

# ***Two Functions- Two Positions: An account of Bipartite Negation in Fǎfǎ***

*MA Thesis  
Emilienne Ngangoum*

## ***1. Introduction***

This thesis is concerned with the nature of the relation that exists between the two negative markers in Fǎfǎ, a negative concord (NC) language spoken in Cameroon. The language has two free standing negators disposed in the configuration in (1). The Middle field negator (MF-Neg) follows the subject and past tense<sup>1</sup> marker (TP<sub>1</sub>), but precedes the future tense marker (TP<sub>2</sub>), as well all other elements in the clause. The clause final negator (CF-Neg) is in most cases the very last element in the linear string. The only elements that can follow it are the interrogative marker and the focus marker.

(1) Subject > TP<sub>1</sub> > MF-Neg > TP<sub>2</sub> > AspP > VP > XP > CF-Neg

The two negators further differ in their morphological and distributional properties: The CF-Neg has the same morphology in all contexts, while the MF-Neg varies with tense markers. Furthermore, the MF-Neg is always present in each and every negative clause, while the CF-Neg is optional in some contexts.

I first look at this relation from the perspective of recent proposals on NC. Zeijlstra (2004) and Penka (2007) accounting for NC, propose that the variable distribution and interpretation of n-words cross-linguistically can be understood if the relevant facts are subsumed into two major parameters. The first is related to the interpretation of n-words which are inherently negative in non NC languages but not in NC languages. The second has to do

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<sup>1</sup> I adopt Julien (2001) proposition according to which the past tense is structurally higher than the future. The distribution of negation with respect to these tense markers confirms this position.

with the nature of the negative marker itself, on the basis of which NC languages are partitioned into two: Non-strict NC languages have a negative marker which is semantically negative, and as such performs the function of the negative operator, while strict NC languages have a negative marker which is non-negative and, as a consequence cannot at the semantic level negate the clause. There is therefore a need for there to be an abstract negative operator in these languages for the purpose of the interpretative interface. The consequence of this analysis is the introduction into the theory of the distinction between the semantic and the syntactic negator. So, what appears as a negative marker in strict NC languages is simply a tool for the syntactic component, while the real negator itself is covert. Among strict NC languages however, we come across cases like standard French which dispose two negative markers. The one corresponds to the syntactic negator and the other to the semantic negator.

The question that arises in view of this is whether the two negative markers of Féfé can be analyzed as assuming the function of the syntactic negator for the one and the semantic negator for the other. To answer this question, I examine the theory proposed by Zeijlstra (2004) and Penka (2007). This study results into unfolding the NC system of Féfé, with the conclusion that the CF-Neg corresponds neither to the semantic nor to the syntactic negator. I subsequently proceed into a closer examination of the contexts in which the CF-Neg cannot be omitted, and argue that its function can be reduced into that of a negative emphatic marker.

The consequence of this analysis is a shift from the standard account of bipartite negation according to which a single negative projection hosts the two discontinuous negative markers for a single clause, with the one in the head and the other in the specifier of NegP. Cf Pollock (1989); Haegeman (1995). I argue that the CF-Neg is a C-domain particle, while the MF-Neg whose function is to negate the clause belongs to the TP/IP space. The present study contributes to show that there exists a correlation between function and position in language. It follows that the two Féfé negators occupy two distinct positions because they assume two different functions. Also, taking into consideration the fact that many languages actually dispose one negator in the middle field and another in the C-domain – though mutually exclusive in some cases- I propose that UG makes available these two positions for negation. As a consequence, the licensing of subject nouns in NC languages is given for free.

The remainder of this thesis is organized as follows: Following this introduction is chapter two. This chapter is dedicated to the discussion of some aspects of the clause structure of Féfé which are relevant for the understanding of the

problems raised in subsequent chapters. Specific attention is dedicated to VP movement which is later used as a basis for determining the position of the CF-Neg. Chapter three presents the NC theory advocated by Zeijlstra and Penka. In section 3.2 I first present the theory itself as well as some of the problems it raises, while proposing some indications toward addressing some questions left without any answer. In section 3.3 I show how the theory can be extended to the facts of Féfé.

Chapter four examines the function of the CF-Neg. Section 4.2 is dedicated to the temporal contexts where the CF-Neg is always obligatory, characterizing them as associated with a future shifting perspective. Section 4.3 provides additional data showing past contexts where the CF-Neg cannot be omitted, and the two contexts are brought together as involving focus. Chapter five concludes the thesis.

## ***2. The clause structure of Féfé***

### ***2.1. Introduction***

This chapter discusses those aspects of the clause structure of Féfé that are relevant for a better understanding of the data and issues raised in this thesis. These include the overall word order, the temporal/aspectual system, the interactions of negation with tense, the verb phrase and its movement, and the position of the clause final negator.

### ***2.2. The overall word order***

Féfé is a typical SVO language. The SVO order is found even in yes/no questions (1b) which differ from statements (1a) just by the final vowel doubling and the overall intonational pattern of the sentence.

(1) a. Siani lě fé kwèlè?

Siani P3<sup>2</sup> sell plantains

Siani sold plantains

b. Siani lě fé kwèlè? ǎ ?

Siani P3 sell plantains FV

Did Siani sell Plantain?

(1a) and (1b) differ only by the final vowel marking interrogation, which is present in the latter but absent from the former, a statement. So, a yes-no question in Féfé differs from a mere statement just by the repetition at the end of the sentence of the final vowel. Additionally, the repeated vowel always has a contour tone. In WH-questions, the SVO order is unaltered. Here the object WH- word may either precede (2a) or follow (2b) the SV string. But the subject WH- word can only be at sentence initial position as in (3a). In example (3b) we have a relative clause, which also has the SVO order. Thus leading to the conclusion that Féfé is a strict SVO language.

(2) a. Ká tén Siani lê fè è?

What OM Siani P3 sell FV

What did Siani sell?

b. Siani lě fé ká ǎ

Siani P3 sell what FV

What did Siani sell?

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<sup>2</sup> P3 is one of the past tense markers in Féfé. Section 2.3 presents the tense system.

(3) a. Wó má lě fé kwèlè? É?

Who that P3 sell plantains FV

*Who sold the plantains*

b. Siani lě yí: kwèlè? yì mú lê fé ló

Siani P3 see plantains Rel child sell Foc

*Siani saw the plantains which the child sold*

### 2.3. Tense and aspect system

#### 2.3.1. Overt tense markers

Féfé has, like most Bantu languages, many markers for future and past tenses, markers which indicate the variable degree of remoteness from the speech time.

(4)

Distant past	yesterday	today	Near future	Distant future
Lě (P3)	^ kǎ (P2)	Mfú (P1)	Yì (Fut 1)	Ká (Fut 2)

The consequence of this split is that the use of time adverbials must match with the time frame indicated by the tense marker, and any mismatch leads to ungrammaticality. Féfé does however not have any present tense markers. The examples below illustrate the future (5), the today's past (6), the yesterday's past (7), and the distant past (8a). Example (8b) shows that the morpheme ló<sup>?</sup> can be added to the distant past morpheme to form the remote past tense.

(5) a. Siani yì mfá mbò

Siani-fut-eat-meat

*Siani is going to eat meat*

b. Siani ká fá mbò

Siani-fut-eat-meat

*Siani will eat meat*

(6) a. Siani mfú ngé kò

Siani P1 go farm

*Siani went to the farm*

b. \*Siani mfú ngé kò wàà

Siani P1 go farm yesterday

*Siani went to the farm yesterday*

(7) a. Siani kǎ fùà wàà

Siani P2 go yesterday

*Siani left yesterday*

b. \*Siani kǎ fùà fònzá è

Siani P2 go morning this

*Siani left this morning*

(8) a. Siani lě tǎ làksì

Siani P3 pass exam

*Siani past the exam*

b. Siani lě ló? tǎ làksì

Siani P3 Rem pass exam

*Siani past the exam long ago*

### 2.3.2. Tense and aspectual classes

In addition to the above overt tense markers, Féfé can express a tensed clause without any overt tense marker. In this case, the bare form of the verb is used alone. This however results into a split among predicates, in that we get a present tense reading with a stative verb, but a past tense reading with an eventive verb. In the latter case, another split occurs, in that a recent or immediate past tense is obtained with a verb such as 'eat', whereas an unspecified or immediate reading is obtained with verbs such as 'build a house' or 'get married'. Additionally, the reduplicative stem, which induces the immediate past reading with eventive verbs, instead brings about a contrastive focus reading with a stative predicate.

- (9) a. *Á zǎ ηkwé*  
He eat beans  
He has eaten beans (recently)
- b. *Á zú zǎ ηkwé*  
He Red eat beans  
He has just eaten beans
- c. *Á kwá pé?*  
He built house  
He has built a house (unspecified)
- d. *Á kǐ kwä pé?*  
He Red built house  
He has just built a house
- e. *Á vè*  
He old  
He is old
- f. *Á vǐ-vè*  
He Red old  
He is instead old (not something else)

### 2.3.3. Aspect

Tenny (1987) defines aspect as including such things as whether the event is understood to involve change over time, whether it has a definite endpoint or is ongoing in time, whether or not it is repetitive, etc. Based on this, Féfé can be considered to demonstrate three aspectual distinctions: progressive (10), habitual (11). The past tenses as discussed in the section above convey the Perfective meaning without any additional mechanism.

- (10) a. *Siani mfú má ηgé ko*  
Siani P1 Prog go farm  
Siani was going to the farm
- b. *Siani left yesterday*  
*Siani Fut2 Prog go farm*  
Siani will be going to the farm
- (11) a. *Siani ηgé kò*  
Siani go farm  
Siani goes to the farm (habitually)
- b. *Siani lǎ? ηgé kò*  
Siani Hab go farm  
Siani used to go to the farm

## 2.4. Negation in relation to tense

In this section, I present the interrelation that exists between negation and tense. Structurally, the MF-Neg precedes, but follows some tense markers (12). Morphologically, it varies with tense markers (13).

- (12) a. Siani lě sí yě kò  
Siani P3 Neg go farm  
Siani did not go to the farm
- b. Siani sí ká yě kò bá  
Siani Neg go farm Neg  
Siani will not go to the farm
- (13) a. Nàà ngé kò  
To go farm  
To go to the farm
- b. Nàà mbá? ŋgé kò  
To Neg go farm  
Not to go to the farm
- c. Yé kò  
Go farm  
Go to the farm
- d. Pá? ngé kò  
Neg go farm  
Don't go to the farm
- e. Siani kǎ? Mfú ngé kò  
Siani Neg P1 go farm  
Siani did not go to the farm
- f. Siani sǐ ngé kò bá  
Siani Neg go farm Neg  
Siani does not go to the farm
- g. Pú tǐé Siani á lè pé  
Exp call Siani she Neg answer  
When Siani is called, she does not answer

The above examples show that the same MF-Neg is used for the infinitive (13b) and the imperative (13d), with the difference that it is clause initial in the latter and as such starts with a voiceless stop, whereas it is pre-nasalized in the former. Also, a different negator is used with P1 (13e), the past tense marker for today, and yet another in when clauses (13g), and still a different one with the habitual (13f), future (12b), and P3 (12a). Example (13e) further shows that the past tense marker for today is also preceded by the negative marker, thus giving the following order: P3 / P2 > Neg > Fut / P1. A final point worth mentioning is the sentence final negator, which is obligatory with future tenses, habitual and progressive present, but optional elsewhere.

## 2.5. The verb phrase

### 2.5.1 The forms of the verb

The verb in Féfé comes in two forms: a bare form and a pre-nasalized form. The latter is the one that is found in the cluster made of the infinitive marker + verb as in (14).

- (14). Nà: ngé kò  
To go farm  
To go to the farm

This pre-nasalized form is used with the infinitive marker (14), the progressive marker (15), and the particle interpreted as *again* (16).

- (15). Siani lě má ngé kò  
Siani P3 Prog go farm  
Siani was going to the farm

- (16). Siani lě Pá ngé kò  
Siani P3 again go farm  
Siani went again to the farm

The second form of the verb is most often found after a tense marker, as in (17) below. It can also be encountered in non finite contexts when preceded by the appropriate class of elements such as the adverb *already* (18), or negative markers for finite clauses.

- (17). Siani lě yé kò  
Siani P3 go farm  
Siani went to the farm

- (18). Nà: ndzá? Yé kò  
To first go farm  
To first go to the farm

These facts lead to the conclusion that the verb in Féfé is not really sensitive to whether the clause in which it is found is finite or not, but simply agrees with the feature of the element that precedes it. Tense and aspect markers are separate independent morphemes, and never hosted by the verb.



### 2.5.2. VP movement

The previous section has shown that the verb in Féfé is not sensitive to whether the clause in which it occurs is finite or not, but merely agrees with the element that precedes it. It has also shown that the Féfé verb never hosts inflectional particles, which can be separated from the verb by yet other particles (15) – (16). This implies that the verb does not raise to adjoin to T<sup>0</sup> or to any other inflectional head. In this section, we look at the movement of the verb phrase as a constituent, with the conclusion that if the verb alone does not move, the movement of the VP as a whole is however attested in Féfé.

Our analysis is built around the proposal by Cinque (1999) that adverbs are generated in the specifier position of functional projections and have a fixed order. Accordingly, lower adverbs are found in Italian in the space delimited on the left by the leftmost position that a past participle can occupy, and on the right by a complement of the past participle. Though the same space is delimited differently in French, it can be characterized in short as a pre-VP space. This implies that lower adverbs are considered as c-commanding the VP, and this is said to be valid cross-linguistically. Besides the pre-VP space, Cinque identifies a second space where lower adverbs happen to occur, namely, clause finally, following the complement of the verb. The presence of pre-VP adverbs at clause final position is said to result from the movement of a lower portion of the clause around one or more pre-VP adverbs.

Pre-VP adverbs are given by Cinque (1999: 11) in the following table.

Generally	Already	Again	Always	Completely	All	well
Usually	Not yet	No more	Never	Partially	Nothing	badly

Apart from pre-VP adverbs, Cinque identifies a lower class of adverbs, which he characterizes as being VP-internal, that is, in a post complement position. This class is made up of circumstantial adverbs of manner, time, etc. Any element of this last class of adverbs if found preceding a pre-VP adverb should therefore constitute a signal that there has been a movement justifying the change of order between the two classes. However, Nilsen (2000) proposes a different order between the VP and circumstantial adverbs, with the latter also generated higher than the VP. He even goes further to propose, unlike Cinque that circumstantial adverbs are also rigidly ordered, with temporal adverbs structurally higher than locatives. In the discussion below, I combine the order provided by Cinque for pre-VP adverbs with the one given by Nilsen for circumstantial adverbs. It follows that all

adverbials will be considered to originate in a structurally higher position than the VP.

### 2.5.3. VP and adverbs in Féfé

#### 2.5.3.1. Monosyllabic versus polysyllabic adverbs

I will discuss below the adverbs corresponding to the first four rows of pre-VP adverbs as provided by Cinque, as well as the adverb corresponding to *well*, which are easily identified in Féfé. The discussion also includes circumstantial adverbs. The latter are characterized by Cinque as differing from advPs proper in being typically realized in prepositional form. The major difference that one can observe between circumstantial adverbs and pre-VP adverbs in Féfé has to do with the morphological make up. In this respect, all circumstantial adverbs happen to be polysyllabic adverbs in Féfé. The adverb *always*- translated word for word as *all the time*, as well as the adverb *well* pattern with manner, temporal and locative adverbs in being morphophonologically more complex. We thus have the table below, with monosyllabic adverbs on the left and polysyllabic ones on the right. Interestingly, while polysyllabic adverbs never precede the VP, all monosyllabic adverbs are pre-VP in Féfé.

Monosyllabic adverbs	Polysyllabic adverbs
Ní (usually)	Fònzá (in the morning)
Ndzá?yá? (already/first)	Kwè-vàk-ntfjyè? (always)
Tén (yet)	Nfùndùà (outside)
Mbá/pá (still/again)	Pìpé? (well)
	Màwă (quickly)
	Ndà?ndà? ( slowly)

All adverbs in the right column in the above table are found in a post VP position in Féfé. They differ morphologically from those on the left in the fact that each of them is at least bi-morphemic. It may not be possible to say precisely what each morpheme means. However, at least one of the morphemes in each case can be found separately as an individual lexical item in another context. We thus have their decomposition in the following table.

Decomposition of Polysyllabic adverbs					
Fò	nzá	Nfù	ndùà	Pì	pé?
	day	mouh	home		good
morning		outside		Well	

Kwè-	vàk-	ntfjyè?	Ndà?	`ndà?	Mà	Wă
all	number	time	only	only	Manner	quick
Always			Slowly		Quickly	

### 2.5.3.2. Pre-VP adverbs in Féfé

This section illustrates the use of pre-VP adverbs in Féfé. The table shows their relative order.

Ní:	Ndzá?/ yá?	Tén	Mbá	Kwèvàkntfjyè	Pìpě?
Usually	Already/ first	Not yet	Again/ still	always	well

#### 2.5.3.2.1 Ní: (usually/generally)

*Nr.* (*usually*) can be said to be the structurally highest pre-VP adverb in Féfé. It usually follows the subject and the tense/aspectual heads, but precedes other adverbs such as *ndzá?/yá?* (*already/ first*), *tén* (*not yet*) and *mbá/ pà* (*again/ still*). The examples below show that *ndzá?* must be lower than *ní*.

(20). Á ní: ngé kò pǐ mén ì

He usually go farm with child his

He usually goes to the farm with his child.

(21). Á ní: ndzá? Yé kò tē mén ì lò syè

He usually first go farm before child his get up

He usually first goes to the farm before his child wakes up.

(22). \*Á ndzá? ní: ngé kò tē mén ì lò syè

He first usually go farm before child his get up

He first usually goes to the farm before his child wakes up.

### 2.5.3.2.2. *Ndzá<sup>?</sup>/Yá<sup>?</sup> (already/ first), tén (yet) and mbá/pá (again/still)*

The adverbs *ndzá<sup>?</sup>* (*already*) and *tén* (*yet*) could be considered as occupying the same position. However, there is no way to test this, as they never co-occur in the same clause. *Ndzá<sup>?</sup>* (*already*) is used exclusively in a positive clause (26) – (28), while *tén* (*yet*) is restricted to negative clauses (23) – (25). Another subtle difference is that while *tén* must always precede *mbá* (*again/still*) (24), the positions of *ndzá<sup>?</sup>* and *mbá* seems to be interchangeable (27) – (28). However, the order provided by Cinque places *ndzá<sup>?</sup>* higher than *mbá*.

(23). Á kà? Tén ngé kò  
He Neg yet go farm  
He has not yet gone to the farm

(24). Á kà? Tén mbá ngé kò  
He Neg yet again go farm  
He has not yet gone to the farm again

(25). \*Á kà? Pá tén ngé kò  
He Neg again yet go farm  
He has not yet gone to the farm again

The examples above show that *tén* (*yet*) is strictly higher than *mbá* (*again*). There is however no strict order between *ndzá<sup>?</sup>* and *mbá*, as the examples below show.

(26). Á yá<sup>?</sup> yé kò  
He already go farm  
He has already gone to the farm

(27). Á yá? Pà ngé kò  
He already again go farm  
He has already gone to the farm again

(28). Á pà ndzá? Yé kò  
He again already go farm  
He once more has first gone to the farm

The most intriguing thing about the two adverbs in examples (26) to (28) is that we can have up to three of them line up in the same clause depending on the meaning one wants to convey. This may in fact lead one to assume

that their relative order is not the result of movement but that they are instead inserted as the need arises. The examples below illustrate this point.

- (29) Á yá? Pà ndzá? yé kò  
 He already again first go farm  
 He has already first gone to the farm again

- (30) Á pà ndzá? pá ngé kò  
 He again already still go farm  
 He once more has first gone to the farm again

Cinque (op cit: 20), would analyze the adverbs in examples (29) and (30) above as deceptively having the same interpretation in their variable positions. If right, then there are two positions for each of these two adverbs, with each of the positions corresponding to a different interpretation. One could in fact say that the meaning of *ndzá?* and *mbá* is dependent on their scope with respect to one another. We thus have the order *ndzá?* > *Pá* > *ndzá?* > *pá*, where the first *ndzá?* means *already* and the second *first*. In other words, the meaning associated to *ndzá?* depends on its position with respect to *pá*. If it follows *pá*, it is interpreted as *first*. If it precedes *pá*, it is interpreted as *already*. But the meaning of *pá* cannot be computed in exactly the same way. For it is interpreted as *again* both before and after *ndzá?* However, whenever there are two instances of *pá* in a context, with the first preceding and the second following *ndzá?*, then the second is interpreted as *still*. In any case, the order of the adverbs discussed so far seems to be in line with the hierarchy proposed by Cinque. All these adverbs precede the verb and are ordered as seen below.

Ní:	Ndzá?/ yá?	Tén	Mbá
Usually	Already/ first	Not yet	Again/ still

### 2.5.3.3. Post VP adverbs and VP movement

Unlike the adverbs discussed above, *pipé?* (*well*) and *kwèvákntŷé?* (*always*) never precede the verb. It follows from the standard analysis, that the post VP position of these adverbs is the consequence of the movement of the VP to a structurally higher position. The examples below show the relative order of these adverbs in relation to one another, and this order is quite flexible,

with three possible orderings for the three adverbs *always*, *well* and *at school*.

(31) Á ndzó: ʃì Kwè-vàk-ntʃyèʔ pìpěʔ Sükü  
 He sing song always well school  
 He always sings well at school

(32) Á ndzó: ʃì sükü pìpěʔ Kwè-vàk-ntʃyèʔ  
 He sing school song well always  
 He always sings well at school

(33) Á ndzó: ʃì pìpěʔ Kwè-vàk-ntʃyèʔ Sükü  
 He sing song well always school  
 He sings always well at school

(34) \*Á ndzó: ʃì Sükü Kwè-vàk-ntʃyèʔ pìpěʔ  
 He sing song school always well  
 He always sings well at school

Following the hierarchy provided by Cinque, the adverbs *always*, *well* and *at school* will be ordered 1 > 2 > 3 respectively as in (31). Example (32) above however shows the order 3 > 2 > 1, while the order 2 > 1 > 3 is found in (33). The order 3 > 1 > 2 is excluded. Below we give sample derivations for the three grammatical examples, assuming the base order 1 > 2 > 3 > VP.

(35) is the derivation of (31) obtained by iterating the extraction of the specifier hosting the VP at each step of the derivation. This is referred to as the climbing derivation. This derivation has the effect of freezing the adverbs in a unique order, but is a strong argument in favor of VP movement, because unlike the for roll-up derivation, the result obtained with a climbing derivation cannot be obtained via VP adjunction. The derivation of (32) is obtained via a roll-up derivation, i.e., by iterative pied-piping as given in (36). Example (33) is obtained by combining iterative pied-piping with the extraction of the locative adverbs at some point, followed by a remnant movement (37).

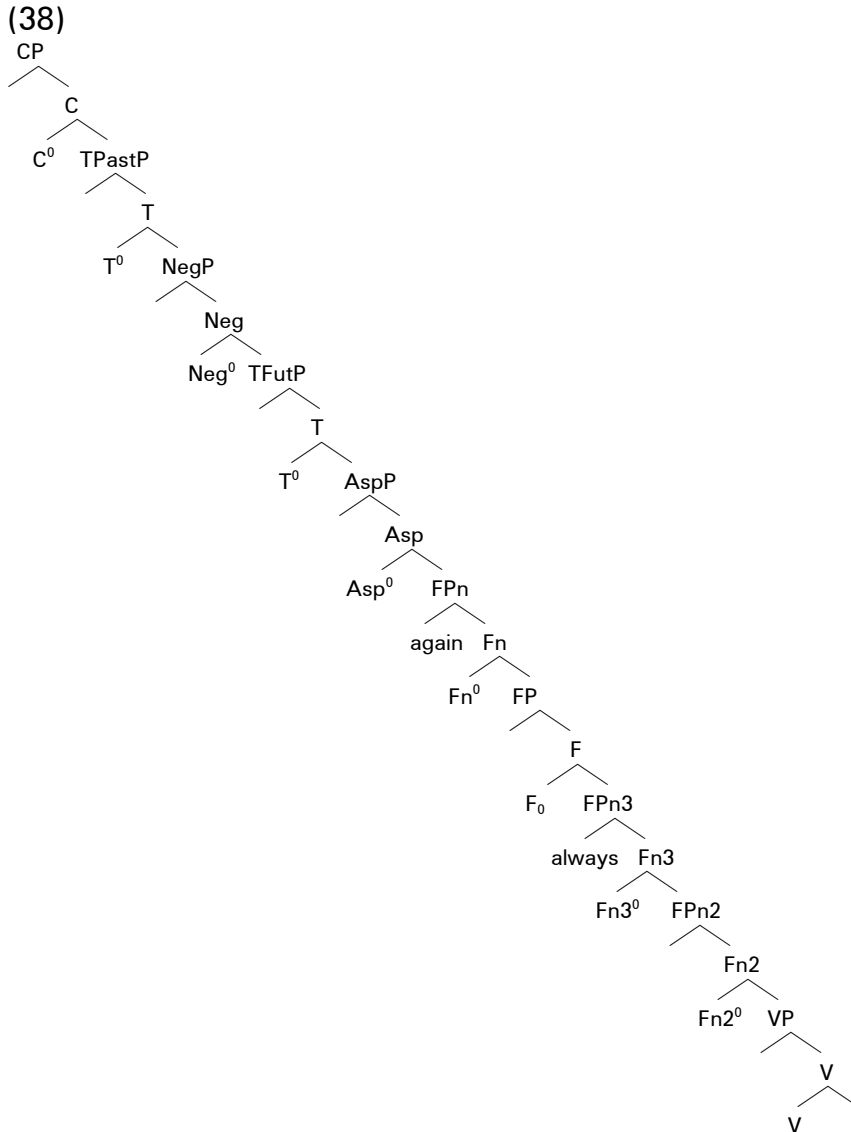
(35) [F<sub>3</sub> always [F<sub>2</sub> well [F<sub>1</sub> at school [VP sing song]]]] Move VP →  
 [F<sub>3</sub> always [F<sub>2</sub> well [F<sub>1</sub> [VP sing song] [F<sub>1</sub>at school t<sub>VP</sub>]]]] Move VP →  
 [F<sub>3</sub> always [F<sub>2</sub> [VP sing song] [F<sub>2</sub>well[F<sub>1</sub>t<sub>VP</sub>[F<sub>1</sub>at school t<sub>VP</sub>]]]]] Move VP →  
 [F<sub>3</sub>[VP sing song] [F<sub>3</sub> always [F<sub>2</sub> t<sub>VP</sub> [F<sub>2</sub>well[F<sub>1</sub>t<sub>VP</sub>[F<sub>1</sub>at school t<sub>VP</sub>]]]]]]

(36) [F3 always [F2 well [F1 at school [VP sing song]]]] Move VP →  
 [F3 always [F2 well [F1[VP sing song] [F1 at school t<sub>VP</sub>]]] Move F1 →  
 [F3 always [F2[F1[VP sing song] [F1 at school t<sub>VP</sub>]] [F2 wellt<sub>F1</sub>]] Move F2 →  
 [F3[F2[F1[VP sing song] [F1 at school t<sub>VP</sub>]] [F2 wellt<sub>F1</sub>]] [F3 always<sub>F2</sub>]]

(37) [VP sing song] Merge F1 →  
 [F1 at school [VP sing song] ] Move VP →  
 [F1 [sing song][F1 at school t<sub>VP</sub>]] Merge F2 →  
 [F2 well [F1 [sing song][F1 at school t<sub>VP</sub>]] ] Move F1 →  
 [F2[F1 [sing song][F1 at school t<sub>VP</sub>]] [F2 wellt<sub>F1</sub>]] Merge F3 →  
 [F3 always [F2[F1 [sing song][F1 at school t<sub>VP</sub>]] [F2 well t<sub>F1</sub>]]] Merge F4 →  
 [F4 [F3 always [F2[F1 [sing song][F1 at school t<sub>VP</sub>]] [F2 wellt<sub>F1</sub>]]] Move *at school* →  
 [F4at school[F4 [F3 always [F2[F1 [sing song][F1t<sub>school</sub> t<sub>VP</sub>]] [F2 wellt<sub>F1</sub>]]]] Move F3 →  
 [F4[F3 always [F2[F1 [sing song][F1t<sub>at school</sub> t<sub>VP</sub>]] [F2 well t<sub>F1</sub>]]] F4at school[F4t<sub>F3</sub>]]

The order VP > at school > always > well as in is excluded, meaning that it is not possible for the string made of the VP and the locative adverb at school to move directly to the position immediately preceding always without stopping in a position in between always and well. The movement therefore has to be successive cyclic.

The preceding paragraphs show that the movement of the VP is attested in Féfé. However, the VP raises up to a position FP delimited on the left by the lower monosyllabic adverb and on the right by the higher polysyllabic adverb. The VP does not raise any further, as we have seen that none of the monosyllabic particles functioning as pre-VP adverbs ever surfaces in a position following the verb. This provides us with a kind of harmony in the sense that functional heads which are also monosyllabic and all monosyllabic adverbs do precede the VP. This gives a string of monosyllabic particles starting from the TP up to and including the lowest monosyllabic particle in the pre-VP space. This string of monosyllabic particles is followed by the VP, which in turn is followed by polysyllabic elements, namely clause final adverbials. So the VP raises up to a position lower than *again* in the tree below, and higher than *always*, which surfaces in a post VP position.



This harmony is however not as thorough as one would want, as it is disrupted by yet another string of monosyllabic particles (Clause Final Particles<sup>3</sup>) occurring at the very end of the clause, that is, after post VP adverbials. Amidst the latter group is the clause final negator, the discussion of whose position is the subject of the following section.

## 2.6. The position of the clause final negator in Féfé

In the following paragraphs, we consider three propositions for the position of the clause final negator. First, we examine the account of Hagemeijer (2004) according to which the clause final negator is to be analyzed as base

<sup>3</sup> We consider these particles as belonging to the C-domain.



generated somewhere in the lower VP area, that is, immediately higher than the VP. Accordingly, this negator would end clause finally just like with post VP adverbs as a consequence of the movement of the VP to the position we have labeled FP, i.e., higher than all polysyllabic adverbs. Then we consider the proposition of Nkemnji (1995) and Bell (2004) who posit the clause final negator below TP, with the clause final position resulting from the pied-piping of the aspectual complement to its specifier. Thirdly, we consider a position according to which the clause final negator can be viewed as belonging to the left periphery, thus contributing to confirm the clausal harmony of Féfé, i.e. the partition of the clause in two groups; the higher section made up of monosyllabic particles and the lower portion made up of polysyllabic elements. The latter analysis has the advantage of providing a unifying analysis for all clause final particles, as the interrogative and focus particles found clause finally in the language are standardly analyzed as all belonging to the C-domain. Other independent reasons are also given leading one to prefer the latter analysis over the others.

### ***2.6.1. The clause final negator as a VP space particle***

One of the first position one might suspect as the base position for the clause final negator is the lower VP space, where this negator could be found with VP adverbs. Hagemeyer (2004) discussing the data of Santome posits that the clause final negator is generated lower than the middle field negator, in a position immediately preceding the VP. The latter raises to the specifier position of the clause final negator, thus deriving the expected surface word order. Can Hagemeyer's analysis be extended to Féfé? The answer is no, because this would imply merging the clause final negator in the area between FP and the VP in the tree structure in (38) above. However, the availability of the climbing derivation as seen in (31) and (35), where the VP climbs its way up through the phrases hosting the adverbs that are found post verbally, would derive the wrong position for the negator if it is merged higher than all post VP adverbs.

- (31) Á ndzó: ʃì Kwè-vàk-ntʃyè? pɪpě? Sükü  
 He sing song always well school  
 He always sings well at school

- (35). [F<sub>3</sub> always [F<sub>2</sub> well [F<sub>1</sub> at school [VP sing song]]]] Move VP →  
 [F<sub>3</sub> always [F<sub>2</sub> well [F<sub>1</sub> [VP sing song] [F<sub>1</sub>at school t<sub>VP</sub>]]]] Move VP →  
 [F<sub>3</sub> always [F<sub>2</sub> [VP sing song] [F<sub>2</sub>well[F<sub>1</sub>t<sub>VP</sub>[F<sub>1</sub>at school t<sub>VP</sub>]]]]] Move VP →  
 [F<sub>3</sub>[VP sing song] [F<sub>3</sub> always [F<sub>2</sub> t<sub>VP</sub> [F<sub>2</sub>well[F<sub>1</sub>t<sub>VP</sub>[F<sub>1</sub>at school t<sub>VP</sub>]]]]]]

In the case the clause final negator is merged lower, that is immediately above the VP, the availability of the roll-up derivation, ( 32 & 36) will again derive the wrong word order, because the negator will still surface before all these adverbs, thus providing a position for the clause final negator which is not available in the language.

(32) Á ndzò: ʃì sükü pàpě Kwè-vàk-ntʃyè?  
 He sing school song well always  
 He always sings well at school

(36) [<sub>F3</sub> always [<sub>F2</sub> well [<sub>F1</sub> at school [<sub>VP</sub> sing song]]]] Move VP →  
 [<sub>F3</sub> always [<sub>F2</sub> well [<sub>F1</sub>[<sub>VP</sub> sing song] [<sub>F1</sub> at school t<sub>VP</sub>]]]] Move F1 →  
 [<sub>F3</sub> always [<sub>F2</sub>[<sub>F1</sub>[<sub>VP</sub> sing song] [<sub>F1</sub> at school t<sub>VP</sub>]] [<sub>F2</sub> wellt<sub>F1</sub>]] Move F2 →  
 [<sub>F3</sub>[<sub>F2</sub>[<sub>F1</sub>[<sub>VP</sub> sing song] [<sub>F1</sub> at school t<sub>VP</sub>]] [<sub>F2</sub> wellt<sub>F1</sub>]] [<sub>F3</sub> alwayst<sub>F2</sub>]]

It therefore follows that the clause final negator in Féfé does not belong to the VP area.

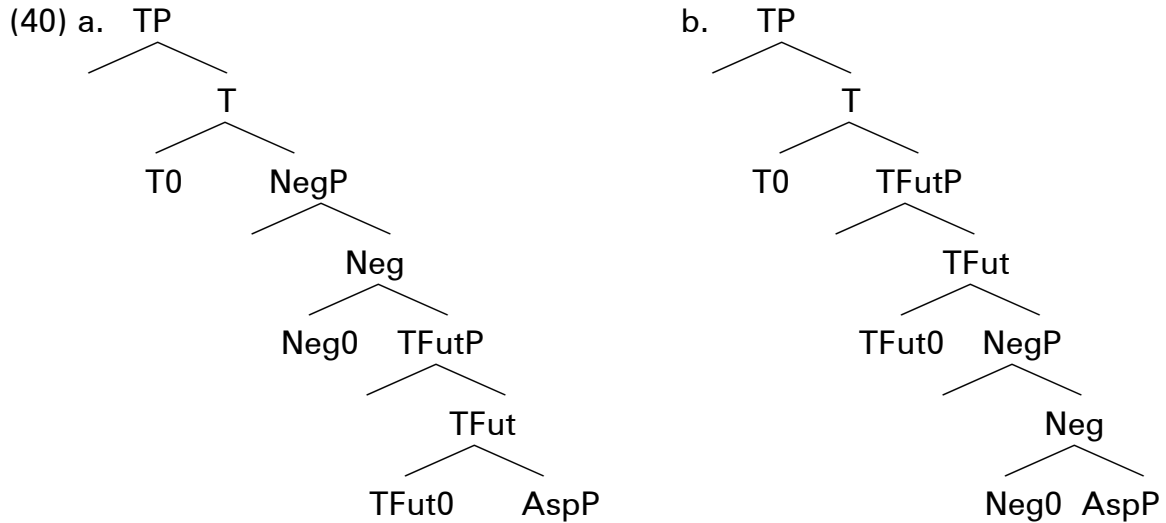
### 2.6.2. The clause final negator below TP

One of the earliest accounts of discontinuous negation with a clause final negator is provided by Nkemnji (1995). Accounting for Nweh, a Bantu language of Cameroon, Nkemnji proposes that the clause final negator is generated immediately below TP, as seen in the structure below, where the middle field negator is hosted in the specifier position of the aspectual phrase. The aspectual phrase containing the middle field negator then raises to the specifier of the higher negator, driving along the rest of the clause, thus deriving the surface word order.

(39) a. [TP[T<sup>0</sup> [NegP[ Neg<sup>0</sup> bò[Asp te[Asp<sup>0</sup>... ]]]]]]  
 b. [TP[T<sup>0</sup>[NegP [AspP te[Asp<sup>0</sup>...]; [Neg<sup>0</sup> bò t<sub>i</sub>]]]]]

A problem related to this analysis has to do with the fact we don't know where the Future tense falls, as there is clearly a distinction between the position of the future marker and that of the past marker both in Nweh and in Féfé (40a). If the future tense marker, about which Nkemnji is silent in his account, is merged lower than the negator as in (40a), the result would be a structure with a clause final future tense marker, for in Nkemnji's analysis, the aspectual phrase raises to the specifier of the negator simply because it hosts the middle field negator, which must enter into a checking relation with the higher negator. There is therefore no reason why the future projection

should be a part of that relation. On the other hand, merging the future marker higher than the negator as in (40b) would also derive the wrong word order, as this would result in a structure with the middle field negator lower than the future tense marker, contrary to the facts of both F  f   and Nweh.



Bell (2004) solution to this is to consider that the future is an aspectual element, which may therefore be generated below the middle field negator. Still this does not solve the problem related to Nkemnjis analysis where the middle field negator is a specifier to the aspectual phrase, as the aspectual marker is overt in these languages. Bell therefore proposes an analysis that generates the two negative morphemes in two different NegPs immediately adjacent to one another, with the clause final negator higher, ie, immediately below TP (41a). The surface word order is derived as the consequence of the lower NegP moving along with its complement- comprising future and aspectual markers- to the specifier position of the higher NegP, thus stranding the latter clause finally (41b). Bell analysis derives the correct order without any further assumptions, and is thus a possible configuration for the structural relation between the two negators.

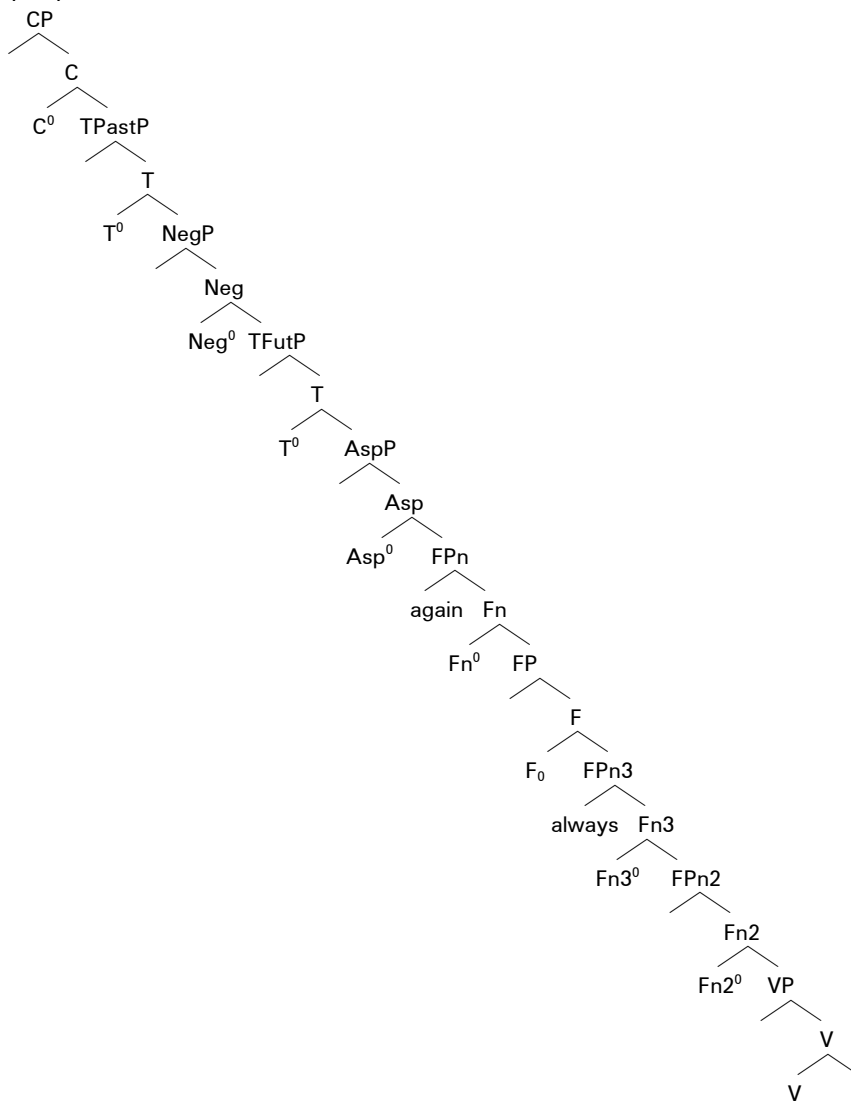
(41) a. [TP[T<sup>0</sup> [NegP<sub>1</sub>[ Neg<sup>1<sub>0</sub></sup> b  [NegP<sub>2</sub>[Neg<sup>2<sub>0</sub></sup> te[TP[T<sup>0</sup>[AspP[Asp<sup>0</sup> ....]]]]]]]]]]]

b. [TP[T<sup>0</sup> [NegP<sub>1</sub>[NegP<sub>2</sub>[Neg<sup>2<sub>0</sub></sup> te[TP[T<sup>0</sup>[AspP[Asp<sup>0</sup> ....]]]]]]];[ Neg<sup>1<sub>0</sub></sup> b   t<sub>i</sub>]]]

### 2.6.3. Clause final negator as a pre-TP particle

An alternative analysis, however, will consist of looking at the clause structure of Féfé a made of three substrings, the first made up of all monosyllabic particles in the middle field, the second made up of the non monosyllabic particle lower than FP, and the third made up of the particles found at clause final position, that is, after the non monosyllabic particles. If things are viewed from this angle, we can no longer consider the clause final negator as disrupting what we have referred to above as a harmony in Féfé, because we can then consider the third string of elements as belonging together, and provide a unified analysis for them, instead of analyzing the clause final negator separately from other clause final particles.

(42)



In the analysis that take into consideration the harmony in the disposition of monosyllabic and polysyllabic elements, and which I am proposing for this thesis, the clause final negator belongs to a group called Clause Final Particles. These clause final particles are analyzed together as belonging to a higher portion of the clause, namely, the left periphery. And the TP is pied-piped to the specifier of the relevant phrase in each case, providing the correct word order. This in fact provides us with a unique group of monosyllabic particles from the top of the clause to and including the position occupied by FPN, and from below FPN right to the end of the clause, we find non monosyllabic elements.

The analysis of all clause final heads as belonging to the left periphery is motivated by the fact that the other heads found clause finally, namely the focus and the interrogative heads, are standardly analyzed as belonging to the left periphery. And this analysis can be extended to the clause final negator, thus providing a unifying analysis for all clause final particles of the language. The following paragraphs discuss other facts in favor of a pre-TP position for the Féfé clause final negator.

### ***2.6.3.1. Other argument for a pre-TP clause final negator***

The facts of other languages closely related or not, can also be used to show why a pre-TP position for the Féfé clause final negator should be preferred over the post TP analysis provided by Bell (2004). To start with, we consider the negation system of Bafut, another Grassfield Bantu language of Cameroon. At the exception of the imperative and the conditional, a negative clause in Bafut<sup>4</sup> has two independent markers for negation. The first, which can be called the default negative marker, and which is present in all negative clauses, including the imperatives, varies with tense and aspect markers, just like the middle field negator in Féfé and, which is more, is located in the middle field, immediately below the tense marker. The second negator, which patterns with the Féfé clause final negator in being morphologically invariant in every context where it occurs, is a clause initial particle in Bafut, i.e., preceding even the subject.

- (43) a. Kää bó s̀̀ nk̀̀ tũ'ũ  
           Neg-they-neg-fetch-water  
           They have not fetched water

---

<sup>4</sup> The Bafut examples are from Chumbo & Tamanji (1994).

- b. Kää mè kì wää tí ŋgyá wä  
Neg-I-P2-neg-tree-week-cut  
I did not fall a tree last week

The clause final position of the Féfé negator can therefore be considered to originate from a clause initial one like in Bafut, with Féfé favoring the pre-eminence of the subject.

The analysis according to which the clause final negator is in fact a C-domain particle is also adopted by Aboh (2005). Building on the fact that the Fongbe negative morphemes, which are otherwise mutually exclusive do co-occur under special left peripheral conditions, as well as some data by Hagemeijer (2004) showing the interaction of the clause final negator with some other C-domain particles, Aboh argues that the middle field negator does not intervene structurally between the clause final negator and the C layer. Thus explaining why the Agree relation that holds between the C-domain particles does not affect the middle field negator. As a consequence, Aboh concludes that the interaction between the clause final negator and other elements of the left periphery is possible because this negator also belongs to the left periphery. The clause final negator ends up in the right edge because, according to Aboh, it takes wide scope over the proposition which is fronted to its specifier position. Aboh further proposes a semantic characterization for the clause final negator, thus showing that its function differs from those of the middle field negator. In Aboh's analysis, the clause final negator has a function related to evidentiality which leads it to interact with speech act modalities.

### ***2.6.3.2. The position of Negation in the C-domain***

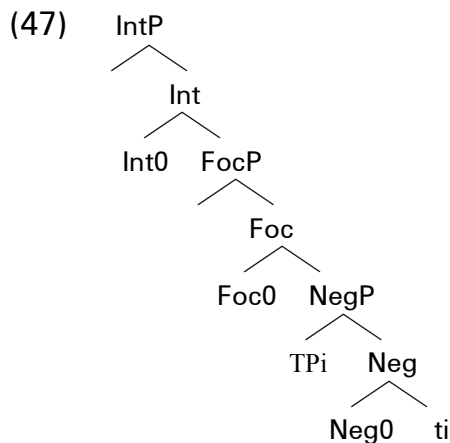
An important question that arises after concluding that the clause final negator is a C-domain particle is what its specific position is in the C-domain. If we assume that this negator ends up sentence finally as the result of a heavy pied-piping process, and that the same fate applies to all C-domain particles that happen to be found sentence finally in Féfé, then, we can derive the order of these elements in C as the reverse of the order found in the right edge of the clause like in a mirror theory. So let's consider some examples of sentences with focus, negation and interrogative particles.

(44). Mǎ ò si kǎ sà? Bǎ lá  
 That you Neg Fut come Neg Foc  
 That you will not come (emphasis)

(45). Ò si kǎ yě kò bá á?  
 You Neg Fut go farm Int  
 Wont you go to the farm?

(46). Ò mé yò mfá? lá á?  
 You end your work Foc Int  
 Have you finish your work?

Though it may be difficult to have all three particles within the same sentence, the examples above show that the linear order existing among these elements in the right edge is Neg > Foc > Int, which implies that the reverse order should feature in the C- domain, that is, Int > Foc > Neg. This implies that negation is not the left most element in C, but is close enough to the TP.



## 2.7. Two positions for negation

It should be noted that the idea that a negative marker can be found in the C- domain has been circulating in the literature since more than decade, as Rizzi (1997) in his split- C hypothesis already suggests the existence of such a pattern in other languages, by making the following statement:

“ We should think of finiteness as the core IP-related characteristics that the complementizer system expresses; languages can vary in the extent to which additional IP information is replicated in the complementizer system: some languages replicate mood distinction..., some replicate subject agreement..., some seem to express genuine tense distinctions (Irish, Cottell 1994), negation (Latin, Celtic), etc.” cf Rizzi (1997, 284).

The clause final negator is therefore the reflex of negation within the F<sub>0</sub> complementizer domain, unlike the middle field negator which interacts closely with other elements within the inflectional domain. Below, I look at Moscati’s account of left peripheral negation as an instance of clause typing in the sense of Cheng (1991).

### ***2.7.1. A clause typing account of negation in the C-domain***

After examining many languages that make available a negative morpheme of one sort or other in the complementizer layer, Moscati (2006) proposes that negation could be considered as a clause typing feature just as the declarative, interrogative or imperative as advocated by Cheng (1991).

#### **(48). Clause Typing Hypothesis (Cheng 1991)**

Every clause needs to be typed.

Though the specific claim of typing may be a very strong one, and also might not survive close extensive scrutiny, Moscati’s proposition may be understood as a device made available by UG and explaining the occurrence of negative morpheme in both the C and the IP layer. Moscati therefore proposes that an agreement relation holds between the negative feature in the left periphery and the one in the middle field, thus advocating a general mechanism that holds even for languages that do not seem to have negative markers in both domains, just as is the case with languages that have WH in-situ, but which are still analysed as possessing a Q operator in the C layer. A problem that may be difficult to circumvent in the present case might be related to languages that have a negative morpheme in the C layer, but none in the middle field. Would one then have to assume that the supposed negative typing feature and the negative marker both coincide on one and the same lexical item? If so, how would the agreement between the two elements hold? Another question may be related to the typing hypothesis which if implemented in a strict manner, would imply multiple typing features on one and the same clause, namely, +Dec +Neg; +Int +Neg; +Imp



+Neg; etc. The major difference between the negative typing feature and other typing features would then be that unlike for all others, the negative typing feature would be the only one to never be able to type a clause all by itself, and this actually lead to question its ability to indeed type a clause. In any case, it is clear that the negative feature can in no way function as an independent typing feature for a clause, reason why I do not adopt such an hypothesis.

On the other hand, Rizzi's original idea according to which additional IP information is replicated in the complementizer system is the core of my proposal, and this implies that UG makes available the possibility for any language to have a negative feature in both the complementizer domain and in the IP domain just as some languages replicate subject agreement while others seem to express genuine tense distinctions, it is left to every language to chose whether to have a negative marker in the C or in the IP domain or in both. There is therefore a position available for negative feature in both domains. And the data of Finnish discussed by Kaiser (2006) can be considered a strong empirical evidence for this. In the Finnish case, there is only one negative morpheme. However, we see it either in the middle field or in the C-domain depending on the function it plays in the clause. In regular declarative clauses, the negator surfaces in a post –subject position. However, the negative marker occurs as a left peripheral constituent when used in a contrastive focus fashion. Examples (49)- (51) below illustrate the two different uses. (I give the examples in their bare form, unlike in the original from Kaiser (2006: 318, 330, 332) where case and gender instructions are also provided with the linear string).

(49). Liisa ei osta kirjaa  
Liisa Neg buy book  
Liis does not buy a/the book

(50). Ei hän halunnut ruveta hullun holhoojaksi  
Neg she wanted become crazy caretaker  
She didn't want to be a crazy person's caretaker

(51). Ei Jussi ostanut Hevosta  
Neg Jussi buy horse  
It was not a horse that Jussi bought

So the Finnish sentence initial negator functions as an emphatic negation in both (50) (presupposed information) and (51) (contrastive focus) examples. In Kaiser's account, this negator is found in a polarity phrase and the

presupposed information in a Topic phrase, while the contrastively focused element is in a Contrastive phrase.

This shows that there might be an interaction between function and position in language and, in the case of Féfé the morphology provides two different forms for the two. In the next chapter, we see that the functions of the clause final negator differ from those of the middle field negator and, just like with the Finnish data, the pre-TP position has got some association with contrastive focus. This actually may serve as a confirmation for the existence of two different positions for negation, and it is left to every independent language to chose which and how to make use of them.

## ***2.8. Conclusion***

This section has contributed to determine the structural configuration between the two negators in Féfé. Additionally we have proposed on the basis of the facts, not only of Féfé, but of the Gbe languages, of Bafut and of Finnish as well, and also building on Rizzi's (1997) original idea that information found in the IP happen to be replicated in the CP in many languages, that UG makes available two positions for negation, in both IP and CP. However, the choice of what use to make of the available positions is left to each and every language. In the subsequent chapters, we see that the two positions for negation serve two distinct functions in Féfé.

### ***3. Negative concord theories***

#### ***3.1. Introduction***

The question surrounding the inherent semantics of n-words, which happen to co-occur with the negative marker in certain languages but to be mutually exclusive with it in others, has been the subject of much debate, this because of the variable distribution and interpretation of n-words cross linguistically. In fact, n-words convey the semantics of negation in some languages, but seem not to do so in others. In the first case involving double negation (DN) languages like Dutch, n-words and negative markers are mutually exclusive in a clause expressing a single negation (1). In the second case referred to as negative concord (henceforth NC) an n-word and a negative marker contribute to convey a single negation as illustrated by the Czech example in (2).

(1) a. Niemand loopt  
n-person walks  
Nobody walks

b. \*Niemand loopt niet  
n-person walks Neg  
Nobody walks

(2). Milan nevidi nikoho  
Milan neg sees n-person  
Milan doesn't see anybody

Assuming that two negations should cancel out as in mathematics, Dutch therefore seems to pattern with mathematical logic, while languages like Czech don't. According to the NC theory we are looking at in this thesis, this difference is in fact illusory, and there is actually one and only one negation in the Czech example above, for the Czech surface structure is simply an instance of syntactic agreement. Variable analyses of NC are available in the literature, but we focus on the most recent proposals, namely those of Zeijlstra (2004) and Penka (2007), and refer the interested reader to the work of Zeijlstra for a detailed overview.

In the remainder of this chapter, we present the NC account of Zeijlstra (2004) and Penka (2007) in section 3.2. In section 3.3 we discuss how the facts of Féfé can be accounted for within this theory at the cost of some slight modifications. Section 3.4 concludes the chapter.



Non strict NC languages, on the other hand, have a negative marker which is semantically negative, and could be said to combine the functions of both syntactic and semantic negators.

- (4) a. Gianni non telefona a nessuno (Italian)  
 Gianni Neg call to n-person  
 Gianni doesn't call anyone
- b. Gianni non[i-Neg] telefona a nessuno[u-Neg]  
 |-----↑
- c. Nessuno telefona a Gianni  
 n-person call to Gianni  
 Nobody calls Gianni
- d. Op<sup>□</sup>[i-Neg]nessuno[u-Neg] telefona a Gianni  
 |-----↑

Another difference between strict and non strict NC languages has to do with the co-occurrence relation between the negative marker and the subject n-word. In strict NC languages, the subject n-word does co-occur with the negative marker as in French (3b). In non strict NC on the contrary, the subject n-word and the negative marker do not co-occur (4b). To sum up, both the negative marker and the n-word in languages like French and Czech (strict NC) are non negative and carry a [u-Neg] feature. In Italian (a non strict NC) on the other hand, only the n-word is non negative, while the negative marker is negative and carries an [i-Neg] feature. This implies that the negative marker in non strict NC is the negative operator (5a) and as such checks the [u-Neg] feature on the n-word, while there is need for a separate negative operator to perform the same task in strict NC languages (5b).

- (5) a. [Op<sub>-[i-Neg]</sub>n-word<sub>[u-Neg]</sub> [NegP[Neg<sup>0</sup><sub>-[iNEG]</sub> n-word<sub>[u-Neg]</sub> ]]]  
 |-----↑ |-----↑
- b. [Op<sup>□</sup><sub>[i-Neg]</sub>n-word<sub>[u-Neg]</sub> [NegP[Neg<sup>0</sup><sub>[uNEG]</sub> n-word<sub>[u-Neg]</sub> ]]]  
 |-----↑ |-----↑ |-----↑

### 3.2.2. Problems with Zeijlstra

This raises some questions related to both strict and non strict NC languages. In the last case, it has to do with the licensing of n-word by the negative marker. When the n-word is in object position (4a), we need the negative

marker in the clause. However, if the n-word is in subject position (4b), then the negative marker is no longer needed. This has the consequence of positing a covert negative operator in addition to the overt negative operator. The covert operator is necessary because one cannot explain the origin of the negative semantics associated with (4b) otherwise, the n-word being non negative. We therefore have a covert operator licensing subject n-words, and the overt negator licensing object n-words in non strict NC languages. This observation is already made by Penka (2007) who explains these facts relying on the assumption according to which “licensing under Agree can only take place under c-command” ; the pre-verbal n-word can thus not be licensed by the negative marker, wherefore, the necessity of a covert negative operator.

In the case of strict NC languages, both the negative marker and the n-word are assumed to be licensed by the same negative operator. In the case of Czech for example, the negative operator is abstract, and thus there is no inconsistency. In French however, the negative marker and the negative operator do co-occur, as seen in (3a). But (3b) shows that the n-word and the negative operator do not co-occur, and if they do, as in (6) below, then we get a double negation reading.

- (6) Jean ne gagne pas rien  
 Jean Neg earn Neg n-thing  
 John does not earn nothing /John earns much

b. Jean ne<sub>i</sub> gagne [NegP pas<sub>[i-Neg]</sub> [Neg<sup>0</sup> t<sub>i</sub><sub>[u-Neg]</sub> rien<sub>[u-Neg]</sub> / <sub>[i-Neg]</sub> DN  
 |\_\_\_\_\_↑\_x\_↑↑\_\_\_\_\_|

Zeijlstra follows Haraiwa (2001) according to whom multiple agree is possible, thus positing that a single negative operator  $Op^{-}$  can agree with and check the [u-Neg] feature on multiple non negative elements. In the case of Czech, the same negative operator agrees with both the n-word and the negative marker (7).

(7)  $Op^{-}$ <sub>[i-Neg]</sub> Milan nevidi<sub>[u-Neg]</sub> nikoho<sub>[u-Neg]</sub>  
 |\_\_\_\_\_↑\_\_\_\_\_↑

However, when we consider examples (3b) and (6), we wonder if *pas* as the negative operator in the case of French can be said to license the n-word. Two observations which lead to question the relation of *pas* to n-words, and which are already made by Penka (2007) are:

- Pas* does not co-occur with n-words under a single negation reading;
- Whenever *pas* does co-occur with n-words we get a double negation reading.

We come back to the explanation provided by Penka (2007) for these facts in the following section.

The discussion so far can be summed up as follows: Zeijlstra provides an account for the difference between strict and non strict NC languages in terms of the negative feature on the negative marker. The latter is non negative in strict NC and negative in non strict negative concord. In the last case, the negative marker licenses n-words which are inherently non negative. However, this licensing ability is limited to the object n-word, and the theory has to recourse to a covert negative operator for the licensing of subject n-words. In strict NC languages, both the negative marker and the n-word are licensed by the same negative operator. The inconsistency uncovered by the French data however shows that there is more complexity at hand than envisioned by Zeijlstra. In view of these issues, which Penka (2007) raises in her discussion of Zeijlstra's work, she proposes some revisions to refine the theory.

### ***3.2.3. Penka (2007)***

This section discusses Penka's analysis of NC. Specifically, we look at her discussion of the French data and the consequent revision she proposes to the theory innovated by Zeijlstra (2004). The essentials of Penka's analysis of the French data amount to the demonstration that n-words and negative markers are not licensed by the same negative operator. She proposes an analysis that provides an answer to the question related to licensing ability of *pas* with regards to n-words, reaching the conclusion according to which n-words, unlike the negative marker *ne* are licensed by a different negative operators.

Her analysis is based on the following observations about French: The two negative markers of French, *ne* and *pas* generally co-occur in the absence of n-words. The two negative markers exhibit stark contrast in their ability to participate in NC with n-words: While *ne* obligatorily co-occurs with n-words and this irrespective of their position, *pas* cannot co-occur with n-words under a NC reading, and this co-occurrence always yields a double negation reading. These facts remain unexplained under Zeijlstra's analysis. The conclusion drawn from these facts is that *pas* does not license n-words. An abstract negator therefore has to be introduced in the structure to license n-words in French. This abstract negator contributes the second negation in structures where *pas* and n-words co-occur. The second [i-Neg] is assigned the index  $\emptyset$ . [i-Neg $\emptyset$ ] is intended for negative operators without phonological

content, while [i-Neg] is meant for negative operators with phonological content, in this case *pas*. N-words in French are thus considered to have the feature [u-Neg $\emptyset$ ], which cannot be checked by [i-Neg] feature carried by *pas*. The analysis thus proposed by Penka accounts for the facts of French as shown by her sample derivation for sentences with n-words below.

(8) *Personne n'aime personne*  
 n-person Neg love n-person  
 No one loves anybody

(9) [TP Op<sup>-</sup><sub>[i-Neg $\emptyset$ ]</sub> [TP *Personne*<sub>[u-Neg $\emptyset$ ]</sub> *n'aime* *personne*<sub>[u-Neg $\emptyset$ ]</sub> ] ] NC

(10) [TP Op<sup>-</sup><sub>[i-Neg $\emptyset$ ]</sub> [TP *personne*<sub>[u-Neg $\emptyset$ ]</sub> *n'aime*  
 [VP Op<sub>[i-Neg $\emptyset$ ]</sub> [VP *personne*<sub>[u-Neg $\emptyset$ ]</sub> ] ] ] DN

(11) *Jean n'a pas vu personne*  
 Jean Neg has Neg seen n-person  
 John has not seen no one/ John has seen someone

(12) [TP *Jean* *n'a* [NegP *pas*<sub>[i-Neg]</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>*<sub>[u-Neg]</sub> [VPOp<sup>-</sup><sub>[i-Neg $\emptyset$ ]</sub> [VP *vu* *personne*<sub>[u-Neg $\emptyset$ ]</sub> ] ] ]

In (9), the abstract Operator is inserted in spec TP, from where it enters into a multiple agree relation with all n-words in the sentence. To obtain the double negation reading in (10), a second abstract operator is inserted lower in the structure; here in spec VP, from where it can check the [u-Neg $\emptyset$ ] feature on the object n-word. When the overt operator *pas* and n-words do co-occur, as in (11) *pas* cannot check the uninterpretable feature on the n-word, because it does not have the index  $\emptyset$ . Therefore, an abstract operator is still needed (12), thus contributing the second negation.

The following inventory of features is given by Penka (2007: 77).

(13) a. Interpretable features

- (i) [i-Neg] on overt operators
- (ii) [i-Neg $\emptyset$ ] on abstract negative operators

b. Uninterpretable features

- (i) [u-Neg] has to be checked by [i-Neg] or [i-Neg $\emptyset$ ]
- (ii) [u-Neg $\emptyset$ ] can only be checked by [i-Neg $\emptyset$ ]



In short Penka's analysis adds to the pair of features proposed by Zeijlstra a second pair of features [i/uNeg  $\emptyset$ ] which thus rescue the system by covering cases which could not be accounted for by Zeijlstra's original proposal. In so doing, Penka establishes a difference between licensing by covert and overt negative operator, where covert operator stands for the semantically negative element that is not realized phonologically. It should be noted however, that the second pair of features is not restricted to accounting for the French data, but is to be extended to all cases where an n-word happens to be licensed by a phonologically null negative operator with [i-Neg  $\emptyset$ ].

### 3.2.4. Problems with Penka's account of the French NC

By proposing the above revision to the theory of NC proposed by Zeijlstra, Penka succeeds to explain the mysterious behavior of *pas* with regards to n-words. However, her analysis leaves some questions without answers. Though she explains the distributional pattern between *pas* and n-words, she remains silent about the relation of *ne* to n-words. We have seen that *ne* always co-occurs with n-words and, which is more, this co-occurrence relation is such that n-words are never found in negative sentences in the absence of *ne*. Thus we have the pattern below in (14) and (15).

- (14) a. Jean n'a rien vu  
           John Neg have n-thing see  
       b. \*Jean a rien vu  
           John have n-thing see  
           John has not seen anything

- (15) a. Personne n'est venu  
           n-person Neg is come  
       b. \*Personne est venu  
           n-person is come  
           No one has come

The analysis of Penka succeeds to demonstrate that *pas* does not license n-words. But what is the relation of *ne* to n-words in standard French? In the sample derivations from Penka in (9) to (12) above, the arrows indicating the agreement relations do in no way establish a relation between *ne* and n-words in the sentences. *Ne* seems to be in these sentences by a mere accident! Can we ascertain that *ne* does not license n-words? If yes, then what is *ne* doing? In other words, why is it not possible for n-words to be

licensed by the said abstract operator in the absence of *ne*, in which case (14b) and (15b) should be alright?

In Penka's analysis, the patterns observed in (14a) and (15a) are expected if *ne* is non negative, thus deriving a single negation reading. However, it should also be possible for n-words to occur in the absence of *ne* with a single negation reading. This is however not possible, and the examples above show that n-words are not self-licensing as claimed by Penka; for if they were, then there should not be any explanation for the ungrammaticality of (14b) and (15b). So, there is at least one difference between *ne* and n-words, namely that *ne* does not depend on n-words to be licensed, whereas n-words depend on *ne* for their licensing. This leads one to two possible directions: First that *ne* licenses n-words, in which case there is no need for an abstract operator. Second that *ne* licenses the operator that licenses n-words, which implies in any way that *ne* is an indirect licenser for n-words. Below we consider the two possibilities in turn, with the consequences associated to each case.

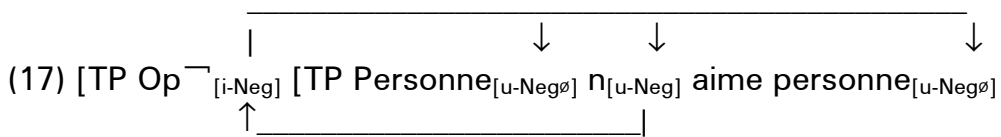
#### ***3.2.4.1. Ne licenses n-words***

The most immediate consequence of this choice would be that *ne* is negative semantically, thus contributing the negative semantics associated to sentences such as (14a) and (15a). This would raise the question of the relation of *ne* to *pas*. If it is not possible for both *pas* and *ne* to be interpretable for negation, then assuming that *ne* is negative would lead to the consequence that *pas* is not. This position would however be difficult to maintain because we would not be able to explain why adding *pas* to either (14a) or (15a) above brings about a double negation reading, for if one of the negation is contributed by *pas* and the second by *ne*, then the prediction is that we should also obtain a DN reading in all contexts where *ne* and *pas* co-occur in the absence of n-words. This prediction is however not borne out, leading to the conclusion that *pas* is negative, while *ne* is not. We thus have to consider the possibility according to which *ne* licenses the abstract operator.

### 3.2.4.2. *Ne* licenses $Op^{-}$

The fact that n-words cannot be licensed in the absence of *ne* implies that the latter is instrumental in the licensing of n-words in standard French. Since *ne* is semantically non negative, we are left with the option according to which it has the ability to license the abstract operator that licenses n-words. And this can be considered as the distinguishing property between n-words and *ne*, namely that *ne* can license a negative operator, while n-words cannot. Assuming that *ne* licenses  $Op^{-}$  leads to the conclusion that there is a co-licensing relationship between *ne* and  $Op^{-}$ , in the sense that once  $Op^{-}$  is licensed by *ne*, it still has to check the [u-Neg] feature on *ne*. We thus have the following derivation for (8) repeated here as (16).

(16) *Personne n'aime personne*  
 n-person Neg love n-person  
 No one loves anybody



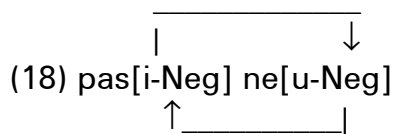
In (17) *ne* licenses  $Op^{-}$  and the latter establishes a multiple agree relation with all [u-Neg] features, thus getting rid of them for the sake of the interpretive Interface. In the derivation the index  $\emptyset$  is maintained only on n-words, as an indication that they can also be licensed by other operators, for example in non negative contexts. The negative marker on its own has not got the index, because we assume that a co-licensing relation like the one we are postulating between *ne* and  $OP^{-}$  must only exist between two elements which share exactly the same feature. So the only difference that is supposed to exist between *ne* and  $Op^{-}$  has to do with the fact that *ne* has [u-Neg] while  $Op^{-}$  has [i-Neg]. So they are featurally alike. We could further support the co-licensing relation we are postulating between *ne* and  $OP^{-}$  by integrating into our analysis the recent proposition by Pesestky & Torrego (2004) according to which there should a distinction between feature interpretability and feature valuation. In this respect, *ne* would be uninterpretable but valued, while the empty operator is interpretable but unvalued. There is therefore a need for *ne* to value the unvalued feature on the empty operator, thus justifying why the latter cannot license n-words in the absence of *ne*.

To conclude, an analysis according to which *ne* licenses  $Op^{-}$  can explain why *ne* is indispensable for the licensing of n-words in French. Furthermore,

this analysis can be used to explain why it is not possible for *pas* and n-words to co-occur under a NC reading.

### 3.2.4.3. *Ne licenses pas*

As a matter of fact, a simple way of looking at things would be to assume that the relation that exists between *ne* and  $Op^{-}$  is exactly of the same nature as the one between *ne* and *pas*. This implies that there is also a co-licensing relation between *ne* and *pas*. This is illustrated by the fact that *pas* in standard French does never occur in the absence of *ne*. The most straightforward explanation of this state of affairs is simply that *ne* actually licenses *pas*, and *pas* in turn can check the negative feature now uninterpretable on *ne* because of the weakening process explained by the Jespersen's cycle. This leads us to further extend the similarity between *pas* and  $Op^{-}$  by assuming that just as  $Op$ , *pas* also has an unvalued negative feature which has to be valued by *ne*.



Viewed from this angle, the mutual exclusion of n-words and *pas* under a single negation reading is explained, because their co-occurrence would require that *ne* establishes a co-licensing relation with both *pas* and the abstract  $Op^{-}$  licensing n-words. This is what actually happens under a DN reading, where *ne* has to stretch its capacity and license both operators. And this might explain why examples such as (19) sound kind of odd to speakers of standard French, because of the difficulty encountered during the complex processing that is involved.

(19)?Personne n'aime pas personne

In (19) *ne* licenses *pas* which in turn licenses *ne*, but the  $[u-Neg]$  feature on *ne* is not erased until a later stage, so *ne* can also license  $Op^{-}$  before its  $[u-Neg]$  feature is deleted.

It follows from the above analysis that *pas* and the abstract  $Op^{-}$  have exactly the same featural make up, with the exception that the one is overt and the other covert. Both are licensed by *ne* and as such compete for a co-licensing relation with *ne*, thus justifying why they are mutually exclusive

under a NC reading. Under a DN reading, *ne* licenses both operators. In the reminder of this chapter we examine the negation system of Féfé with the aim of seeing how the analysis of NC as a syntactic agreement fares with this language.

### ***3.3. Féfé as a strict NC language***

The discussion from the previous paragraphs leads one to say, on the basis of the distribution of n-words that Féfé is, like standard French, a strict NC language. As a matter of fact, n-words always occur with the negative marker in Féfé, as example (20) below shows.

- (20) Sówén ká? Lè sónú mbí sówén  
No one Neg say nothing to no one  
Nobody said anything to anybody

#### ***3.3.1. Féfé negators and [u/i-Neg] features***

It follows under the [i/u-Neg] feature analysis of NC as proposed by Zeijlstra and Penka that the negative marker in Féfé as seen in (20) is a non negative head. Furthermore, it has a [u-Neg] feature that gets deleted when the negative marker enters into agreement with the negative operator. Yet another point that could lead one to enforce the [u/i-Neg] feature theory in Féfé has to do with the fact that the language has a second negative marker, just like standard French. The second negative marker of Féfé seems to pattern rather well with the characteristics provided by Zeijlstra for the negative operator. The CF-Neg could therefore be considered as the negative operator, as it is overtly realized obligatorily only when its non phonological realization would bring about ungrammaticality. For, according to Zeijlstra, it is more economical to have the negative operator abstract, as its overt realization does not contribute anything to the semantics. It should therefore be phonologically realized only if the derivation would crash otherwise. This picture fits nicely with the CF-Neg in Féfé, as it is usually optional, and is obligatory only in contexts where its absence would lead to ungrammaticality. Furthermore, assuming that the CF-Neg is a C-domain particle as argued in the previous chapter would justify the licensing of subject n-words in Féfé, both in cases where it is abstract and where it is realized phonologically. We would therefore have a case of multiple agree with the clause final negator licensing all the syntactic negations in the

clause, namely the subject and object n-words as well as the negative marker with [u-Neg] features as seen below.

- (21) *Bá sówén sí ká yé sówù? Pí sówú zé?*  
 Neg No one Neg Fut go nowhere with nothing today  
 No one will go nowhere with anything today

- (22) *Bá<sub>[i-Neg]</sub> sówén<sub>[u-Neg]</sub> sí<sub>[u-Neg]</sub> ká yé sówù<sub>[u-Neg]</sub> Pí sówú<sub>[u-Neg]</sub> zé?*
- 
- The diagram shows a horizontal line with five upward-pointing arrows. The arrows point from the words 'sówén', 'sí', 'sówù', and 'sówú' to the word 'Bá' on the left. This represents the movement of the [u-Neg] feature from these words to the [i-Neg] feature on 'Bá'.

In the case of Féfé, the *bá* higher in the structure would have to attract the entire TP to its specifier for the licensing; otherwise we do not get the expected linear word order in (23).

- (23) *Sówén sí ká yé sówù? Pí sówú zé? bá*  
 No one Neg Fut go nowhere with nothing today Neg  
 No one will go nowhere with anything today

### 3.3.2. Rejecting *bá* as negative operator

Assuming that the CF-Neg is the negative operator however faces some problems, which can be related to the difference between *bá* and the French *pas*.

Both *bá* and the MF-Neg occur invariably with n-words

The co-occurrence of *bá* and n-words never results in a DN reading.

*Bá* is not always present in a negative clause, which implies that the semantics of negation is not dependent on it;

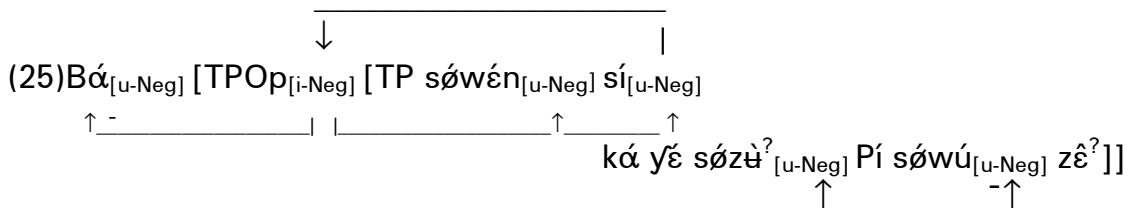
*Bá* mostly performs the function of an emphatic marker and as such does not contribute the semantics of negation, which implies that it is uninterpretable for negation.

It follows that *bá* cannot logically be considered as performing the functions of the negative operator. Consequently, it does not have a [i-Neg] feature and we therefore need to search for the negative operator elsewhere. The MF-Neg in the theory under discussion cannot be considered to be the negative operator, because it is always present in each and every negative clause and as such corresponds to the syntactic negator.

### 3.3.3. Postulating an abstract $Op^{-}$ for Féfé

Yet a more effective way of applying the [i/u-Neg] feature theory to Féfé would be to assume that *bá* is not the negative operator, but is playing some other role in the negation system of Féfé and, as such, also bears a [u-Neg] feature. We can thus postulate an abstract negative operator like in the French case above. This negative operator would then be in a position from which it can license the middle field negator and all n-words in a multiple agree relation. For the [u-Neg] feature to be checked on *bá* the TP raises to its left, thus deriving the linear order in (25).

- (24) *Bá sówén sí ká yé sówù? Pí sówú zé?*  
 Neg n-person Neg Fut go n-place with n-thing today  
 No one will go nowhere with anything today



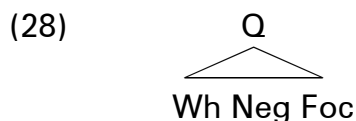
We will assume just like with French above that the middle field negator has a co-licensing relation with the abstract negative operator, and differs from it just with the fact that its negative feature is uninterpretable. A question one might want to ask is why establish the co-licensing relation between  $Op^{-}$  and the MF-Neg and not with the CF-Neg? The point is, the CF-Neg is absent from some sentences, and if this relation is to hold with it, there might be some cases where the CF-Neg which in this case would have to license the  $Op^{-}$  is absent. On the contrary, the MF-Neg is always present in every negative clause, and we can therefore be sure that it will always be there when the negative operator with unvalued feature needs to be licensed. We can also consider that the Cf-Neg is prevented from establishing the co-licensing relation with  $Op^{-}$  because it also bears an unvalued negative feature. We thus end up with a system where the MF-Neg, just as *ne* in French, is central, in the sense that every single element involved in NC has a direct or an indirect relation to it. In other words, n-words are dependent of the MF-Neg because the latter must license the  $Op^{-}$  that licenses them; The  $Op^{-}$  is dependent on the MF-Neg because the latter must value its unvalued negative feature; The Cf-Neg is dependent on the MF-Neg because the latter must value its unvalued feature. N-words do not have unvalued negative





However, a major problem confronts any account of n-words, in the sense that we cannot afford to provide n-words with variable analysis depending on their contexts of occurrence. Leaving aside the cross-linguistic distribution of n-words, whose overall analysis is beyond the scope of the present work, we will attempt to provide an integrative analysis for n-words within the confines of the Féfé language, and simply ask ourselves if such an analysis incurs any major loss on previous analyses; or if it is instead possible to build on it to improve on the existing analysis for n-words. An issue that we might want to remedy in addressing the distribution and interpretation of n-words is concerned with analyzing n-words from the sole perspective of negative concord. Though negative concord stands as an essential problem that needs to be addressed in its own right, I think it might be worthwhile attempting to address the question of n-words as a total issue and see if it is not possible to derive the reason why they are licensed by negation as a consequence of the overall analysis for n-words. This implies that we no longer have the analysis of n-words depend on negative concord, but that we first attempt to provide a unifying trait to all contexts that license n-words and then see how to derive from the common trait the reason why each individual context that licenses n-words does so.

In the case of Féfé, the question to ask is what there could be in common between yes/no question and negation. The answer to this question is provided by Starke's feature hierarchy. Accordingly, the Q feature would be a broad complex comprising many sub-features, among which WH feature, focus feature and negative feature. Therefore, the negative operator, the focus operator and the WH operator are all together part of the same feature class Q. Cf. Starke (2001: 137).



The means that question and negation belong together in the sense that negation is a kind of Q feature. This therefore explains why both can license n-words. In the case of Féfé, the question operator is overt and is the final vowel found in example (27). Assuming the standard analysis for the Q operator, we have a base structure like the one in (29) with the Q operator higher in the structure, and from where it licenses all n-words in a multiple agree relation without any additional assumption. The TP is subsequently raised to the specifier of the Q operator, thus providing the linear string as in (27).

(29) ě [i-Q] Sówén<sub>[u-Neg]</sub> lé sónú<sub>[u-Neg]</sub> mbí sówén<sub>[u-Neg]</sub> ?  
 |\_\_\_\_\_↑\_\_\_\_\_↑\_\_\_\_\_↑

There is however a problem with (29), as the feature on the licenser is of a different nature from the one on the n-words. The Q operator has an interpretable Q feature, while we find [u-Neg] feature on n-words. If the negative operator is a kind of a Q operator, it means it can check a more general feature of the Q type. But the Q operator cannot check a more specific feature like the [u-Neg] feature. We therefore come to the understanding that for the feature on n-words to be licensed by both the (more specific) negative operator and the (more general) Q operator, it has to be of the more general kind. When it is of the more general kind, the more general as well as the more specific operators can match with it. But if it is of a more specific kind, only the more specific operator can match with it. We therefore have to posit that the feature on n-words is of the more general kind, so the Q operator can license it as well as the Neg operator. We therefore replace (29) with (30).

(30) ě [i-Q] Sówén<sub>[u-Q]</sub> lé sónú<sub>[u-Q]</sub> mbí sówén<sub>[u-Q]</sub> ?

### 3.3.5. Harmonizing the analysis

Assuming that (30) is the right representation for (27) raises the question to know if we can afford to have n-words with different featural make up as the context where they occur changes. This is certainly not a desired result. We therefore have to harmonize our analysis of n-words by giving them the same feature in all the contexts under consideration here. This implies that n-words as found in (26) repeated here as (31) must be rid of the negative feature. We therefore get (32) as the correct representation for (21)/ (26) and this revision is valid for all previous Féfé examples as well.

(31) Bǎ<sub>[u-Neg[-]]</sub> [TPOp<sub>[i-Neg[-]]</sub>] [TPsówén<sub>[u-Neg]</sub> sí<sub>[u-Neg[|val]]</sub>] kǎ yě sǒzǔ<sub>[u-Neg]</sub> Pí sówú<sub>[u-Neg]</sub> zĕ?  
 ↓ ↓ |  
 ↑ \_\_\_\_\_ | \_\_\_\_\_ ↑ \_\_\_\_\_ ↑ \_\_\_\_\_ ↑

(32) Bǎ<sub>[u-Neg]</sub> [TPOp<sub>[i-Neg]</sub>] [TPsówén<sub>[u-Q]</sub>] sí<sub>[u-Neg[|val]]</sub> kǎ yě sǒzǔ<sub>[u-Q]</sub> Pí sówú<sub>[u-Q]</sub> zĕ?  
 ↓ ↓ |  
 ↑ \_\_\_\_\_ | \_\_\_\_\_ ↑ \_\_\_\_\_ ↑ \_\_\_\_\_ ↑

### ***3.3.6. Interim summary***

This section has contributed to show how the analysis of NC as an instance of syntactic agreement can be adapted to the facts of F    . For this to be possible, the need has arisen to rethink the nature of the uninterpretable feature on n-words. We have seen that postulating that this feature is very specific (negative) as in the analysis by Zeijlstra and Penka does not give any way for accounting for the licensing of n-words in other contexts that are not strictly negative. As n-words are also licensed in yes/no questions in F    , we have been compelled to consider that the relevant feature should be one that can find a matching operator in both negative and yes/no questions contexts. We have therefore followed Starke (2001) in rethinking of the negative operator as a kind of Q operator, which can therefore license elements bearing a Q feature. The result is that n-words with [u-q] feature can find a matching operator in both contexts. The question we need to ask at this point is whether assuming this analysis can threaten any of the assets of the analysis by Zeijlstra and Penka for instance. I really do not see how. Yet another question is whether it is actually possible in view of the numerous contexts where n-words occur cross-linguistically to come up with a systematic analysis. In other words, is it possible to find a common unifying property to varying contexts such as equative constructions, fragmentary answers, the complement of adversative predicates and comparatives, the preposition *without*, etc, which have been identified as contexts where n-words occur cross-linguistically? Is there any reason why this could not constitute the agenda for a research project?

### ***3.4. Conclusion***

This chapter was devoted to the discussion of NC as an instance of syntactic agreement. We have seen that Zeijlstra accounts for the difference between NC and non NC languages by simply postulating that n-words are negative in the latter but not in the former. With regard to the difference between strict and non strict NC languages, Zeijlstra attributes it to the status of the negative marker which is considered to be semantically negative in the latter but non negative in the former. Zeijlstra`s account however faces some problems which are raised by Penka (2007). Specifically she extensively discusses the data of standard French which shed more light on the complexity of NC, thus proposing some revisions to the analysis proposed by Zeijlstra. Essentially, she adds a second pair of [i/u-Neg] features to the one already given in Zeijlstra`s theory, thus distinguishing between licensing of n-

words by overt and by covert operator. Her analysis succeeds to explain the rather strange behavior of the French negator *pas* with respect to n-words, but remains silent on the reason why n-words, being licensed by a covert operator, must necessarily be in the company of the negator *ne* if we want an acceptable sentence.

Our discussion of this question leads us toward the indication that the covert operator that licenses n-words in standard French must be licensed by the negator *ne*, thus explaining why n-words in the absence of *ne* bring about ungrammaticality. This has led to the conclusion that the negative marker *ne* differs from n-words in at least one respect, namely that it can license negative operators, which n-words cannot do. As such there is more similarity between the negative head *ne* and the negative operator, reason why they enter into a co-licensing relationship. N-words are not a part of this privileged relation, as they occur in other contexts as well.

In extending this analysis to Féfé, we have gone a step further by simply getting rid of the negative feature on n-words, and postulating that they must have an uninterpretable feature that can find a matching operator in all the contexts where they occur in the language. The advantage of this analysis is that it does not force us to stipulate the presence of a covert negation in contexts that are not negative.

Though this analysis succeeds to account for the relation of n-words with the middle field negative marker in Féfé, it still does not give any clue about the characteristic behavior of the clause final negator which must necessarily accompany the middle field negator in some contexts but not in others. We propose a first attempt toward an explanation in the following chapter.

## ***4. Negation and focus***

### ***4.1. Introduction***

Féfé has two free standing negators, one in the middle field and the other at clause final position. The analysis of NC presented in the previous chapter does however not say anything about the clause final negator, except that it bears a [u-Neg] feature. The Nc theory tells us that the middle field negator serves to indicate the presence of the semantics of negation in a clause. And this is confirmed by the fact that the middle field negator is always present in every negative clause. But such is not the case for the clause final negator, which is obligatory in some contexts, but sounds redundant in others. If as a negative marker its function is not to negate the clause, this function being assumed by the middle field negator, then we are entitled to question the contribution of this element in a negative clause. Below, we first discuss the temporal restrictions on the distribution of the clause final negator, which on a first evaluation suggest that the clause final negator is or at least associated to a future shifting operator. This position is however weakened as we consider past tense contexts that absolutely require the presence of the clause final negator for the sentence to be acceptable. Upon closer examination we see that these latter contexts are all associated with a high level of contrastiveness/ alternatives, which as a property is shared with the temporal contexts first considered, thus unifying the two contexts as involving contextually given sets. We however have to admit that this is just a preliminary step toward semantics for the CF-Neg.

### ***4.2. Temporal Restrictions on the realization of clause final negator***

This section discusses those temporal contexts that always require the clause final negator. For the present purpose, we discuss only non complex constructions, with the exception of the conditional, which always requires the clause final negator in its antecedent, and thus differs from other complex constructions in which this negator is strictly sentence final. The clause final negator is obligatory in the future, in the habitual present and in the progressive present. However, it is optional in the past, be it habitual, progressive, or perfective, in fact in any context that can receive a past tense reading. The examples below illustrate.

#### **4.2.1. Progressive contexts**

(1) Siani lǎ sí má ngé kò (bá)  
Siani P3 Neg Prog go farm Neg  
Siani was not going to the farm

(2) Siani sí má ngé kò \*(bá)  
Siani Neg Prog go farm Neg  
Siani is not going to the farm

#### **4.2.3. Habitual contexts**

(3) Siani sí lǎ? ngé kò (bá)  
Siani Neg Hab go farm Neg  
Siani didn't use to go to the farm

(4) Siani sí ngé kò \*(bá)  
Siani Neg go farm Neg  
Siani does not go to the far

#### **4.2.4. Future contexts**

(5) Siani sí ká yě kò \*(bá)  
Siani Neg Fut go farm Neg  
Siani will not go to the farm

When we consider the habitual and progressive contexts above, we readily note an opposition between past and non past, and the future patterns with the non past group. So the clause final negator must be obligatorily realized for a negative sentence to be acceptable in the non past group. However, adding the conditional to the group leads us to understand that the issue is not really about the past and non past distinction, but that the relevant contexts may be grouped together by some other characteristic. This is because in both the past and the non past, the antecedent of the conditional still requires the clause final negator.

#### 4.2.5. Conditional contexts

- (6) [Siani sí tó làksì \*(bá)] [mà á sí ngé mbě: \*(bá)]  
[Siani Neg pass exam Neg] [that he Neg go village Neg]  
If Siani does not pass the exam, he will not go to the village
- (7) [Siani sí mfú (tén) ntó làksì \*(bá)] [mà á ǐ sí yě mbě:]  
[Siani Neg P1 pass exam Neg][that he P3 Neg go village]  
If Siani had not passed the exam, he would not have gone to the village

#### 4.2.6. Unifying the relevant contexts

Despite the divergence in the semantics of the contexts under consideration, I would like to point to one aspect that they all share, namely their future branching characteristic. To start, habitual sentences contain an episodic verb and express a generalization over multiple episodes. The standard analysis in the literature is that the habitual has the force of *usually*, and is vague (Farkas & Sugioka (1984); Bonomi (1997) also argues that habitual restrictions are restrictions of universal quantifiers. Rimel (2004) however argues that simple habitual sentences contain no quantificational elements, for the generic operator associated with simple habitual sentences does not exhibit the same behavior as other adverbs of quantification. I will not get into the debate about the quantificational or non quantification properties of habitual sentences in general, because our concern here is limited to the habitual present, thus delimiting our consideration to the future shifting aspect of the habitual. If the habitual by itself involves a multiplicity of events, the habitual present considers these events from the point of view of the speech time, and this implies events occurring from the moment of speech until an indeterminate future in that mode. So the present habitual gears our perspective toward the future, that is the yet to be. This would actually involve a large set including events we cannot have any control over because of the uncertainty associated with future events.

The progressive present, just like the habitual, also considers an event from the point of view of the speech time, and thus involves a future perspective as well. It differs from the habitual in the sole point that instead of a number of repetitive events, in this case it is a single event in progression. But in both cases, the idea of a continuation in a world as stated by Landman (1992:30) is at stake, as we do not see the end of the line or cycle involved.

The future, on its own, is the tense par excellence that has been characterized as conveying uncertainty, in the sense that it is usually said to involve quantification over possible worlds that are identical with the actual world up to and including the present (Copley 2002:14). From the present onward, there are multiple possibilities available, and these are treated as branches indicating the parallel worlds which can each provide a different outcome for events yet to happen.

The conditional in its present tense patterns with the progressive and habitual present as well as with the future in also branching toward the future. One might at first sight want to say that the past conditional does not branch toward the future, but this is only true if one considers things from the sole perspective of the speech time. However, even the past conditional can be viewed as branching toward the future - in the past- if the evaluation point is some reference time in the past, and from which multiple future branches were still possible. In this sense, Copley characterizes conditionals as being modal in nature, irrespective of whether past or present, because they involve quantification over possible worlds or situations.

It results from the ongoing discussion that all the contexts under consideration involve some future branching worlds, or a multiplicity of circumstances or events, even though the point of evaluation is not always the speech time. Indeed, the difference involving the point at which the present and past conditionals are evaluated leads one to understand that the difference between the past and present habitual and progressive cannot be related to the tense involved, but to some other element. The fact that the past conditional patterns with non past tenses leads to the conclusion that the clause final negator is not incompatible with past tense contexts per se, but that the restriction on its overt realization is conditioned by some other factor associated to the relevant contexts. The relevant pattern that emerges from the discussion above has to do with sets of situations, events or worlds involved in each and any of the given contexts.

We could simply subsume all these contexts into possible worlds, and relate them to truth values, thus establishing for the proposition under consideration a function from possible worlds to truth values, i.e., a function that assigns to each world under consideration one of the values true or false, depending on whether the proposition is true in that particular world or not. The first subdivision such a perspective of things creates is the one between the worlds that can actually arise in the real world and the one that can never occur. The first we call the set  $C$  and the second the set  $\neg C$ . Then we have a further subdivision in the set  $C$  that represents the real world,



which is made up of two subsets, one in which the proposition holds (P) and the other it does not holds ( $\neg P$ ).

(8)

	C	$\neg C$
P	yes	X
$\neg P$	no	X

This leads to the conclusion that the CF-Neg intervenes only when the contexts under consideration involves alternatives. This sets the future shifting contexts considered apart from the past tense because the later involves only one world, the real world.

So if we consider example (4) repeated here as (9), we will think of this proposition as a condition that is put on the four worlds in the table above. We therefore have to sort out the worlds according to whether they conform to the condition represented by (9) or not. Then they receive the truth value **yes** when they do and the truth value **no** when they do not.

(9) Siani sí ngé kò \*(bá)

Siani Neg go farm Neg

Siani does not go to the far

This shows that the CF-Neg occurs in future shifting environments because of the alternative semantics associated to these environments; Thus implying that the semantic import of this negator is to be evaluated from the perspective of truth values. In section 4.3 below, we consider past tense contexts that require the presence of this negator, with the conclusion that they also involve alternatives.

### ***4.3. Association with contrastive focus***

#### ***4.3.1. Past tenses and the clause final negator***

The previous section has shown that the clause final negator is used in future branching environments. This section provides additional data to the indication that past tense contexts are not incompatible with this negator, and instead that the clause final negator is necessarily required even with the past tense whenever the context involves alternatives. I think that these contexts contributes the most to understanding the specific function of the

CF-Neg, particularly because the sentence final negator in Féfé is naturally not realized phonologically whenever the sentence under consideration is in the past, be it with P1, P2, P3 or even with other contexts with past meaning but without an overt tense marker. However, with the same past tense contexts, the CF-Neg becomes obligatory if there are many possibilities under consideration.

#### ***4.3.2. Intonational focus versus cleft focus***

Focus is standardly considered to have the semantics of introducing alternatives. According to Rooth (1996), the position of focus in an answer correlates with the questioned position in Wh-questions. Accordingly, [NPJohn] in example (10) below is marked with a focus feature, and this focus is interpreted at the S level by a focus interpretation operator.

(10) [s[s John<sub>F</sub> solved problem three] ~C]

In the architecture of focus interpretation assumed by Rooth (1992), the focus interpretation operator adds a constraint on a free variable C. And the constraint is that C is a set of propositions of the form “x solved problem three” containing “John solved problem three” and some other proposition. Rooth considers this as a specific set of alternatives picked up from a specific discourse context or constructed pragmatically in a specific situation. Rooth in her more recent paper “*Association with focus or association with presupposition?*”, compares intonational focus with clefts, with the assumption that clefts introduce an existential presupposition. An existential presupposition amounts to the requirement that some alternative in the set C be true. This implies that for (11) below, there exists a presupposition according to which *someone solved problem three*, in combination with the assertion that *John solved problem three*. Rooth (1999:2) further distinguishes clefts from intonational focus by stating that they have in addition to existential presupposition *an assertion or implicatures of exhaustive listing*.

- (11) a. It is John who solved problem three  
b. Presupposition: someone solved problem three  
c. Assertion: John solved problem three (+ exhaustiveness)

In her paper, Rooth(1999) shows that clefts differ from simple information update (intonational focus) and provides argument against giving a similar

analysis to both. Specifically, Rooth is against systematically giving intonational focus a semantics of existential presupposition.

The distinction thus established by Rooth between clefts and intonational focus/or simple information update, is significant in Féfé. Accordingly, there should be a difference between (12) and (13) below, in the sense that while (13) implies an existential presupposition and an exhaustive listing, (12) does not.

(12) Siani lě yě kò  
Siani P3 go farm  
Siani went to the farm

(13) Siani mǎ lě yě kò  
Siani that P3 go farm  
It is Siani who went to the farm

The reason why I introduce this distinction is that the contexts associated with clefts differ from those associated with simple information update with regards to the distribution of the CF-Neg. The relevant difference has to do with the fact that there are two possible ways of adding a negative meaning to (13), whereas there is only one possible way for (12) to be negated as in (14).

(14) Siani lě si yě kò  
Siani P3 Neg go farm  
Siani did not go to the farm

(15) Siani mǎ lě si yě kò  
Siani that P3 Neg go farm  
It is Siani who did not go to the farm

Though both examples (14) and (15) have a negative meaning, we can observe the absence of the CF-Neg. However, this negation is obligatory in both (16) and (17) below, which have in common the fact that the clefted subject is negated, but differ in the fact that the VP in (16) is positive, while the VP in (17) is negative. However, both require the CF-Neg. The most logical conclusion one can draw from these facts is that the CF-Neg is obligatory in (16) and (17) simply because of the negative cleft.

(16) Si Siani mǎ [lě yě kò] \*(bǎ)  
Neg Siani that P3 go farm Neg  
It is not Siani who went to the farm

- (17) Si Siani mó [lě si yě kò] \*(bá)  
Neg Siani that P3 Neg go farm Neg  
It is not Siani who did not go to the farm

Following Rooth's (1999) assumption according to which clefts introduce an existential presupposition plus an assertion of exhaustive listing, we can compare (13) and (16) on the basis of a single difference, that (13) involves a positive cleft, while (16) involves a negative cleft.

- (18) Siani mó lě yě kò  
Siani that P3 go farm  
It is Siani who went to the farm

Both (13), repeated here as (18) and (16) however have a positive VP. Both propositions therefore involve the presupposition according to which the alternative '*someone went to the farm*' is true. They however provide contradictory assertions with regard to the question '*is it Siani who went to the farm?*' In this respect, (16) gives a negative assertion while (18) gives a positive assertion. This leads to the conclusion that the CF-Neg has to be evaluated from the perspective of truth values associated with focused constituents, thus inducing that it has a function associated with verum focus.

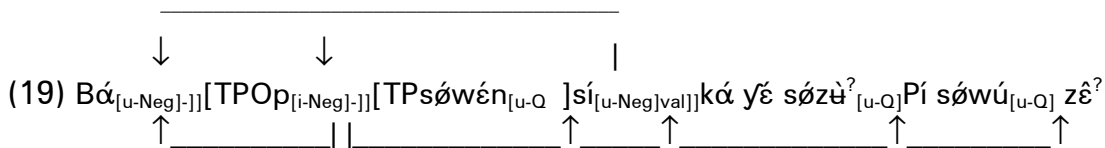
#### ***4.4. Interim summary***

The discussion above has shown that negative clauses involving simple intonation focus do not require the CF-Neg, while all clauses involving a negative cleft require the CF-Neg. Following Rooth (1999), we have assumed that all foci associated with clefts involve the presupposition that some alternative is true, and concluded that the CF-Neg in these contexts is an indication of the fact the alternative under consideration is being assessed / evaluated on the basis of the truth values. We also saw in section 4.2 above that the contexts associated with possible worlds involve some set of alternatives. We can therefore deduce that the CF-Neg in Féfé is obligatory in contexts that are associated with alternatives. It can thus be assumed to perform the function of a negative focus marker.

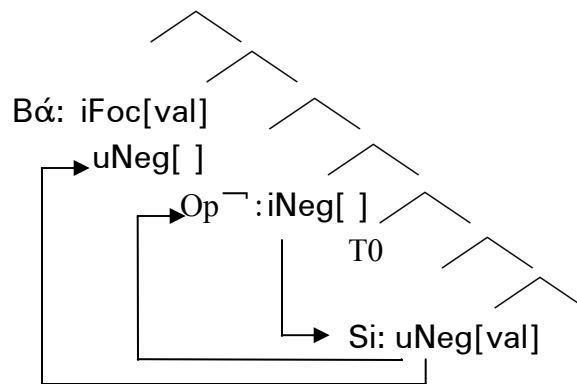
#### 4.5. Relating the two positions for negations

Having examined the function of the clause final negator, we are now in a position to say that the two positions for negation in F  f   are associated with two functions. While the MF-Neg is there to indicate that a clause is negative, the CF-Neg is there to indicate that a negation is emphatic. So the CF-Neg can be considered to be licensed by the middle field negator.

Coming back to the NC relation assumed in the previous chapter, we see that the agreement relations as indicated by the arrows in (19) below is based solely on the values for the negative feature borne by the two negators. While the MF-Neg has an uninterpretable but valued negative feature, the CF-Neg has an uninterpretable but unvalued negative feature. We however understand from the previous section of the ongoing chapter that the CF-Neg has an interpretable focus feature. This new feature comes to enrich our negation system as simplified in (20).



(20)



The operation Agree forms a chain between the instances of the negative feature. We could assume that a certain mechanism in the language requires the TP to always raise into the CP domain in F  f  . As the consequence of the TP raising to the C-domain, the middle field negator can then establish a relation with the clause final negator, thus valuing the u-Neg feature of the latter. In case the negation does not have to be emphasized, the u-Neg

feature on the clause final negator is deleted together with all other u-Neg features at the appropriate point in the derivation. And the clause final negator is absent from the linear string. If the negation is emphatic, then the clause final negator bears an interpretable focus feature which is not subject to deletion. Consequently, all the u-Neg features get deleted, but the clause final negator is still spelled out because of the interpretable feature it carries. Furthermore, if all agreement results into feature sharing as held by Frampton & al (2000), then it should be the case the MF-Neg ends up having some form of focus feature in case the negation is emphatic. We would therefore end up with a system like the one below<sup>7</sup>.

(21)

Initial stage	CF-Neg		MF-Neg
	<del>uNeg[ ]</del>	←	<del>uNeg[val]</del>
	iFoc[val]		-----

Final stage	MF-Neg		CF-Neg
	<del>uNeg[val]</del>		<del>uNeg[val]</del>
	<del>uFoc[val]</del>	←	iFoc[val]

A question that (21) raises has to do with the association of uninterpretable features with deletion. It is assumed that uninterpretable features must be deleted by the interpretive interface. This does not seem to be true for the middle field negator. We observe that the clause final negator is absent from the linear string unless it is associated with the focus feature, which is interpretable. Assuming as predicted by the analysis by Zeijlstra and Penka in the previous chapter that the middle field negator has an uninterpretable negative feature; the question that arises is the one to know what mechanism prevents it from being deleted. One might want to suggest that the answer lies in the fact that the middle field negator in Féfé has got some tense features. But still, the tense feature on negation can only be uninterpretable, and do not justify this state of affairs. Is there any way of explaining such a difference?

<sup>7</sup> Strikethrough indicates deletion.

#### ***4.6. Two Functions-Two Positions***

We have been concerned in this thesis with the relation between the MF negator and the CF negator. We argued in section 2.6.3 that the CF-Neg is a C-domain particle that ends up clause finally as the consequence of the TP raising into a higher portion of the clause. The discussion from chapter three led us towards the conclusion that the MF-Neg has the function to indicate that the clause is negative, even if it does not have the power of the real semantic negator which according to the theory adopted for this thesis is empty. The present chapter has shown us that the CF-Neg is a negative focus marker. We thus come to the conclusion that our two negators assume two different functions, which are associated to two different positions.

The present analysis thus departs from the usual analyses of bipartite negation according to which the two discontinuous negative markers occupy the head and the specifier position of the same projection. Cf. Haegeman (1995); Pollock (1989); Ouhalla (1991, 2002), etc. The claim I make here is that the two markers for negation in the case of Féfé have to be associated with two different positions because they have two different functions. The clause final negator has a discursive function, while the middle field negator does not. The position according to which the discursive and non discursive functions for negation should be associated with two positions is further supported by the Finnish data below, where one and the same negative marker occurs in the pre-TP position when associated with focus, but occurs in the middle field otherwise.

Examples (22)- (24) below illustrate the two different uses<sup>8</sup>.

(22) Liisa ei osta kirjaa

Liisa Neg buy book

Liis does not buy a/the book

(23) Ei hän halunnut ruveta hullun holhoojaksi

Neg she wanted become crazy caretaker

She didn't want to be a crazy person's caretaker

(24) Ei Jussi ostanut Hevosta

Neg Jussi buy horse

It was not a horse that Jussi bought

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<sup>8</sup> I give the examples in their bare form, unlike in the original from Kaiser (2006: 318, 330, 332) where case and gender instructions are also provided with the linear string.

In regular declarative clauses, the negator surfaces in a post –subject position. However, the negative marker occurs as a left peripheral constituent when used in a contrastive focus fashion. So the Finnish sentence initial negator functions as an emphatic negation in both (23) (presupposed information) and (24) (contrastive focus) examples. In Kaiser’s account, this negator is found in a polarity phrase and the presupposed information in a Topic phrase, while the contrastively focused element is in a Contrastive phrase. This is an indication that there is an interaction between function and position in language and, in the case of Féfé the morphology provides two different morphological forms for the two positions. Aboh (2005) comes to a similar conclusion with regards to the negative markers in the Gbe languages.

#### ***4.7. A connection to NC and subject n-words licensing***

Besides the Féfé negation system, there are a number of languages that dispose one negative marker in the C-domain and another in the middle field. And Moscati (2006) proposes to account for this as an instance of agreement relation holding between the T and the C domains. Furthermore, a flash back into a previous stage of some of the languages that nowadays make use of a single negative marker shows that they have had a second position for negation. Among these are Middle Dutch and old English. Therefore, assuming a system like the one proposed by Moscati – not in terms of clause typing though, but in relation to the proposition that UG makes available a position for negation in both the T and the C domains, assuming such a position provide without extra cost an explanation for subject n-words licensing in NC languages. In other words, the licensing of subject n-words even in languages like Spanish and Italian is explained rather straightforwardly when we have a position for negation in the C-domain.

Furthermore, this confirms the distinction established by Zeijlstra about the nature of negative markers in strict and non strict NC languages. This point can be made clearer if we reconsider the details of the proposition made by Zeijlstra. Accordingly, n-words are inherently negative in both strict and non strict NC languages. These groups of languages differ on a single point: that negative markers in strict NC languages are non negative and thus do not carry the semantics of negation, while they are negative semantically in non strict NC languages. In the first case, the semantic negator, here the empty  $OP^{\neg}$  can make use of the projection for negation in C from which it licenses all n-words. The two overt negators can co-occur if needed, because they are both non negative and thus not competing to convey the semantics for negation. In non strict NC languages however, the negative marker is



inherently negative. As a consequence, any active position for negation corresponds to the semantics of negation. Therefore, only one position for negation can be active at the same time. This explains why subject n-words licensing requires the absence of the middle field negator, because the subject n-words is license from the higher position for negation. And when this position for negation is active, the middle field position has to be deactivated, because each and every active position corresponds to the semantics for negation. This further explains why we can have a subject n-word and an object n-words occurring together under a NC reading, because both n-words are non negative and are both licensed from the negation position in C. Whereas from the middle field position for negation only the object n-word can be licensed. To conclude, a system with both C-domain and middle field positions for negation coupled with the distinction related to the nature of the negative marker in strict and non strict NC languages seem more equipped to handle the issues related to NC.

## ***5. Summary***

This thesis springs from the need to examine the relation between the middle field and the clause final negator in Féfé, a NC language. As a NC language precisely, Féfé stands as a testing ground for some of the claims that have been made about the nature of negative markers. Specifically, that negative markers in strict NC languages are semantically non negative and, just as N-words must be licensed by a negative operator that is abstract in most cases but can be embodied in a second negative marker in a language with two negative markers like standard French. The question that was raised in relation to this was the one to know if the two negative markers in Féfé can be considered to assume the function of the syntactic negator for the one and the semantic negator for the other.

In order to answer this question, we explored the NC system of Féfé and came out with the conclusion that the middle field negator can well be analyzed as the syntactic negator, but that the clause final negator does not correspond either to the syntactic or to the semantic negator. Instead, we discovered that the latter performs the function of a negative emphatic marker. As the result of the exploration of the NC system of the language, we came to the understanding that the licensing of n-words in both negative and non negative contexts is better accounted for when we find a common denominator between the operators doing the licensing in the different contexts. In this respect, we proposed following Starke (2001) feature hierarchy according to which negation is a kind of Q feature, that an uninterpretable question feature on n-words can be licensed by both negative and question operators, thus accounting for the licensing of n-words yes/no questions as well.

Furthermore, on the basis of both Féfé facts and illustrations from other languages, we have postulated that UG makes available positions for negation both in the middle field and in the left periphery. The consequence of this with respect to NC being that the licensing of subject n-words as well as the fact that they are mutually exclusive with the negative marker in non NC languages receives a logical explanation.

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