

## Emphasis, Certainty, and Interdiction: Particles in Gɪsɪdɔ Anii

This paper examines the syntax of the particles *shu*, *cɔɔ*, and *caa* in Anii, an understudied Ghana-Togo-Mountain language spoken in Togo and Benin. Previous work labeled them as Tense-Aspect-Modality markers, but questions remain about their nature and contribution to the Anii clause [2]. Utilizing original fieldwork data, I propose they are adverbials modifying clausal functional heads: *shu* and *cɔɔ* modify aspectual reference, while *caa* modifies a necessity modal. This analysis is compatible with theories that posit a universal order of adverbials [1], and provides new information on how adverbials interact with aspect and modality in contributing to meaning.

*Shu*, *cɔɔ*, and *caa* are adverbials that follow tense and precede aspect (1-2). *Shu* emphasizes and draws attention to aspectual reference (commonly denoted by aspect marking). In the perfective examples (3) and (4), *shu* emphasizes the completion of sweeping. In imperfective habitual examples (5) and (6), *shu* emphasizes habituality.

*Cɔɔ* marks that the speaker is certain of the aspectual reference of the clause. In the imperfective habituals (7) and (8) *cɔɔ* marks the speaker's certainty that staying home happens habitually. In perfect sentences (9) and (10), *cɔɔ* marks the speaker's certainty that they were there at the moment the fire began. An "interruption" interpretation follows from the speaker being certain that they began dancing before the fire and stopped during the fire.

While *shu* and *cɔɔ* modify aspect, *caa* modifies modal necessity. *Caa* means that the speaker acknowledges that the action or state denoted by the predicate is contrary to the listener's wishes (i.e., something they *should not* do). Compare (11) and (12), noting that the addition of *caa* in (12) carries the implication that the speaker knows they should not be home. *Caa* is infelicitous if the listener does not care about the speaker's actions (13) and is incompatible with a sense of apology or sincerity (14).

Based on this data, I propose the structure in (15) for the Anii clause. This order accurately predicts the word order of all tested data and properly places Anii adverbials in a position that precedes the head they modify. Note ModP's placement above AspP, which is consistent with *caa* preceding any overt aspectual marker. While no data is available with more than one of the adverbials, it would be expected that *caa* would precede the aspectual adverbials if they were to co-occur.

This analysis contributes to our knowledge of Anii by describing previously unstudied particles in the language. In addition, these findings may be suggestive of a class of adverbials that relate to the speaker's opinion or commitment to functional elements of the clause. Finally, this analysis is compatible with existing theories regarding adverbial placement [1] and correctly predicts adverbial placement with respect to other clausal elements in Anii.

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## References

- [1] Cinque, G. (1999). *Adverbs and functional heads: A cross-linguistic perspective*. Oxford University Press.
- [2] Morton, D. C. (2014). *The temporal and aspectual semantics and verbal tonology of gisida anii* [Doctoral dissertation, The Ohio State University].

- (1) Context: Your friend calls you and asks what you are doing tomorrow morning. You respond that you are going to sweep the courtyard.  
 n tə ma shı shêr gaka  
 1SG FUT 1SG.IRR EMPH sweep courtyard  
 ‘I WILL sweep the courtyard.’
- (2) Context: Someone asks where you normally spend your time. You are usually at home, so you respond:  
 n cəw ti ɖa afal  
 1SG CERT IMPF be.there house  
 ‘I definitely stay at home.’
- (3) Context: Someone asks what you did yesterday. You respond:  
 n sher gaka  
 1SG sweep courtyard  
 ‘I swept the courtyard.’
- (4) Context: Your mother sees your courtyard and asks if you *really* swept it. You respond:  
 n shı sher gaka  
 1SG EMPH sweep courtyard  
 ‘I DID sweep the courtyard.’
- (5) Context: You are waiting for a visitor, but they haven’t told you what day they’ll arrive. So, you are at home each day and respond:  
 n ti ɖa afal  
 1SG IMPF be.there home  
 ‘I’m usually at home.’
- (6) Context: Same as (5):  
 n shı ti ɖa afal  
 1SG EMPH IMPF be.there home  
 ‘I’m always at home.’
- (7) Context: Someone asks where you normally spend your time. You are usually at home, so you respond:  
 n ti ɖa afal  
 1SG IMPF be.there home  
 ‘I stay at home.’
- (8) Context: same as (7):  
 n cəw ti ɖa afal  
 1SG CERT IMPF be.there home  
 ‘I definitely stay at home.’
- (9) Context: You are telling a story about a time a fire broke out. While you are telling the story, someone asks what you were doing during the fire, and you say that you were there while dancing:  
 n cee ɖa na rı gucəma  
 1SG PERF be.there IMPF dance a.dance  
 ‘I was there while dancing’
- (10) Context: Same as (8), but the fire interrupted your dancing.:  
 n cəw cee ɖa na rı gucəma  
 1SG CERT PERF be.there IMPF dance a.dance  
 ‘At that moment, I was there while dancing.’
- (11) Context: Someone asks where you normally spend your free time. You are usually at home, so you respond:  
 n ti ɖa afal  
 1SG IMPF be.there home  
 ‘I stay at home.’
- (12) Context: Same as (10), but the person calling previously told you not to spend all of your time at home:  
 n caa ti ɖa afal  
 1SG INTD IMPF be.there home  
 ‘I stay at home anyway!’
- (13) Context: Same as (10), and the person does not care where you are. You respond:  
 # n caa ti ɖa afal  
 1SG INTD IMPF be.there home  
 ‘I stay at home anyway!’
- (14) Context: A brother and sister are playing and the sister **accidentally** slaps her brother from behind. The brother exclaims “What was that?”, and she apologetically replies:  
 # n caa kə aki  
 1SG INTD hit 2SG.OBJ  
 ‘I hit you!’
- (15)

