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Yorùbá COPY Negative Polarity Items

Abstract

This paper gives a syntactic account of two forms of Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) in Yorùbá, which correspond to English *any*-NP type of NPI (N-k-N, e.g. ẹnikẹ́ni "anybody", and N-kan-kan, e.g. ẹnì-kankan "anybody"). I dub these two forms COPY NPIs because they involve reduplication. There is a discussion on whether the COPY NPIs are Type1 or Type2 NPIs in line with Collins and Postal's (2014) distinction between the two types of NPI, which corresponds to the traditional Strict and Non-strict distinction. The Yorùbá COPY NPI data are described using the framework developed in Collins and Postal (2014), where NPIs are analyzed in terms of NPI-internal Neg formation, matrix clause Neg raising, and Neg deletion. I argue that this way of looking at NPIs provides an insight into the internal properties of NPIs cross-linguistically and an avenue to further examine the properties of sentential negative markers by looking at how negation is formed within NPIs. Building on the proposed parameters in Collins et al. (2015), four parameters are set for Yorùbá COPY NPIs against English *any*-NPIs and Ewe Ke-NPIs.

1.0. Introduction

The main purpose of this paper is to provide a syntactic account of Yorùbá negative polarity items, corresponding to English *any*-NP polarity items, such as ẹnikẹ́ni (anybody) and ẹnì-kankan (anybody), which I have tagged COPY NPIs, since they both involve reduplication.

One of the most researched phenomena in formal linguistics is the topic of Negative Polarity Item (NPI). NPIs are lexical items that are known to occur only in negative contexts or licensed by negation (or anti-veridicality), downward entailment, or non-veridicality (Giannakidou, 2011). They are also licensed in some other syntactic environments such as within the scope of the quantifier *every*, and in interrogative clauses.

NPIs are attested in quite a number of languages and cross-linguistic works devoted to determining their distributions are common in the literature. Haspelmath (1997), for example provides a typology of 100 languages which are known to have indefinite pronouns. Since Haspelmath's sample was designed to accommodate mostly known language families and given the fact that indefinite pronouns are the prominent members of the class of items dubbed NPIs (indeed Ladusaw, 1996:193, observes that NPIs have been termed indefinites since Klima 1964), it can be said that NPIs are attested in most known languages.

NPIs have been described in the literature of formal linguistics mostly from the viewpoint of pragmatics and semantics where they are considered as indefinites occurring within the scope of negation, and there have also been syntactic theories (such as Klima 1964, Baker 1970, Linebarger 1981 and 1987) accounting for the distribution of NPIs. Collins and Postal, 2014 (henceforth CP2014) is a recent attempt to provide a syntactic analysis of NPIs. The syntactic account provided for NPIs in that monograph holds a lot of insight into the compositional make-up of NPIs in different languages, and can be very useful in finding a cross-linguistic pattern for NPIs, the *any*-NPIs especially.

In the literature of formal linguistics, Yorùbá NPIs have received little attention, and even one work, (Koch, 2005) that attempts to account for Yorùbá NPIs focuses on one realization of Yorùbá *any*-type NPI, N-k-N form. This account is from a semantic point of view. In this paper, I provide a syntactic account of Yorùbá NPIs, from the viewpoint of the framework developed in CP2014, and show what consequences my analysis has for the theory proposed therein.

In Section 2 of this paper, I lay out the basic components of CP2014's treatment of NPIs and suggest its usefulness for providing a cross-linguistic account of NPIs and in further

investigating the underlying forms of negative particles in natural language within NPIs. Section 3 takes on the challenge of reduplication that is found within *any*-type NPIs in Yorùbá, and Section 4 provides an analysis of Neg raising for the two types of *any*-NPI that are the focus of this paper. In Section 5, the COPY NPIs are analyzed in terms of long distance licensing and remnant raising, while Section 6 addresses the question of whether the NPIs are Type 1 or Type 2, or are ambiguous between the two, in accordance with the CP2014 framework. Section 7 concludes with discussion on cross-linguistic variation and parameters.

2.0. An overview of CP2014 Framework on NPIs

Central to CP2014 is the idea of Neg raising, which is used to account for the alternation found between sentences such as those in (1) and (2).

1. a. John believes Mary did not do it.

   b. John does not believe Mary did it.
2. a. They think it will not happen.

   b. They do not think it will happen.

Each of the pairs have the same underlying forms but the alternation is brought about by a transformational rule dubbed Neg raising, so that the basic difference between (1a) and (1b) on the one hand and (2a) and (2b) on the other hand is that in the (a) sentences, Neg is in the position where it is interpreted while in the (b) sentences, Neg raises to the matrix clause but is interpreted in its original position. In other words, in (1a) and (2a) Neg is pronounced in the embedded clause where it is interpreted, while in (1b) and (2b), Neg is pronounced in the matrix clause but is interpreted in the embedded clause. This can be visualized in (3).

3. a. $[_{CP}$John believes $[_{CP}$Mary did NEG do it]
   b. $[_{CP}$John NEG_1 believes $[_{CP}$Mary did $<NEG_1>$ do it]

3

This idea of Neg raising is a well-established notion in the literature, dating to as far back as Fillmore (1963), and much work has been done in this respect. Stretching this idea a bit, CP2014 propose that Neg raising occurs even within a matrix clause that lacks an embedded clause: that is, in a sentence containing an NPI, Neg originates from within that NPI. This same proposal has been used to analyze bipartite negation in Ewe, where Neg originates from within a VP-internal DP, raises to T and then to C, where it is pronounced. Neg raising involving NPIs is depicted in (4) and (5), ignoring the detailed properties of NPIs for now.

4. a. They saw nobody

   b. They saw NEG body

5. a. They did not see anybody

   b. They did NEG_1 see $<_cNEG_1>$ body.

Just as in the previous examples, in (4a), Neg is pronounced (within the DP). But in (5b), it is pronounced higher up in the structure while it is interpreted within the DP. In other words, (4) does not involve Neg raising, while in (5) Neg raises higher up in the structure. From this picture, it is clear that quantifier words like *no one*, *nobody*, *no food*, etc. have equivalent meaning with their corresponding *any*-NPIs, given the similarities between (4) and (5). I elaborate more on this below.

Treating NPIs in this version gives rise to teasing out the individual components of NPIs. In CP 2014 framework, an NPI such as *anybody* will have the following form:

6. [DP   any   body]

   [DP$<NEG>^1$ SOME   body]

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[1] <> indicates that the enclosed item is unpronounced.

Here, NEG is unpronounced, *any* is spelt out as the supletive SOME, while the NP, *body*, remains the same. Bearing in mind the similarity between (4) and (5), consider (7).

7. [DP No   body]

   [DP NEG   <SOME>   body]

In (7), Neg is pronounced as *no*, SOME is unpronounced and the NP, *body*, remains the same. The basic difference between (6) and (7) therefore is in whether or not NEG or SOME is pronounced within the DP. The fact of (6) and (7) presupposes (8).

8. Neg is pronounced within n-words[2] (quantifier words) but it is unpronounced within NPIs in English.

Note that in (6) and (7), the second line represents the underlying representation of the DPs in the first line. Focusing on the second line, one will notice that NPIs as DPs are made up of three components with NEG and SOME appearing to modify the NP as determiners. CP2014, however, argue that NEG and SOME are not actually determiners of the NP but that they belong to a different projection tagged Negative Merge Phrase (NMP) where NM is the head having SOME as its complement, and NEG as its specifier; and the NMP is in the Spec of the DP dominating the NP. Since CP2014 does not use this idea throughout the monograph and treats them instead as determiners, I will continue treat them as determiners where necessary. Returning to the number of components within the underlying forms of the NPIs, especially the *any-NPI*, the following can be postulated.

9. *Any*-NPIs are tripartite in their underlying representation having the structure [DP [<NEG> SOME] NP] and the semantics of $\lambda P \lambda Q \lambda y \lambda x \neg \exists x[P(x) \wedge Q(y)]$

The idea in (9) is that NEG may be unpronounced within NPIs while the other two components are pronounced. Based on the description of Ewe NPIs in Collins et al. (2015), Yorùbá NPIs in

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[2] N-word is used to follow the convention in the literature and in line with Giannakidou, 2011.

Adebayo (forthcoming), and the subsequent discussion in this paper, a refined version of (9) is given in (10).

10. *Any*-NPIs are tripartite in their underlying representation, cross-linguistically, having the structure [$_{DP}$ [<NEG>/ $_c$NEG SOME] NP] and the semantics of $\lambda P \lambda Q \lambda y \lambda x \neg \exists x[P(x) \wedge Q(y)]$, with variation in how <NEG>/ $_c$NEG and SOME are realized.

So far I have been concentrating on the kind of *any*-NPIs which appear within a negative clause (consider (5) for example). This type of NPI is tagged Type 1 NPI in CP2014, and its basic property is that it requires that negation is present in the structure. There are, however, some other NPIs which appear in other clauses that have no negation. These kinds of NPIs are tagged Type 2 NPIs. An example of these clauses is the conditional clause. In (11), *anybody* is used as an example of Type2 NPI, but note that *any*-NP NPIs in English are ambiguous between Type1 and Type2 NPIs.

11. If you see anybody, tell me

Clearly, *anybody* is within a clause without negation. Other contexts where Type2 NPIs like *anybody* in (11) can occur include: yes-no questions, the complement of "surprise", the restriction of universal quantifiers, and the scope of only-DPs. The question that arises then is: what happens to the structure *anybody* in (11) as an NPI? It has the same underlying representation, but instead of one NEG, it has two NEGs. This is given in (12).

12. If you see [[$_{DP}$<NEG$_1$> [<NEG$_2$> SOME]] body], tell me

So, one basic difference between Type1 and Type2 NPIs is that Type1 NPIs are unary-NEG NPIs and Type2 NPIs are binary-NEG NPIs. With this understanding of these two types of NPIs, I now turn to the analysis of both types. Type1 NPIs involve Neg raising. The unary-NEG within the NPI DP raises to the post-Aux position. Applying this to (5b) yields the structure in (13).

13. They did NEG$_1$ see [<NEG$_1$> SOME]] body]

Type2 NPIs on the other hand involve Neg deletion, and they could be said to require the presence of a Neg deleter. The analysis of the structure in (11) is given (14).

14. [If]$_{DEL}$ you see [[$_{DP}$<NEG$_1$> [<NEG$_2$> SOME]] body], tell me =

If you see SOME body, tell me.

In (14), *if* is a lexical NEG-deleter that deletes NEG$_1$ which in turn deletes NEG$_2$,yielding the interpretation *If you see SOME body, tell me*. The analysis of these two types of NPI can be formalized as in (15).

15. Type1 NPI is a unary-NEG NPI that requires negation in the structure, while Type2 NPI is a binary-NEG NPI that requires the presence of a NEG-deleter in the structure.

Before turning to the Yorùbá NPIs in the next section, the following observation is in order. In clauses involving n-words like *nobody*, there is no Neg raising (see 4b), whereas in clauses with corresponding NPI, Neg raises to the post-Aux position (see 5b). This fact led Collins et al. (2015) to claim that Neg optionally raises in English, since one could choose to use the n-word rather the NPI. In a language like Ewe, however, where there are no n-words, Neg obligatorily raises away. As will be shown in subsequent sections, Neg obligatorily raises in Yorùbá as well, since there are no words in the language corresponding to n-words. What follows from this can be found in (16).

16. Neg optionally raises in languages with n-words, while Neg obligatorily raises in languages without n-words.

With this theoretical framework spelt out, I take on the analysis of Yorùbá NPIs in subsequent sections, starting with the structure of the *any*-NP types of NPI in the language.

3.0. Reduplication in Yorùbá *any*-NP Type of NPI

Yorùbá has two forms that realize *any*-NP type of NPI such as English *anybody*, *anything*, etc. The implication is that to form an NPI of this structure, Yorùbá speakers have the choice between N-k-N form and N-kan-kan forms. Consider the structures in (17) and (18).

17. Wálé   kò   rí   ẹnikẹ́ni
    Wálé   Neg see anybody
    "Wálé did not see anybody"

18. Wálé   kò   rí   ẹnì-kankan
    Wálé   Neg see anybody
    "Wálé did not see anybody"

It has to be noted however that the N-k-N form in (17) is more popular than the N-kan-kan form in (18) in the literature. It is the form found in Haspelmath's (1997:213) list of cross-linguistic indefinites, as well as in Koch (2005) and Ajiboye (2005). To proceed with the two forms, I propose the following.

19. Yorùbá has two forms of *any*-NPI: N-k-N form and N-kan-kan form

One thing that is common to both of these forms is reduplication: *eni* is reduplicated in (17), and *kan* is reduplicated in (18)[3]. This is an issue with the framework laid out in the previous section. The postulation in (10) specifies that *any*-NPIs cross-linguistically are tripartite in their underlying representation. This means that any-NPIs can surface as three elements, each representing each of the components of the underlying form. This works perfectly for the NPIs in (17) and (18) as there are clearly three elements. Consider (20) and (21).

20. Ẹni   k   ẹni
    Person   Neg   person
    "anybody"

---

[3] This is how it appears superficially. I will propose a different view subsequently.

21. Ẹni   kan   kan
    Person   one   one
    "anybody"

The problem seems to arise in determining which elements in the surface form corresponds with each of the elements in the underlying representation. According to (10), an NPI has the following structure.

22. [$_{DP}$ [<NEG>/ $_c$NEG SOME] NP]

One way to specify the underlying form of (20) and (21), according to 10 will be to assume that they have the structure in (23) and (24) respectively.

23. Ẹni   k   ẹni
    Person   NEG SOME
    "anybody"
24. Ẹni   kan   kan
   Person   NEG SOME
    "anybody"

The problem with this assumption is that it incorrectly predicts that the reduplicated copies are individual words having different semantics than their bases i.e., that there is an *eni* (23) that has an existential meaning and that there is a *kan* (24) that has the meaning of negation. The other two elements are well attested in the language as having the respective specifications above. *Eni* in both refers to "person", the *k* in (23) is a sentential negative marker (see Adebayo, forthcoming), while *kan* has been treated as a marker of specificity in Ajiboye (2005), suggesting that it has an underlying existential feature. The *eni* spelt out as SOME and the *kan* spelt out as NEG however are not attested in the language. More so, the proposal above violates in some way Kayne's (2016) anti-bundling principle which forbids grammatical items from having the same spelling with other lexical items.

To resolve this, I argue that these two elements are simply reduplications performing grammatical functions rather than having a lexical meaning of their own. This is in line with Nash's (1980) description of Walpiri as forming its plurality by reduplication. Interestingly enough, one of the ways Yorùbá also forms plurality is reduplication. Ajiboye (2010) has a significant amount of data on this phenomenon and treats the reduplicated items as COPY. Following this line of argument, I suggest that the two structures of Yorùbá *any*-NPIs are as in (25) and propose a refined version of (23) and (24) in (26) and (27).

25. a. N-k-COPY
   b. N-COPY-kan

26. Ẹni   k   COPY
    Person   NEG SOME
    "anybody"

27. Ẹni   COPY   kan
    Person   NEG   SOME
    "anybody"

Essentially, I am assuming that the COPY in (26) spells out as SOME and that the COPY in (27) spells out as NEG. From now onward, I will refer to the two forms of *any*-NPI in (27) and (28) as COPY NPIs. Next, I address the question of the syntactic structure of the COPY NPIs from an X-bar theoretical point of view.
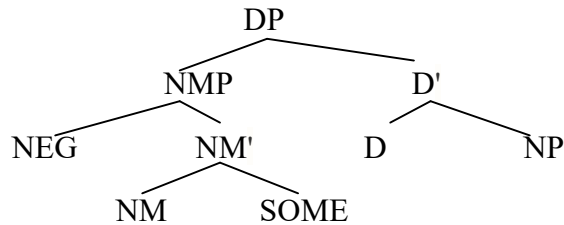
Following Kayne's (1994) Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA), Ajiboye (2005) proposes the following for the DP in Yorùbá.

28.
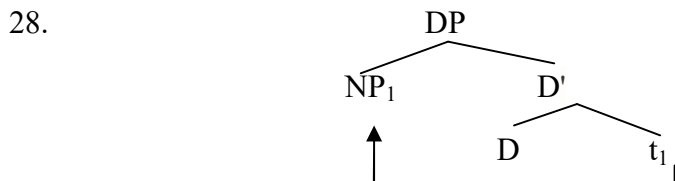
According to this proposal, the NP that complements the determiner, which could be null or pronounced, started out at the complement of D but raises to Spec DP via movement. I assume
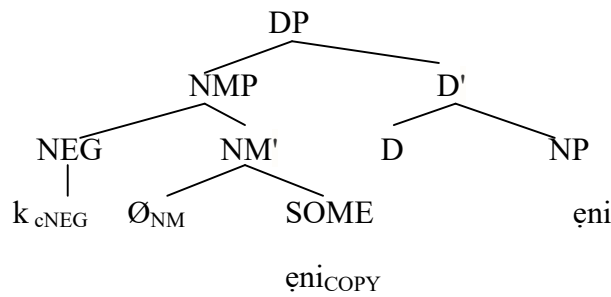
this in my analysis of the COPY NPIs. Another thing to be noted is CP2014's proposal of a Negative Merge Phrase (CP2014:27), which is generated at Spec DP in NPI DPs. This is illustrated in (29).

29.

```
                        DP
              ┌─────────┴─────────┐
            NMP                   D'
        ┌────┴────┐          ┌────┴────┐
      NEG        NM'         D         NP
              ┌───┴───┐
            NM       SOME
```

Applying this structure to the COPY NPIs pose a kind of challenge since NMP has occupied the position where the NP normally moves to, the Spec DP. This is shown in (30) and (31) for the two COPY NPIs.

30.

```
                          DP
                ┌─────────┴─────────┐
              NMP                   D'
          ┌────┴────┐          ┌────┴────┐
        NEG        NM'         D         NP
         │      ┌───┴───┐
      k cNEG  ØNM      SOME              ẹni

                    ẹniCOPY
```

31.

```
                        DP
              ┌─────────┴─────────┐
            NMP                   D'
        ┌────┴────┐          ┌────┴────┐
      NEG        NM'         D         NP
                ┌───┴───┐
 kan(COPY)cNEG ØNM     SOME             ẹni

                    kan
```
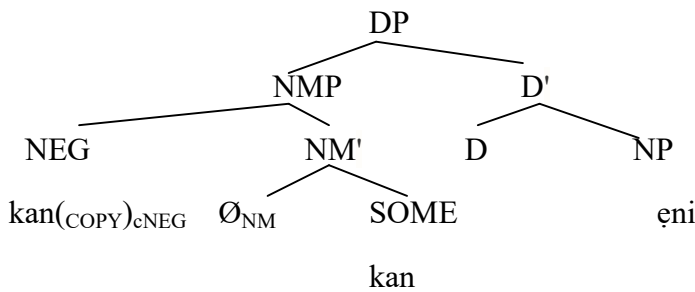
To avoid this problem, it can be assumed that this DP is dominated by another DP headed by a null determiner which expects the feature NPI as in (32). Note that both forms of the COPY NPIs are combined.

32.

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              DP
        ┌─────┴─────┐
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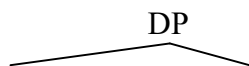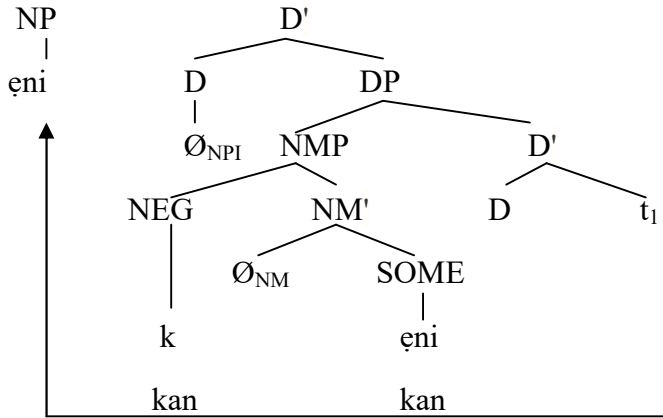There are a few problems with (32). First, the proposal of a DP having another DP in its complement is quite odd and may not be the right way to go about it. Second, movement of the NP to the Spec of the higher DP should be blocked by NMP based on Minimal Link Condition (Chomsky, 2015:272). The closest landing site for the NP is the Spec of the lower DP but this is already occupied, thereby preventing the movement of the NP higher up. Lastly, CP2014 note that they do not know of any language where the $\emptyset_{NM}$ is pronounced. To avoid these complications, I opt for a more elegant way of treating this. I assume that NPI DPs have a complex head made up of NEG and SOME. This is shown in (33), combining both forms of the COPY NPIs. This assumption, as well, is in line with CP2014 where NEG and SOME are taken together as a determiner.

33.
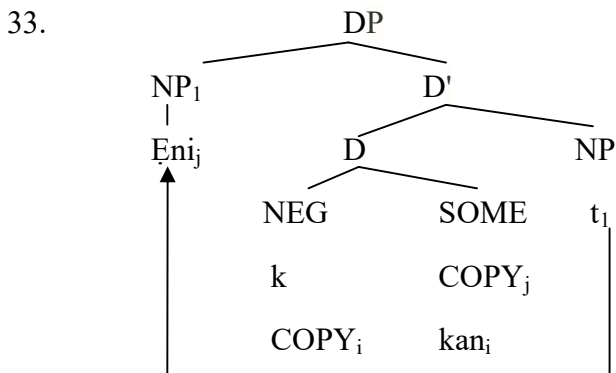
With this understanding, we are now in a position to examine the COPY NPIs in relation to Neg raising. This will be the focus of the next section.

4.0. Yorùbá COPY NPIs and Neg Raising

Yorùbá COPY NPIs are Type1 NPIs, since they require negation in the structure and have one NEG in such structures. I leave the issue of whether they are strictly Type1 NPIs or are ambiguous between Type1 and Type2 like English (Collins et al., 2015) till next section. Consider the following.

34. a. Bímpé   kò   lọ   **ibikíbi**

      Bímpé   NEG   go   anywhere

    "Bímpé did not go anywhere"

    b.* Bímpé   lọ   **ibikíbi**

      Bímpé   go   anywhere

  "Bímpé did not go anywhere"

35. a. Bímpé   kò   lọ   **ibì-kankan**

      Bímpé   NEG   go   anywhere

    "Bímpé did not go anywhere"

    b.* Bímpé   lọ   **ibì-kankan**

      Bímpé   go   anywhere

    "Bímpé did not go anywhere"

The examples above show clearly that the COPY NPIs require negation in the structure and are therefore Unary-NEG NPIs. Next is to consider their interaction with the negative system in the language. Yorùbá has a negative system that is a bit complex. Contrary to the notion that Standard Yorùbá has six sentential negative markers, Adebayo (forthcoming) argues that there are only two negative markers (*má*-morpheme and and *k*-morpheme) whose surface form is determined by aspect, mood, and focus. *Má* negates irrealis mood while *k* negates realis mood. Constrained by the syllable structure well-formedness constraint (Ola, 1995), which requires

every syllable to have a nucleus , the *k* morpheme spells out with different vowels depending on aspect and focus. It surfaces as *kò* and *kọ́* in perfective aspect and as *kìí* in imperfective aspect. See Adebayo (forthcoming) for more details. I now turn to how the NEG within the COPY NPIs interacts with these sentential negative markers.

36. a. Bọ́lá   kò   jẹ   **ohunkóhun**

      Bọ́lá   NEG   eat   anything

      "Bọ́lá did not eat anything"

b.
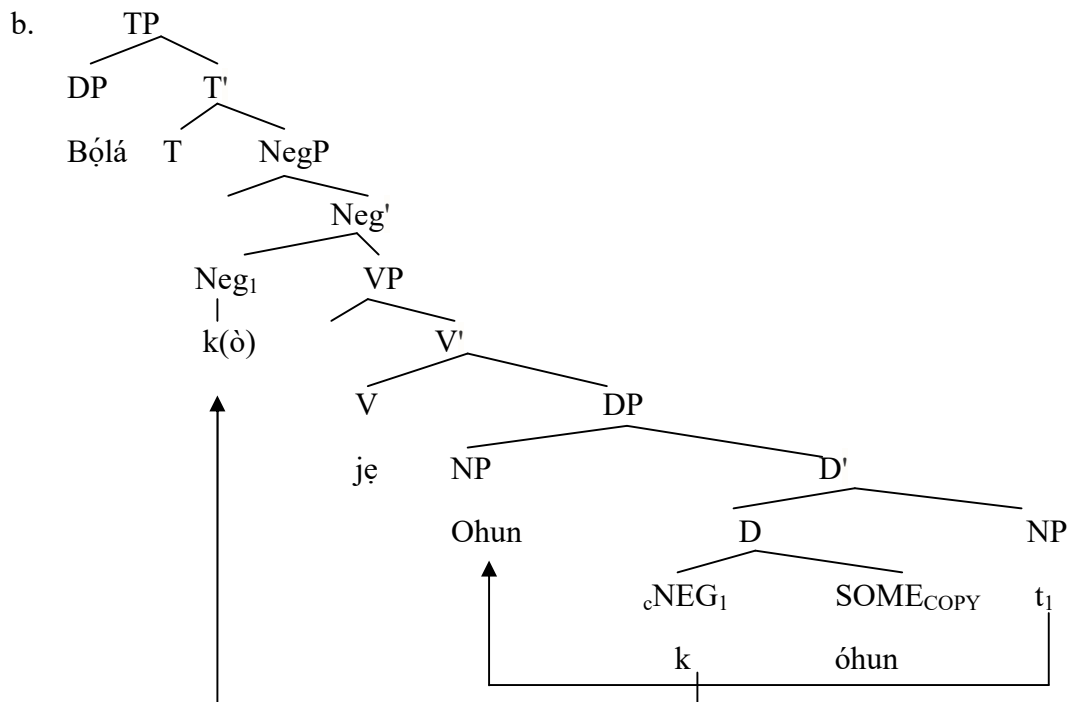
The structure in (36b) shows how Neg raises from within the NPI DP. One interesting thing to note here is that unlike in English where Neg raises and does not leave a copy and Ewe where the copy left is not phonologically identical to the raising Neg (Collins et al., 2015), in Yorùbá, Neg raises and leaves a phonologically identical copy. Note that in the above tree, the Neg of the matrix clause is underlyingly the same as the NEG within the DP, the nucleus *ò* following it is derived as a result of syllable structure well-formedness constraint in Yorùbá. Note also that this derivation is shaped by aspect and focus, so that if *k* negates a focus phrase, the nucleus is

derived as *kó*, and if it negates imperfective aspect phrase, it is derived as *kìí*. For details on how this works, see Adebayo (forthcoming).

However, looking at the N-COPY-kan in (37b), it will appear that it is not obligatory for the copy left by the raising Neg to be phonologically identical to it. One may claim that the copy left is not phonologically identical to the raising Neg, but that it is rather a reduplication that gets it phonological content from the existential morpheme following it.

37. a. Bọ́lá   kìí   jẹ   **ohùn-kankan** lálẹ́

　　　　Bọ́lá　NEG　eat　anything　　at.night

　　　　"Bọ́lá does not eat anything at night (habitually)"

b.
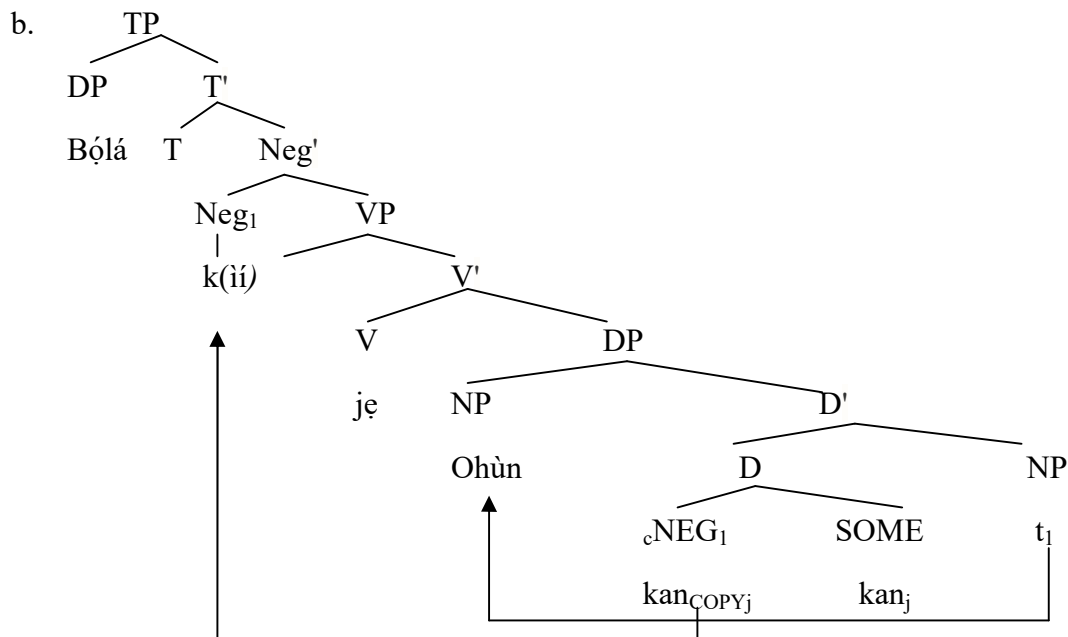
The PP in (37a), *lálẹ́*, is left out in (37b) as it has a marginal role in the current discussion. Observe, however, that in this structure the nucleus derivation for the raising Neg is *ìí*. This is in line with the assumption that aspect shapes the nucleus derivation of the raising Neg. In (36b), *k* negates a clause in perfective aspect and so spells out as *kò* whereas in (37b), it negates an imperfective clause and surfaces as *kìí*.

However, it might be useful to consider another way of looking at the Neg raising in (37b) which might not be too ambitious. I propose that the $_c$NEG in (37b) is not a complete reduplication of the following existential morpheme but a partial copy of it. From this viewpoint the $_c$NEG will be phonologically identical to the raising Neg as in (38).

38. * Ohun   k   kan

    [Thing   [$_c$NEG   SOME]]

    "anything"

But, (38) is not a phonologically well-formed prosodic word in Yorùbá since *k* lacks a nucleus, thereby violating the syllable structure well-formedness constraint. To resolve this, I assume that *k* copies the nasal vowel in the following syllable. This process of feature copying is not unattested in the language. Orie (2014), for instance, provides an analysis of Yorùbá gerundive constructions where a deformed syllable copies the consonantal features of a syllable following it to satisfy the syllable structure well-formedness constraint. Assuming that this phonological process is active in this context, the surface structure of (38) results in (39).

39.   Ohun   k(an)   kan

    [Thing   [$_c$NEG   SOME]]

    "anything"

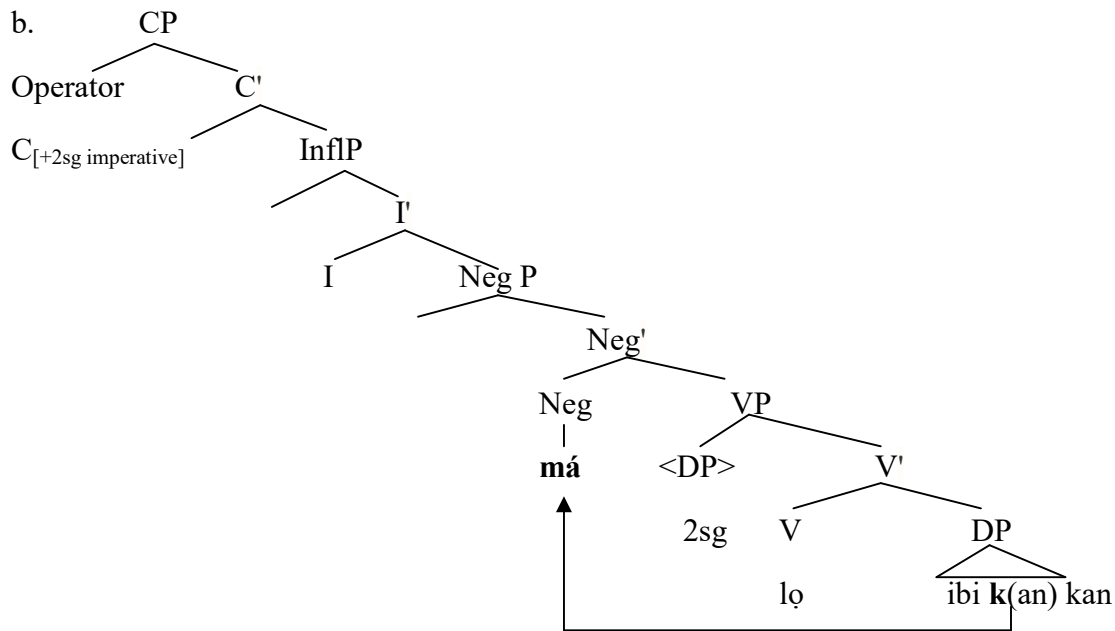The consequence of (39) is that (25) has to be refined. This refinement is given in (40).

40. a. N_1-k-COPY$_1$
      b. N-k(COPY$_1$)-k(an$_1$)

Where N is copied in (40a) and the nasal vowel of the following existential morpheme is copied in (40b). At this point, it can be observed that Neg raising obligatorily leaves a phonologically identical copy in realis mood as the foregoing discussion has shown.

Now, consider Neg raising in irrealis mood. According to Adebayo (forthcoming), *má* is the unmarked negative marker in imperatives. The derivation in (41b) is in line with the convention of treating imperatives in Nchare (2012:397) and Zanuttini (2008).

41. a. Má   lọ   **ibì-kankan**

      NEG   go   anywhere

      'Don't go anywhere'

b.
```
                    CP
              /            \
         Operator           C'
                        /        \
        C[+2sg imperative]        InflP
                              /        \
                             I'
                          /       \
                         I        Neg P
                              /        \
                                      Neg'
                                   /        \
                                 Neg          VP
                                  |        /      \
                                 má     <DP>       V'
                                  ↑      2sg    /      \
                                  |            V        DP
                                  |            lọ    ibi k(an) kan
                                  |_____|
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Neg copy-raising here is highly marked in the context of the picture we have seen so far. There is something going on with the raising Neg in the imperative which is beyond the scope of the present work. It suffices to sate here that the raising Neg is not phonologically identical to its copy in the imperative.

So far, we have seen that Neg obligatorily raises in Yorùbá since it lacks quantifier words like *nobody* in English, in line with the consequences of (16). This makes it similar to Ewe ke-NPI (Collins et al., 2015). Based on this, I claim the following.

42. Neg obligatorily raises in Yorùbá.

Also, it is clear from the foregoing discussion that when Neg raises in Yorùbá, it leaves a copy in the DP where it is interpreted. Accordingly, I claim (43).

43. Neg raising obligatorily leaves a copy in Yorùbá.

It has been equally established that that the copy left by Neg raising is phonologically identical to the raising Neg, but that this is not the case in the imperative. To formalize this fact, (44) is proposed.

44. The copy left by Neg raising is obligatorily phonologically identical to the raising Neg in Yorùbá except in imperative constructions.

The significance of (42)—(44) will become clear in subsequent sections when cross-linguistic parameters for NPIs are discussed.

5.0. Yorùbá COPY NPIs, Long Distance Licensing and Remnant Raising

The focus of this section is to examine the COPY NPIs in terms of long distance licensing and remnant raising in order to compare them to their counterpart in Ewe and English, described in Collins et al. (2015). First, I note that Yorùbá COPY NPIs can be licensed within an embedded clause. That is, they can occur in an embedded clause that has no negation and have their licensing negation in the matrix clause. The examples below are reflective of this.

45. a.

Adé	kò	sọ	pé	wọ́n	se	ohùn-kankan	o
Adé	Neg	say	that	3rdPl	do	anything	Emph

"Adé did not say that they did anything"

  b.

Adé	kò	sọ	pé	wọ́n	se	ohunkohun	o
Adé	Neg	say	that	3rdPl	do	anything	Emph

"Adé did not say that they did anything"

46. a.

Èmi	kìí	bèrù	pé	ọ̀gá	yóò	sọ	ohùn-kankan
1sg	Neg	fear	that	boss	will	say	anything

"It is not my habbit to fear that boss will say anything"

	b.	Emì	kìí	bèrù	pé	ògá	yóò	sọ	ohùnkohun
		1sg	Neg	fear	that	boss	will	say	anything

"It is not my habbit to fear that boss will say anything"

47.	a.	Má	bèrù	pé	olùkọ́	yóò	lu	ẹnì-kankan
		Neg	fear	that	teacher	will	beat	anybody

"Don't be afraid that the teacher will beat anybody"

	b.	Má	bèrù	pé	olùkọ́	yóò	lu	ẹnikẹ́ni
		Neg	fear	that	teacher	will	beat	anybody

"Don't be afraid that the teacher will beat anybody"

The COPY NPIs in all of these examples are licensed within an embedded clause. Given that the COPY NPIs are being treated as Type1 NPIs which according to CP 2014 are licensed locally, one would not expect the possibilities in (45)—(47). To address this, I follow Collin's et al. (2015) and treat them as bipartite quantification—that is, the COPY NPIs, as quantificational DPs, have two occurrences, one in the matrix clause where they do not have phonological content and one which is VP-internal where they are pronounced. From this viewpoint, the structures in (46a and b) will have the following analysis.

48.

Èmi	kìí	bèrù	<[ohun-kankan]$_1$>	pé	ògá	yóò	sọ	DP$_1$
1sg	NEG	fear	thing-$_c$NEG-SOME	that	boss	will	say	anything

"It is not my habit to fear anything that the boss will say"

In (48), it is from within the higher occurrence of DP$_1$ which is silent (thing-$_c$NEG-SOME) that Neg raises from. This covert higher occurrence is in scope position and it c-commands the lower occurrence that has a phonological content, thereby making its position in the matrix clause legitimate. This analysis is natural for Yorùbá as this is manifested in closely related constructions. Consider (49), for instance.

49.

Èmi	kìí	bèrù	ohùn-kankan	tí	ògá	yóò	sọ

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	1sg	NEG	fear	anything	which boss	will	say

"I don't fear anything that the boss would say."

Here the COPY NPI is pronounced in the scope position and c-commands its covert lower occurrence in the embedded clause. The analysis conforming to this notion will look like (50).

50.
Èmi	kìí	bẹru	DP₁	tí	ọ̀gá	yóò	sọ	<[ohun-kankan]₁>
1sg	NEG	fear	anything	which boss	will		say	thing-$_c$NEG-SOME

"I don't fear anything that the boss would say"

I turn now to the issue of remnant raising (See CP2014 for more details on this). This has to do with the possibility that an NPI may occupy Spec TP i.e. it may function as a subject in which case it will be appearing higher in the tree than the NEG morpheme which is supposed to be raising from it. Yorùbá allows this kind of structure: COPY NPIs can appear in the subject position as shown below.

51.
Ẹnikẹ́ni	kò	sọ	pé	kí	o	lọ
Anybody	NEG	say	that	such.that	2sg	go

"Anybody did not say that you should go (Nobody said that you shoud go)"

52.
Ẹnì-kankan	kò	jáde	lánàá
Anybody	NEG	go.out	in.yesterday

"Anybody did not go out yesterday (Nobody went out yesterday)"

This kind of structure, according to Collins et al. (2015), is not readily available in English, and it should be noted that the interpretation in each of the above sentences is literal apart from those in brackets which show how this is expressed naturally in English. In Ewe, however, NPIs can be in the subject position, and this phenomenon is analyzed in Collins et al. (2015) in terms of remnant raising. I follow this line of argument and assume that the COPY NPIs in Yorùbá originate VP-internally in line with Koopman and Sportiche (1991). The NPI DP is therefore in the Spec of VP when NEG raises out from within it. The remaining part of the DP consisting of $_c$NEG₁, SOME and NP then raises to Spec TP to check case. This is illustrated in (53).

53.
[Ẹnikẹ́ni]₂		kò	[$_{VP}$<DP₂> sọ	pé	kí		o	lọ]

Person- cNEG₁-SOME   NEG₁   say that   such.that   2sg   go

The movement of the remnant DP to Spec TP in (53) satisfies the c-command condition on movement which requires that the higher occurrence of a moved X c-command its lower occurrence (CP2014:109). It also satisfies the remnant raising condition in that the higher occurrence of DP_1 contains $_cNEG_1$ rather than a silent NEG ($<NEG_1>$).

In the above discussion, it has been noted that Yorùbá COPY NPIs pattern with Ewe *ke*-NPIs described in Collins et al. (2015) in two respects. First, both languages allow long distance licensing, since the NPIs can be licensed in an embedded clause by a matrix clause negation. Second, both languages allow NPIs in the subject position. These facts contradict how *any*-NPIs in English behave (Collins et al., 2015).

6.0. Yorùbá COPY NPIs as Type2 NPIs

Up to now, I have treated Yorùbá COPY NPIs as Type 1 NPIs by claiming that they have one NEG and require negation somewhere in the structure. In this section, I show that Yorùbá COPY NPIs are ambiguous between Type 1 and Type 2 NPIs just as English *any*-NPIs. They can be licensed in other contexts different from negation such as conditionals, the scope of only DP, yes/no question, the scope of quantifier words like *every*, and complement of *surprise*. The structure in (54) shows the COPY NPIs in conditionals.

54. a. Tí   ẹnì-kankan   bá   béèrè   mi,   sọ   fún   wọn   pé   mo   jáde
     If   anybody   were   ask   1sg   say   for   3rdPl   that   1sg   went.out
     "If anybody asks of me, tell them I went out."
   b. Tí   ẹnikẹ́ni   bá   béèrè   mi,   sọ   fún   wọn   pé   mo   jáde
     If   anybody   were   ask   1sg   say   for   3rdPl   that   1sg   went.out
     "If anybody asks of me, tell them I went out."

Both are found within yes/no questions as in (55), and within the complement of *surprise* (56).

55. a. Sé   o   rí   ẹnì-kankan   níbẹ̀?
       Q   2sg see   anybody   at.there
       "Did you see anybody there?"

    b. Sé   o   rí   ẹnikẹ́ni   níbẹ̀?

       Q   2sg see   anybody   at.there

       "Did you see anybody there?"

56. a. Ó   yà   wọ́n   lẹ́nu   pé   mo   rí   ohunkóhun   mú   wá
       It   open 3pl   at.mouth that 1sg   see   anything   bring come
       "It surprised them that I was able to bring anything"

    b. Ó   yà   wọ́n   lẹ́nu   pé   mo   rí   ohùn-kankan mú   wá

       It   open 3pl   at.mouth that 1sg   see   anything   bring come

       "It surprised them that I was able to bring anything"

Their use in the scope of *only*-DP is given in (57) while (58) shows how they are used in the

scope of quantifier *every*.

57. a. Adé nìkan ló   rí   ohunkóhun   jẹ   lánàá
       Adé only   FOC.3sg   see   anything   eat   at.yesterday
       "Only Adé was able to eat anything yesterday."

    b. Adé nìkan ló   rí   ohùn-kankan jẹ   lánàá
       Adé only   FOC.3sg   see   anything   eat   at.yesterday
       "Only Adé was able to eat anything yesterday."

58. a. Gbogbo   ẹni   tí   ó   rí   ohunkóhun   ló   sọ   fún kábíyèsí
       Every   person who   1sg see   anything   FOC.3sg   say for king
       "Everybody who saw anything told the king."

    b. Gbogbo   ẹni   tí   ó   rí   ohùn-kankan ló   sọ   fún kábíyèsí

       Every   person who   1sg see   anything   FOC.3sg   say for king
       "Everybody who saw anything told the king"

The COPY NPIs in all of the above constructions are interpreted as binary-NEG NPIs, where

their NEG deleters are the constructions in which they occur. For example, the structure in

(55a&b) will have the following analysis.

59. Sé o rí ẹnì-kankan/ẹnikẹ́ni níbẹ̀?
   Q_{DEL} 2sg see [NP-[<NEG₂>[<NEG₁> SOME]] at.there
   "Did you see anybody there?"

In (59), Q_{DEL,} as a monotone decreasing operator (CP2014:134), deletes NEG₁ which in turn deletes NEG₂, and so the sentence spells out without negation. This analysis can be applied to all the structures in (54) through (58).

One other licensing environment worth mentioning is the context of modal *lè* (Koch, 2005). Yorùbá COPY NPIs are also licensed when used in the context of *lè* modality. Surprisingly, while N-k-COPY NPIs are licensed in this context, N-k(COPY)-kan NPIs are not. Consider the following.

60. a. Ẹnikẹni lè wá
   Anybody can come
   "Anybody can come."
  b. *Ẹnì-kankan lè wá
    Anybody can come
    "Anybody can come."

61. a. Ó lè se ohunkóhun tó bá fẹ́
   3sg can do anything which.2sg Prob like
   "He may do anything he likes."
  b. *Ó lè se ohùn-kankan tó bá fẹ́
   3sg can do anything which.2sg Prob like
   "He may do anything he likes."

This is a case where there seems to be some kind of difference between the two forms of NPI in Yorùbá. Another difference that one may also mention is that the N-k-COPY NPI has a sense in which it is interpreted as *bad-NP* (see Koch 2005, for more details). I do not address this in this paper, but it will be interesting to know why this is the case. The N-k(COPY)-kan NPI does not have this reading; it will be interesting as well to know why this is so.

7.0. Conclusion

From the discussion so far, the following have become clear. First, it was proposed that the syntactic framework proposed in CP2014 has the potential to provide a comprehensive account for NPIs cross-linguistically, and that it can be used to further study the distributional properties of negation in one more context, that is, within NPIs. Nominal NPIs cross-linguistically were proposed to be tripartite in their underlying representation, having the structure [$_{DP}$ [<NEG>/ $_c$NEG SOME] NP] and the semantics of λP λQ λy λx ¬∃x[P(x) ∧ Q(y)], with variation in how <NEG>/ $_c$NEG and SOME are realized. Second, it was shown that Yorùbá has two forms of NPIs that correspond to the English *any*-NPI: the N-k-COPY and the N-k(COPY)-kan. Because these two have the property of COPY in common, they were dubbed COPY NPIs. Third, it was shown that Yorùbá COPY NPIs pattern with Ewe Ke-NPIs and English *any*-NPIs, in that they participate in long distance licensing. But, it was shown that unlike English *any*-NPIs, the COPY NPIs involve remnant raising just like Ewe Ke-NPIs. Fourth, the COPY NPIs were shown to be ambiguous between Type1 NPIs and Type2 NPIs, patterning with *any*-NPIs, but distinct from Ke-NPIs, which are strictly Type1 NPIs according to Collins et al. (2015). Fifth, the discussion of the COPY NPIs in terms of Neg Raising was brought within the cross-linguistic context of English and Ewe. To concretize the discussion in this respect and building on the parameters proposed in Collins et al. (2015), the following can be put in order.

62. **Parameters**

A

Ewe	NEG raising leaves a copy
Standard English	NEG raising does not leave a copy
Yorùbá	NEG raising leaves a copy

B

Ewe	NEG obligatorily raises from a unary NEG structure
Standard English	NEG optionally raises from a unary NEG structure.
Yorùbá	NEG obligatorily raises from a unary NEG structure

C

Ewe	Disallows Type 2 (binary NEG) NPIs.
Standard English	Allows Type 2 (binary NEG) NPIs
Yorùbá	Allows Type 2 (binary NEG) NPIs

D

Ewe	$_c$NEG is attested but it is not phonologically identical to NEG$_1$
Standard English	$_c$NEG is not attested
Yorùbá	$_c$NEG$_1$ is attested, and it is phonologically identical to NEG$_1$ except in imperatives

Finally, the basic difference between the two forms of the COPY NPIs, the N-k-COPY and the N-k(COPY)-kan, was mentioned, namely that the N-k-COPY has a sense in which it is interpreted as *bad*-NP while the N-k(COPY)-kan does not, and that the N-k-COPY can be used in the context of modal *le* while the N-k(COPY)-kan cannot. These, as well as the question why $_c$NEG is not phonologically identical to the raising Neg in imperatives, were not addressed in the paper, but it was suggested that these can be the subject of further research.

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