentence negation in English is impossible because the TCC would be violated. To salvage the derivation, "do" is inserted to maintain the c-command condition.

4.0. ANALYSIS OF EWE NEGATION

In the last section, I outlined the facts related to negation as proposed by Pollock (1989) for French and English, by Chomsky (1989) for English, and by Laka (1990) for Basque. In this section, I would like to consider the analysis for Ewe negation. Pollock and Chomsky both place NegP between TP and AgrP, that is Neg is "nested" in IP thus:



Let us assume the articulated structure proposed by Pollock and Chomsky. Laka (1990) suggested that the difference between negative structures in Basque and English is that Neg is generated above IP in Basque, while it is "nested" in IP in English. Evidence for this position was drawn from deletion. He suggests that while it is possible to delete IP in Basque and still have NegP intact, that is not possible in English (i.e. in English, one cannot delete IP without deleting NegP with it. He predicts that in the case of conjunct-induced deletion, where one conjunct is declarative and the other negative, different results should obtain in Basque and English. The following examples are taken from Laka (1990:32-33):

9. a. * Mary bought a book and Peter not
 b. Mary bought a book and Peter didn't.
 c. Marik liburua erosi du eta Peruk ez
 M. book-the bought has and P. no
 'Mary has bought the book and Peter hasn't'

Using Laka's test as a yardstick, Ewe seems to behave in the same way as English in that we cannot delete IP. For example,

10. a. Kofi de suku gake Ama mede o
 K. go school but A. NEG-go NEG
 "Kofi went to school but Ama didn't"
 b.*Kofi de suku gake Ama o
 K. go school but A. not

The ungrammaticality of (10b) suggests that we cannot delete the IP and have NegP intact in the second conjunct. Note that this is possible in Basque (see 9c). We can conclude then that Ewe NegP, like that of English, is dominated by IP. When we look at constituent negation, we find the same phenomenon. This follows from the observation made earlier that the scope of the negative particle is clausal. Consider the example below.

11. Kofi-e de suku, menyé Ama-e o
 K.-FOC go school, NEG-be A-FOC. NEG
 'It was Kofi who went to school, not Ama'

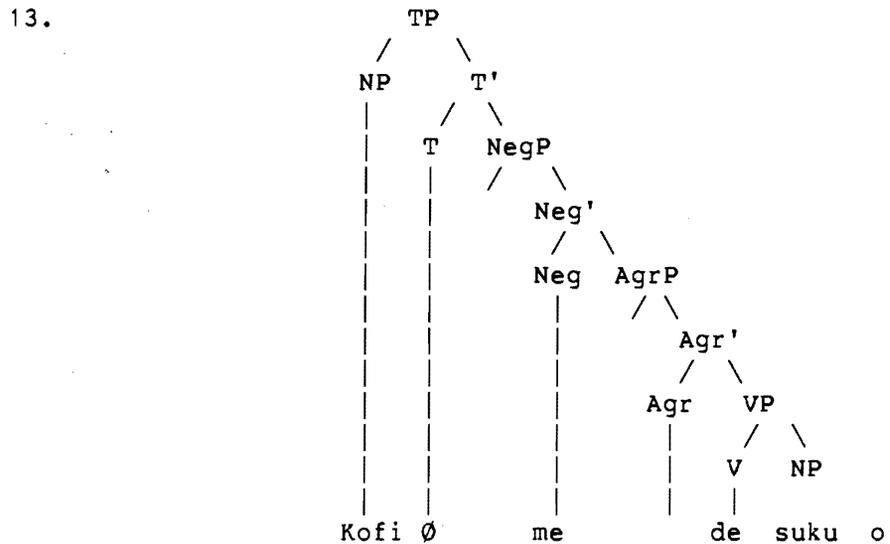
The licensing of negative quantifiers (NQs) seems to suggest that NegP dominates IP, since we find NQs in subject position in Ewe. But, as noted earlier, the NQs only serve to express the relation of negation concord, a kind of Spec-Head agreement. For example,

12. a. Nane-ke mele agba me o
 Something-NQM NEG-be plate LOC NEG
 'There is nothing in the plate'
 b. *Nane mele agba me o
 something NEG-be plate LOC NEG

- c. Nane le agba me
 something be plate LOC
 'There is something in the plate'

That the suffix *ke* is the negative quantifier marker is shown by the ungrammaticality of (10b) and the grammaticality of (10c). In (10b), negation occurs with the NP without the suffix (i.e, the subject is not an NQ). So the sentence is ruled out. (10c) is grammatical because there is no negation and the subject does not bear the NQ suffix. So, NQs do not have any effect on the syntactic structure of negation. NQs also function as objects of the verb, as we find in (3b).

The different behavior of sentence and constituent negations may lead to the idea that the two types of negation have different structures. Assuming the articulated structure of Pollock (1989), we have the following d-structure for Ewe sentence negation.



The above structure represents the d-structure of the negative sentence in (1b) above. Assuming that every sentence has an abstract Tense, and that Tense must always be attached to V. Then either we have Tense lowering to V, or V raising to Tense. In English, the sentence:

Mary not left

is ruled out because Tense lowered to the verb, leaving its trace ungoverned, since NegP intervenes between it and the verb. In Ewe, this is exactly the order we find, where the sentence translates as:

Kofi not go to school

In Ewe, we may say there is no verb movement, since in the above example, there is no tense marker which would have to either move to the verb or have the verb move to it. But if we assume an abstract Tense, then we would have the same situation as the English example, where the trace of Tense would not be properly governed. Moreover, when we have an aspect marker

present, it may be necessary to propose movement (either lowering of Tense to V or raising of V to Tense). If we assume Neg to be affixal (which I think it is), then we can propose that V, by head-to-head movement, moves first to Neg, then [V+Neg] moves to Tense. In this way, the trace left by V would be properly governed. But this derivation would not reflect the word order string in Ewe sentence negation, which is:

NP Neg-Tense/Aspect-Verb NP

It is therefore more appropriate to propose lowering of Tense to Neg, then [Neg+T] lowering to V. For ECP to be satisfied, the inflected verb complex would be raised to Tense at LF to ensure government of the traces left at s-structure.

4.1 Constituent Negation

One difference that was noted between sentence negation and constituent negation is that in the latter, the negative particle is not attached to the main verbal predicate, but rather to a copula, as we see in example (2b), repeated below as (12).

14. *Menye Kofi-e Φle agbale-a o*
NEG-be K.-FOC buy book-the
'It was not Kofi who bought the book'

In (12), we see a different configuration than the one for sentence negation. Assuming that the verb in question (i.e. the verb "to be") is an auxiliary verb. The question then is: what licenses the projection of an auxiliary verb? Why can Neg not be simply attached to the negated constituent, just as it is attached to the verb in sentence negation? Using Chomsky's analysis would not save the situation in (14) because this structure does not involve lowering; if anything, it should involve raising of Tense and Neg to the NP subject. But it is difficult to account for the upstairs verb in this analysis. This situation has two possible implications: one, that constituent negation has a different structure from sentence negation; two, that NegP dominates IP, as suggested by Laka (1990) for Basque. Projecting NegP above IP would not solve the problem with constituent negation, because it cannot account for the surfacing of a second verb. The only choice left is to propose two distinct structures for the two types of phenomena we have.

5.0. AN ALTERNATIVE PROPOSAL

It is evident from the previous section that the analyses proposed by Chomsky (1989) and Pollock (1989) cannot account for the two types of negation in Ewe. Constituent negation in Ewe seems to involve a cleft construction which is definable as:

a grammatically distinct construction whose members are characteristically derivable from more elementary clauses by dividing ("cleaving") into two parts, one of which is highlighted, while the other is subordinated in the form of a relative clause having the highlighted element as antecedent. Often (as in English), the highlighted element functions as a complement to the verb "be" (Huddleston, 1988:185).

This is exactly what seems to be happening in Ewe constituent negation. Other examples are shown below.

15. a. Menye gbesiagbe-e Kofi vana afisia o
 NEG-be everyday-FOC K. come-HAB here NEG
 'It is not everyday that Kofi comes here'
- b. Menye klpɔ sia dzi-e agbale-a le o
 NEG-be table this LOC-FOC book-the be NEG
 'It is not on this table that the book is'

The above two examples involve constituent negation. (15a) shows adjunct AdvP negation, while (15b) shows a PP complement negation. The implication at this point is that the semantic distinction being drawn between sentence and constituent negation is reflected syntactically also in the distinction between non-cleft and cleft constructions. In other words, sentence negation involves a non-cleft construction, while constituent negation involves a cleft construction. This generalization would apply to sentences with NQs as well. Consider the example in (3c), repeated below.

16. Ama meϕle nane-ke o
 Ama NEG-buy NQ NEG
 'Ama did not buy anything'

In the above example, the NQ is in an argument position of the verb, and so is within the scope of negation, which is the clause, giving rise to sentence negation. It is possible for the NQ to be fronted like any other category in argument position. This gives rise to constituent negation. Compare the two examples below. (17b) involves an ordinary NP argument that is fronted, while (17d) involves an NQ.

- 17a. Ama me-ϕle agbale o
 Ama NEG-buy book NEG
 'Ama did not buy a book'
- b. Menye agbale-e Ama ϕle o
 NEG-be book-FOC Ama buy NEG
 'It was not a book that Ama bought'
- c. Ama meϕle nane-ke o
 Ama NEG-buy NQ NEG
 'Ama did not buy anything'
- d. Menye nane-ke-e Ama ϕle o
 NEG-be NQ-FOC Ama buy NEG
 'It was nothing that Ama bought'/'Ama bought nothing'

The structure of constituent negation suggests that NegP be projected above IP. This is supported by the example below, in which the IP in the second conjunct involving negation is deleted.

18. Menye Ama-e va o eye menye Kofi hã-e o
 NEG-be A.-FOC come NEG and NEG-be K. also NEG.
 'It is not Ama who came and it is not Kofi either'

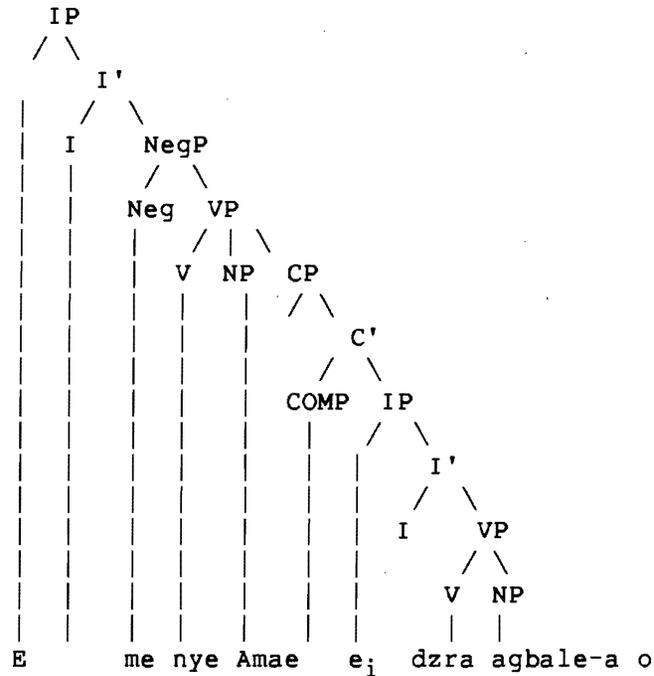
But it can be seen from the example in (18) that the IP that is deleted is the embedded one, which is not in the scope of the negative particle. The examples of constituent negation shown in (15), exhibit cleft structures in subject position. We have NP, AdvP and PP clefts. All such structures in Ewe seem to obligatorily contain an overt verbal copula. That the copula behaves just like substantive verbs is shown in the examples in (19) and (20).

19. a. Kofi nye kuviato
K. be lazy
'Kofi is lazy'
- b. Kofi *(nye) nufiala
K. be teacher
'Kofi is a teacher'
20. a. Ama a-nye mia Φ e gadzipkɔla
A. ASP-be 2pl-POSS money-top-see-er
'Ama will be our treasurer'
- b. Ama menye nufiala o
A. NEG-be teacher NEG
'Ama is not a teacher'

In example (19b), the only instance in which the copula verb "nye" can be omitted is in appositional reading. For that reading, there must be an intonational pause after the subject. The morpheme "nye", I assume is a verbal copula because it can take an aspect marker (20a), and it must follow Neg, just like all verbs do in Ewe (20b).

The suggestion being made here is that constituent negation in Ewe involves a cleft construction. Like most cleft constructions, I would suggest that it is bi-clausal. It involves two independent verbs. I therefore propose the following structure.

21.



The negative marker is attached to the verb in the upstairs clause, with the NP cleft focused. I suggest that there is lowering of Tense to Neg, then Tense+Neg lower to the verb. I also suggest there is a pleonastic subject in the upstairs clause, represented by "E", and this merges with Neg, Tense and the verb at PF. I also propose that there is a copula verb in both the affirmative and the negative clefts, and that this copula is absent in the affirmative clefts whenever Tense, Aspect or Neg are absent. Evidence for this position is found in the examples (22) and (23).

22. a. Kofi-e Φ le agbale-a
 K.-FOC buy book-the
 'It was Kofi who bought the book'
- b. Me-nye Kofi-e Φ le agbale-a o
 NEG-be K.-FOC buy book-the
 'It was not Kofi who bought the book'
23. a. Kofi-e Φ le agbale-a
 K.-FOC buy book-the
 'It was Kofi who bought the book'
- b. A-nye Kofi-e Φ le agbale-a
 ASP-be K.-FOC buy book-the
 'It may be Kofi who bought the book'

In (22a) and (23a), we find only the focused NP subject. But in (22b) and (23b), there appears the copula verb "to be" when Neg and aspect appear respectively. This suggests that there is a non-overt copula with similar features as the overt one. This copula is null in the (a) examples because

there is no overt tense or Neg. The implication is that tense (whether abstract or lexical) must always occur with the verb. We can conclude at this stage that any cleft construction in Ewe (be it negative or affirmative) has a clausal clefted constituent. The clefted segment of the structure may contain a focus marker. The constituent that is clefted is fronted (i.e., focused) and may bear a focus marker. The discussion so far suggests that the underlying form for the sentence in (23a) is that of (24):

24. \emptyset \emptyset Kofi-e Φ le agbale-a
 (It-be) Kofi-FOC buy book-the
 'It was Kofi who bought the book'

The empty positions represent the expletive subject and the copula verb positions respectively. They are null because Ewe does not have overt tense in that context. Also, in Ewe, pronominal clitics must always be attached to the verb. The subject is also null. But in (22b), where there is an aspect marker, the copula verb has to show up for the aspect particle to get attached to, since it is affixal and cannot exist without a verb. It seems then that the copula is performing a function similar to the *do-support* phenomenon in English.

As noted earlier, a cleft construction consists of a clefted constituent and an embedded clause (usually a relative clause). In the Ewe cases, there is no overt relative pronoun in the embedded clause. I suggest that there is an empty operator which represents a non-overt wh-phrase. It is sometimes called a zero relative pronoun. This empty operator is generated at d-structure in the position of the fronted constituent. In the case of NP predicate clefts, the fronted constituent is moved vacuously from the subject position of the embedded relative clause, while the others (i.e. adverbial and PP predicate clefts) are fronted from the complement positions of the verb in the embedded relative clause. The empty operator moves to [Spec, CP] at s-structure where it antecedent-governs and A-bar binds the trace of the fronted element.

One issue that comes up at this stage is the issue of the position of the focus marker that always accompanies the fronted material in the clefted construction. My speculation is that the focus marker occupies a COMP position in the embedded relative clause. The implication of this suggestion is that a situation exists in which the trace in the subject position cannot be governed by its antecedent O_i because of the intervening overt COMP. (i.e the *that-trace* effect).

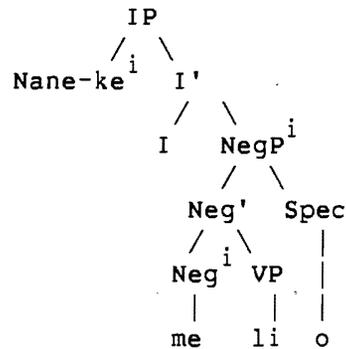
25. [Menye Kofi [CP O_i -e [IP t_i Φ le agbalea] o]
 [NEG-be Kofi[FOC[buy book-the] NEG]

To get around the *that-trace* filter, we invoke Pesetsky's (1982:306, cited in Haegeman, 1991) proposal of a special rule which collapses the empty operator in [Spec, CP] and the adjacent COMP into one constituent which is assigned all the features of the operator.

26. O_i that ----> t_i

As a result of the contraction, the focus marker in COMP will now be able to antecedent-govern the trace of the fronted subject.

30.



5.2. Negation in Akan and Ewe

In this section, I would like to briefly compare negation in Ewe to what happens in Akan, another Kwa language spoken in Ghana. There are a few differences between Ewe and Akan, as far as sentence negation is concerned. The first of such differences is that though the negative markers in both languages are prefixed to the verb, tense or aspect morphemes cannot intervene between the negative particle and the verb in Akan; in Ewe they can. The following examples show this difference.

Ewe

31a. Kofi meϕle agbalea o
 K. NEG-buy book-the NEGeg
 'Kofi did not buy the book'

b. Kofi me-a-ϕle agbalea o
 K. NEG-ASP-buy book-the NEG
 'Kofi will not buy the book'

Akan

32a. ɔ-n-di akutu
 s/he-NEG-eat orange
 'S/he does not eat oranges'

b. ɔ-a-n-di akutu
 s/he-PERF-NEG-eat orange
 'S/he hasn't eaten oranges'

The (a) examples above show simple negative sentences without tense/aspect markers. In these examples, the negative marker in each case is affixed to the verb. However, in the (b) examples where aspect appears, the Akan negative particle retains its position (immediately preceding the verb), while the Ewe one doesn't (i.e. the aspect marker intervenes between it and the verb). There are, however, instances in which the "Neg-verb" bond can be broken in Akan (see Saah, 1993). Those are cases in which there is an auxiliary verb expressing future time reference. Compare the Akan sentences in (33) to the Ewe ones in (34).

33a. ɔ-re-be-da
 3sg-PROG-FUT-sleep
 'S/he is about to sleep'

b. ɔ-re-n-be-da
 3sg-PROG-NEG-FUT-sleep
 'S/he is not about to sleep'

34a. Ama le yiyi-ge
 Ama be going-FUT
 'Ama will be going'

b. Ama me-le yiyi-ge o
 Ama NEG-be going-FUT NEG
 'Ama will not be going'

The above examples show sentences with future time references in both Akan and Ewe. The (b) examples show the negative counterparts of the (a) examples. In both cases, the "Neg-verb" bond seems to be maintained. Even though the items that are immediately preceded by the negative markers in each case are not the root verbs, they are, nevertheless, verbal elements. These elements are auxiliary verbs in each case (*be* in Akan and *le* in Ewe).

One other difference between Ewe and Akan sentence negation has to do with serial verbal constructions (SVCs). In Ewe, the two negative particles embrace whatever event is denoted by the complex VP in the SVC, with the head negative particle attached to the V1 in the series. But in Akan, the negative particle gets attached to each of the verbs in the SVC. The following are some examples (Ewe in 35, and Akan in 36).

- 35a. Ama Φ le agbale na Kofi
 A. buy book give K.
 'Ama bought a book for Kofi'
- b. Ama me- Φ le agbale na Kofi o
 Ama NEG-buy book give Kofi NEG
 'Ama did not buy a book for Kofi'
- 36a. Kofi tɔɔ aduan ma Ama
 K. buy food give A.
 'Kofi bought food for Ama'
- b. Kofi a-n-tɔ aduan a-m-ma Ama
 K. PERF-NEG-buy food PERF-NEG-give A.
 'Kofi did not buy food for Ama'

In (35b), the head negative particle gets attached to only V1, while in (36b), it is attached to both verbs. This difference may be attributed to the nature of Neg in the two languages. Ewe has a NegP made up of a specifier (o) and a head (me) and the complex VP of the SVC is embraced by the two elements. In Akan, NegP is made up of a single element (a homorganic nasal) which is affixed to both verbs. Akan negation may be said to have the status of a VP adjunct, while Ewe negation can be considered a case of a functional head.⁴

In the case of constituent negation, Ewe and Akan behave similarly. Consider the following examples.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>37a. Ama-e da nua
 A.-FOC cook thing-the
 'It is Ama who cooked'</p> | <p>b. Me-nye Ama-e da nua o
 NEG-be A.-FOC cook thing-the NEG
 'It is not Ama who cooked'</p> |
| <p>38a. Ama na o-nua aduan no
 A. FOC 3sg-cook food the
 'It was Ama who cooked the food'</p> | <p>b. E-nye Ama na onua aduan no
 3sg-NEG-be A. FOC 3sg-cook food the
 'It was not Ama who cooked the food'</p> |

(37a) and (38a) are focused constructions in Ewe and Akan respectively. The focused constituent is the subject of the clause. (37b) and (38b) represent the negated forms of (37a) and (38a). Notice the appearance of a copula verb in the negated structures of both examples. Granting the earlier argument I have made about a null expletive NP in initial position of the Ewe negated structure, the two structures in (37b) and (38b) are clearly cleft constructions. The only difference is the absence of a resumptive pronominal subject for the embedded clause in the Ewe example. This difference might lead to a difference in the projection of the embedded clause in the syntactic tree. Without any elaborate discussion, I would assume that for Akan constituent negation, which is also a cleft construction, there is a non-overt element (i.e. an operator) in [Spec, CP] related to the resumptive pronoun in the embedded clause. Recall that in the Ewe example, there is no resumptive pronoun (see 37b), so the empty operator is generated in [Spec, IP], which is empty. But in the Akan example, the resumptive pronoun occupies the [Spec, IP] position in the embedded relative clause, hence the generation of the operator in [Spec, CP]. This analysis for Akan constituent negation does not eliminate the problem of the *that-trace effect*, if we assume that the focus marker "na" is generated in COMP, as I have suggested for Ewe. It may seem at first that there is no movement in the case of the Akan example in (38a,b), since there is always a resumptive pronoun in place of what we assume to be the clefted (or focused) constituent. But a look at the extraction facts may change that position.

There are two views about resumptive pronouns: the base-generated view and the movement view. In the first view, the presence of a resumptive pronoun is considered as evidence against movement. The latter view considers resumptive pronouns as overt spell-outs of traces (see Rochement & Saxon, 1993; Koopman & Sportiche, 1986). One test that shows whether sentences involving resumptive pronouns are the result of movement or not is to find out whether such structures permit island violations. If the presence of a resumptive pronoun is evidence against movement, we would expect that structures involving resumptive pronouns would permit island violations. In cases where island violations are not permitted, we can conclude that they involve movement. I briefly consider this issue in the following paragraphs.

Both Ewe and Akan are subject to the island constraints. This means that in both languages we cannot extract from a complex NP. For example,

Ewe

- 39a. Ama bu agbale si Kofi ϕ le la
 A. lose book REL K. buy the
 'Ama lost the book which Kofi bought'
- b. Ameka-e Ama bu agbale si *t/w \emptyset ϕ le?
 person-which A. lose book which *t/3sg buy
 'Who did Ama lose the book which t/he bought?'

Akan

40a. Ama yraa homma a Kofi tɔe
A. lose book REL K. buy
'Ama lost the book that Kofi bought'

b.*Hena na Ama yra homma a t/ɔ -tɔe
'Who did Ama lose the book which t/3sg bought?'

Examples (39) and (40) are from Ewe and Akan respectively. We can see from examples (39b) and (40b) that Wh-extraction from a a complex NP is not possible in either Ewe or Akan. The same restriction applies to fronting or focusing from a complex NP. The examples in (41) and (42) show the island effects in Ewe and Akan as far as clefting is concerned.

41a. Ama bu agbale si Kofi φle la
A. lose book REL K. buy the
'Ama lost the book which Kofi bought'

b.*Kofi-e Ama bu agbale si t/wɔ φle la
K.-FOC A. lose book which t/3sg buy
'It was Kofi that Ama lost the book which t/he bought'

42a. Ama yraa homma a Kofi tɔɔe
Ama lose book REL Kofi buy-past
'Ama lost the book which Kofi bought'

b.*Kofi na Ama yra homma a t/ɔ-tɔe
K. FOC A. lose book REL t/3sg-buy
'It was Kofi that Ama lost the book which s/he bought'

From the examples above, we see clearly that fronted questions or clefted structures do not permit island violations in both Ewe and Akan. We can, therefore, assume that these structures involve movement. We would then treat the Akan case as movement in which the resumptive pronouns are overt spell-out of the traces. We may now distinguish between Ewe and Akan extraction facts by means of "overtness" or "non-overtness" of traces. While fronting or focusing in both languages involve movement, Akan requires overt traces, while Ewe does not. But this does not tell the entire story because Ewe allows resumptive pronouns in fronted questions (i.e in wh-extraction). It is only in clefting that the two languages differ.

Having concluded that clefting with resumptive pronouns in Akan involves movement, the structures for the subject and object clefts will look like those in (43a, b) respectively.

43a. [IP E-n-ye Ama [CP O_i na [IP o_i-nua aduan no_i]
[It-neg-be Ama [FOC [she-cook food the]

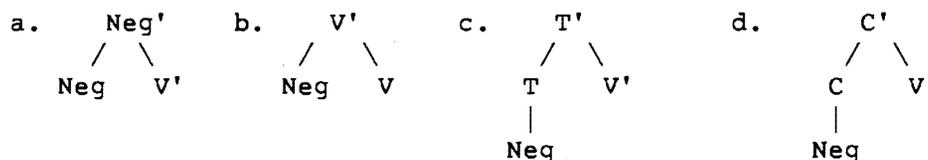
b. [IP E-n-ye Ama [CP O_i na [IP Kofi bɔɔ no_i]
[It-neg-be A [FOC [Kofi beat 3sg.]

6.0 CONCLUSION

In this paper, I have tried to examine the data on Ewe negation. Two types of negative constructions have been presented: sentence negation and constituent negation. One fact that has clearly emerged from the discussion is that the scope of Ewe negation is clausal. That is why the copula verb has to show up in constituent negation. It has been shown that the proposals of Pollock (1989), Chomsky (1989) and Laka (1990) cannot account for the facts of Ewe negation. It was also suggested that the two types of negative constructions have different underlying structures; sentence negation has the normal IP structure, while constituent negation involves a cleft construction. The derivation process in both cases is similar: Tense lowers to Neg and both lower V to reflect the surface order of items in the construction. It has also been suggested that of the discontinuous elements making up the negative marker in Ewe, *me* is the head and *o* is the specifier. Some speculation has been made about the similarity in underlying structures of a sentence involving a focused element and the clefted clause of constituent negation. Negation structures of Ewe and Akan were compared and some similarities and differences noted. Most of the suggestion made in this paper are subject to further investigation and comparison with other languages, especially within the Kwa group.

NOTES

- 1 My intuition tells me that the word *nane* is also made up of a nominal root *nu* "thing" and a quantifier *ade* to form *nu-ade*. It seems the present form *nane* is the result of language change, involving some phonological processes. The speculation that there has been some historical change is supported by the fact that some related dialects of the *Gbe* group of languages, to which Ewe belongs, still use the form *nu-de* for the Ewe form *nane*.
- 2 For a more comprehensive description of *double negation* and *negation concord*, see Degraff (1993).
- 3 Saah (personal communication) points out that in Akan, a sentence of the same structure could mean that it is not the case that Ama voluntarily refused to buy the book, but that she was caught in a situation beyond her control (e.g because she did not have money). So we cannot blame her for her inability to buy the book. This reading at any rate, implies that Ama did not buy the book, a reading quite different from the Ewe reading. It is possible Ewe could have that kind of reading, but I am not in a position to defend that now.
- 4 Déchaine (1993) discusses possible projections of negation in various languages. She considers negation as a closed-class item that occupies the borderline between lexical and functional heads, and calls it *quasi-functional head*, defined as "a closed-class item which may be, but is not necessarily, the head of an f-projection". Déchaine identifies four possible projections of negation: (a) as a functional head; (b) as a VP-adjunct; the other two possibilities are to generate Neg in Tense and Comp respectively. These are projected as follows:



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