

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Issues

This work is concerned with A-bar movement, the structure of the complementizer field (left periphery) and wh-in-situ. The first two topics, that is, A-bar movement and the structure of the left periphery are addressed in the context of relativization and clefting. Although this work focuses mainly on Lubukusu, it incorporates a substantial amount of crosslinguistic work at different stages. In the initial stages of the work, I have attempted to show how Lubukusu compares to other Bantu languages – Kiswahili, Runyoro, Luganda, Haya, Nkore-Kiga, Chichewa, Chishona, Lingala, Dzamba, Xhosa, Zulu, and Swati – in terms of the structure of the left periphery. Later in the dissertation, I compare the behavior of in-situ wh-phrases in islands in Lubukusu to similar constructions in Kiswahili, Runyoro, Chinese and Japanese. It is therefore not inaccurate to say that this dissertation has a fairly strong crosslinguistic theme. Indeed it was in part the desire to find out how Lubukusu compares to other languages in terms of A-bar movement, the structure of the left periphery and wh-in-situ that motivated me to undertake this work. Another motivating factor for undertaking this study is language internal. I imagined it would be interesting to find out the extent to which wh-in-situ and cleft-based movement are similar or different in Lubukusu. There are studies in the linguistic literature about languages that use both the wh-movement strategy and the in-situ strategy – the so called mixed languages, but they tend to focus on languages whose in-situ strategy is limited in some way, for instance French (Boskovic 2000) and English (Richards 2001). Other studies on mixed languages tend to focus exclusively on wh-in-situ, to the exclusion of overt movement. This group includes Bergvall (1983, 1987), Clements (1984) among others. So it is true that there are studies about mixed languages, but either they are about languages that use one of the strategies (for

instance wh-in-situ) only in limited contexts or where the languages use the two strategies freely, studies have focused on one strategy to the exclusion of the other strategy. I therefore thought that it would be interesting to find out how wh-in-situ and clefts – which are both widely used in Lubukusu – compare to each other. This, I reasoned would have the added benefit of filling the knowledge gap that exist in the study of in-situ languages which also widely use the movement strategy (by way of clefting).

A study on a language such as Lubukusu – a language which uses the in-situ strategy and the clefting strategy – can potentially shed light on important issues surrounding wh-phenomena, for instance the issue of variation in the wh-questioning strategy used by different languages. Some linguists have attributed this variation to the question parameter which is stated by Baker (2001) as follows.

1. The Question Movement Parameter (Baker 2001)

Interrogative phrases must move to the front of the clause (English)

or

Interrogative phrases appear in the same positions as other noun phrases (Japanese)

Thus a child acquiring a language will set this parameter one way or the other. If he or she sets the parameter to the fronting value, then he or she will speak a movement language such as English. But if he or she sets to the non-movement value, then the language learned will be an in-situ language such as Japanese. A question that arises is what to do with mixed languages. Is the question parameter set both ways, or does the parameter have three settings: the movement setting, the in-situ setting and the mixed setting?

The most logical position to take based on the data that will be provided in this dissertation is that if the question parameter exists at all, and is formulated as in Baker (2001), then it is set only one way in Lubukusu: it is set to the in-situ value.

Under this view, cleft-based movement is determined not by the question parameter but by other principles of grammar.

Another approach to the wh-movement ~ wh-in-situ variation is the feature strength approach. The feature strength approach to movement which was first proposed in Chomsky (1993) and developed in subsequent work (see Chomsky 1995) sought to explain why wh-phrases undergo overt movement in some languages but not in others. The feature strength theory assumes that strong features (but not weak features) are checked as soon as they are introduced in a derivation. According to the feature strength theory, languages differ with respect to wh-question formation depending on whether C^0 has a strong or a weak wh-feature. Languages whose C^0 has a strong wh-feature such as English require overt wh-movement while languages whose C^0 has a weak wh-feature such as Japanese do not. In the latter group of languages, the wh- phrase remains in-situ in overt syntax. The weak wh-feature of C^0 in such languages is checked at LF when the wh-phrase moves covertly to Spec of C^0 . A question that arises is whether C^0 has a strong or a weak wh-feature in languages such as Lubukusu that have both overt wh-movement and wh-in-situ. A related issue is whether covert movement really exists. Huang (1982), Lasnik & Saito (1992), Beck (1995) and Richards (2001) among others have argued for the existence of LF movement. However other linguists, notably Pesetsky (1987), Kayne (1998) and Simpson (2000) have argued against the existence of LF movement. Pesetsky (2000) favors a feature movement theory of wh-in-situ over an LF phrasal movement theory, but he argues that LF phrasal movement exists, particularly in antecedent contained deletion (ACD) constructions.

Linguists in the former category who believe in the existence of LF movement have sought to show similarities between LF movement and overt movement. For instance, a considerable amount of effort has been made to show the extent to which island constraints applies uniformly to LF and overt movement. It

would be good enough proof for the existence of LF movement if it could be shown that there is a match, that is, if there were identity between overt movement and LF movement in the relevant respects. Richards (2001) who argues strongly for the existence of LF movement takes the overt movement ~ covert movement debate to a whole new level. He argues that some overt wh-movement languages exhibit syntactic behavior that is more similar to that of wh-in-situ languages than it is to other overt movement languages. He proposes a theory that recognizes three main groups of languages: CP-absorption languages, IP-absorption languages and mixed languages. Each of these groups contains both overt wh-movement languages and wh-in-situ languages. For instance, Bulgarian (an overt wh-movement language) and Chinese (a wh-in-situ language) are CP-absorption languages while Serbo-Croatian (an overt wh-movement language) and Japanese (an wh-in-situ language) are IP-absorption languages. But in spite of such efforts by Richards and others, it is still not conclusive that LF (=covert movement) is identical to overt movement. Nor is it conclusive that covert movement exists or that it doesn't exist. This may partly be due to the failure to systematically study languages that have both overt wh-movement and wh-in-situ. The present study brings a new perspective since it systematically investigates wh-phenomena in a language that has both overt wh-movement and wh-in-situ. The study's findings are crucial to resolving to some of the long standing controversies surrounding wh- phenomena. I will show that although there are many parallels between overt wh-movement and wh-in-situ in Lubukusu, there are also significant differences. For instance while wh-in-situ in Lubukusu shows an intervention effect and a weak crossover effect, cleft-based wh-movement does not. It also seems that cleft-based wh-movement from islands is more constrained than wh-in-situ. Each of these issues – intervention effect, weak cross over, clefting from islands and wh- in-situ in islands – will be illustrated and discussed in this work. The discussion of wh- in-situ is particularly interesting

because I compared Lubukusu to four other wh-in-situ languages: Kiswahili, Runyoro, Japanese and Chinese. I found that (i) Lubukusu, Kiswahili and Runyoro do not allow wh-in-situ in subject CNPs, (ii) Chinese does not allow in-situ wh-phrases in CNPs that are [+specific], (iii) Japanese does not allow adjunct wh-phrases in the wh-island and in object CNPs of the non-relative clause type, (iv) ‘why’ is ruled out in all islands in the five languages, and (v) the five languages do not show a clear argument-adjunct asymmetry. I argue that fact (iv) in Lubukusu is due to the fact that ‘why’ is generated in the left periphery. I spend a considerable amount of time and space discussing the syntax of ‘why’ in Lubukusu showing how some of its distributional properties follow from an analysis that generates ‘why’ in the left periphery. A fair amount of time and space is also spent on the adjunct ‘how’ with a focus on deriving its unique properties – for instance the fact that it agrees with the subject even though it appears to be a VP constituent.

Another important issue is whether overt wh-movement is triggered by the same feature, that is, the wh-feature, in all languages. Sabel (1996) has argued that there are two different kinds of features that trigger overt wh-movement: [+focus] and [+wh-]. Evidence from Lubukusu seems to support this distinction. I will argue that in Lubukusu, overt wh- movement is triggered by a [+Pred] feature rather than a [+wh-] feature.

1.2 Theoretical Background

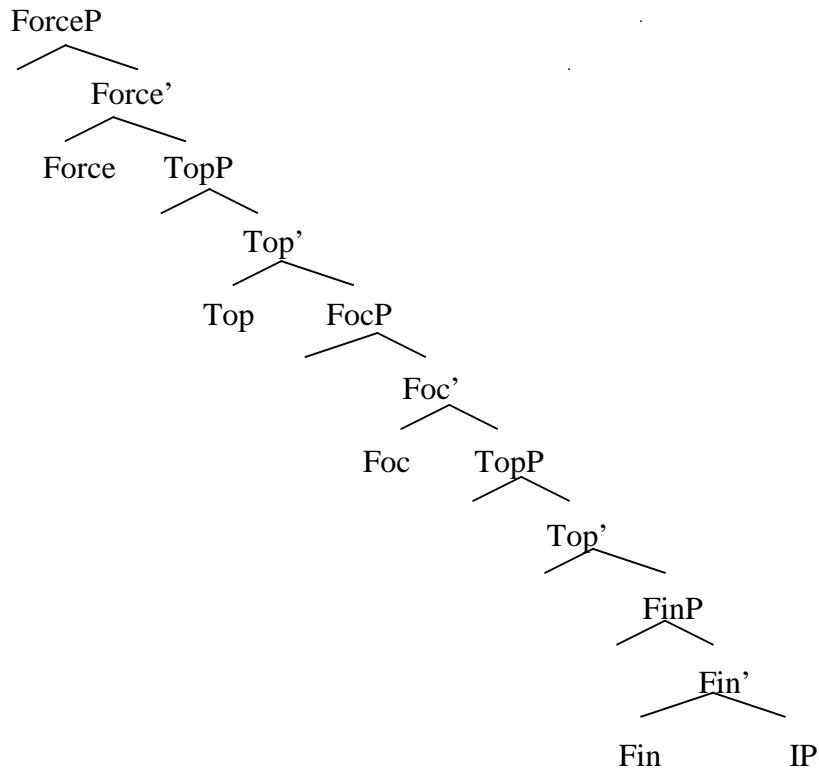
The guiding theoretical framework for this study is the minimalist program as presented in Chomsky (1993) and developed further in Chomsky 1995, 2000, 2001 & 2004 among others. The minimalist program has only two levels of representation: the interface levels, namely PF and LF. The former interfaces with the motor-perceptual system while the latter interfaces with conceptual-intentional system.

Two operations are central to the minimalist program: external merge and internal merge (movement). External merge takes two words, a head and complement or specifier, and joins them together to form a phrase. Internal merge is an operation that moves words or phrases from their base generated positions to designated landing sites. In the minimalist program, movement is triggered by features. It is assumed that lexical and functional heads have features, some interpretable and others uninterpretable. In order for the derivation to converge, the principle of full interpretation must be met. By this principle, derivations must contain only those features that are relevant for interpretation: uninterpretable features must be checked in order for the derivation to converge. Some features are strong while others are weak: the former trigger movement in overt syntax while the latter are checked at LF through covert movement (but see Kayne (1998) and Simpson (2000) for arguments against covert movement and Pesetsky (2000) for a feature movement analysis of phenomena that were thought traditionally to involve covert movement). Internal merge in the minimalist program proceeds as follows: when a probe (that is, an element with uninterpretable features) enters a derivation, it searches down the tree for a goal (an element with matching features). When it finds one, it enters into an agree relation with it. Once an agree relation is established, the goal moves to the Spec position of the probe (in the case of phrasal movement). But for head movement, the goal moves and is adjoined to the attracting head. Head movement is constrained by the head movement constraint. This constraint was proposed by Travis (1984). It requires heads to move only into the head position of the next higher phrase. In contrast, phrasal movement is constrained by the Minimal Link Condition (MLC). This principle requires the phrase nearest to the probe to move.

By Kayne's 1994 Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA), movement is always to the left. Rightward movement is disallowed.

The final theoretical point that I would like to highlight relates to the left periphery (= the complementizer field). This is not crucially a part of the minimalist program, but it is consistent with it. It is necessary to introduce the left periphery here because of its central role in this work. According to Rizzi (1997), the complementizer system is complex, and is made up of several functional heads. Using data from Italian he proposes the following to be the articulated structure of the left periphery.

2. Articulated structure of the complementizer system (Rizzi 1997)



I will argue in chapter 2 that this structure needs to be modified in order to account for complementizer related facts in Lubukusu and other Bantu languages.

1.3 The language

Lubukusu is a dialect of the Luyia language¹. It is spoken in Western province and Rift Valley province, specifically in Bungoma district (Western province) and Trans-nzoia district (Rift Valley province). According to Census bureau of 1999 there were about 800,000 babukusu (Bukusu people).

1.3.1 Previous work on Lubukusu

Lubukusu is perhaps the most studied of all the Luyia dialects. Researchers have dwelt on the phonology, morpho-phonology, morpho-syntax and syntax, but there is still a lot that needs to be done. The first major work on Lubukusu, Austen (1974) addressed salient aspects of Lubukusu syntax and phonology. Unlike Austen, De Blois' (1975) work which followed closely, focused only on the phonology of Lubukusu. Additional work on Lubukusu phonology has been done by Wasike (2004), Marlo (2002) and Mutonyi (1992, 1996, 2000). It is important to note that these works by Mutonyi are not exclusively phonological. They are phonological, but they also include some morpho-phonological, morphological and morpho-syntactic aspects of Lubukusu. Previous work on syntax includes Wasike (1992, 2002) and Bell and Wasike (2004). Wasike (1992) examines the syntactic aspects of the simple sentence while Wasike (2002) discusses the lack of true negative imperatives in Lubukusu. But the more general aspects of negation are discussed in Bell (2004) and Bell & Wasike (2004). Wh- constructions are sporadically discussed in Wasike (1992, 2002), and Bell & Wasike (2004), but to date no systematic study of these constructions has been made.

¹ Although Lubukusu is generally considered to be a dialect of Luyia, intelligibility between speakers of Lubukusu and speakers of the other 17 Luyia dialects varies a great deal. For instance while it is intelligible with Lutachoni and Lukabarasi, it is unintelligible with southern dialects such as Logooli and Lutiriki. For a discussion of Luyia dialects see Angogo (1983). Lugishu which is considered to a separate language by virtue of the fact that it is spoken in the neighboring Uganda is intelligible to Lubukusu speakers.

1.3.2 Grammatical sketch

Lubukusu is an agglutinative SVO language. Words in the language are formed mainly through affixation. For instance the words *babaana* (=children) and *baasikula* (=they bought it) have the morphology illustrated in (3).

3(a) Ba²-ba-ana

Pp-2-child

“Children”

(b) Ba-a-si-kul-a

2-past-7-buy-fv

“They bought it”

Like other Bantu languages, Lubukusu has a very rich agreement system. Not only do lexical categories such as noun, verb and adjective bear agreement affixes, but functional categories (for instance a certain class of complementizers) do too. To illustrate agreement in Lubukusu sentences, consider the data in (4).

4(a) O-mu-ana a-kha-som-e si-tabu si-boofu

Pp-1-child 1-fut-read-fv 7-book 7-big

“The child will read the big book”

(b) Ba-ba-ana ba-kha-som-e bi-tabu bi-boofu

Pp-2-child 2-fut-read-fv 8-book 8-big

“The children will read the big books”

As shown in (4), agreement is controlled by the noun. Notice that nouns in Lubukusu (and Bantu generally) are classified into noun classes. Lubukusu nouns have a very

² Orthographic b is pronounced as [b] only when it is preceded by the bilabial nasal [m]. In all other contexts, it is pronounced [β] (voiced bilabial fricative).

simple morphology. They consist of three morphemes: the Pre-prefix (Augment), the prefix and the noun stem. The pre-prefix precedes the prefix which in turn precedes the noun stem. The prefix system (the pre-prefix and the prefix) is the indicator of the class to which the noun belongs. Lubukusu has twenty noun classes which are summarized in the following table.

Table 1: Lubukusu noun classes

Class	Prefix system	Example	gloss
	<u>Pre-Prefix</u>	<u>Prefix</u>	
1	o	mu	child
2	ba	ba	children
3	ku	mu	tree
4	ki	mi	trees
5	li	li	tooth
6	ka	ma	teeth
7	si	si	bead
8	bi	bi	beads
9	e	n	basket
10	chi	n	baskets
11	lu	lu	river
12	kha ³	kha	small child
14	bu	bu	brain
15	khu	khu	to come
16	a		at/near the hill
16a	sya		towards the hill
17	khu		on the hill
18	mu	mu	in the tree
19	ku	ku	big child
23	e- (with place names)	ekimilili	at <u>kimilili</u>

³ Orthographic kh in Lubukusu represents [x] (voiceless velar fricative); and orthographic ch represents [tʃ] (voiceless alveopalatal affricate).

1.3.3 Structure of the verb

Morphologically, the verb is the most complex of all word categories in Lubukusu just like in other Bantu languages. A verb can have anywhere between two and ten affixes including negation, subject agreement, relative marker, tense, object agreement, verb root, thematic extensions, aspect, mood (final vowel) and locative morpheme. The linear order of these affixes is sketched in (5).

5. Order of verbal affixes

NEG_{1a}-RM-SA-NEG_{1b}-TNS-OA-VerbRt-Ext1-Ext2-Ext3-Asp-FV-loc/Asp

Extension affixes which follow the verb root include the stative, the reciprocal, the applicative, the causative, the passive, the intensive etc. No more than three extension suffixes can occur in a single verb complex.

The minimum number of morphemes that a verb can have is two. A common example of a verb form that has two morphemes is the imperative which is illustrated in (6a). A typical indicative verb form has about six morphemes, but some verb forms can have as many as ten morphemes. Consider (6b) which illustrates a typical indicative verb form and (6c) which illustrates a more extended verb form.

6(a) Kul-a!

buy-fv

“Buy!”

(b) A-la-mu-kul-il-a

SA-fut-OA-buy-appl-fv

“He/She will buy for him/her”

(c) Se-ba-kha-mu-kul-il-ak-eng-e-kho ta

Neg₁-SA-fut-OA-buy-appl-intensive-hab-Asp Neg₂

“They will not habitually buy quickly for him/her at all.”

Note that the abbreviations SA (=subject agreement) and OA (=object agreement) are used in the gloss of 6(a) & (b), but they are not used in the remainder of the dissertation. Instead of SA or OA, I have used numerals that stand for the class of the noun that the verb agrees with. For instance use of the numeral 1 in gloss indicates that the verb agrees with a class 1 noun subject or object depending on its position within the verb. To use a concrete example “1-pst-2-verb” means the verb agrees with a subject NP whose head noun belongs to noun class 1 and an object NP whose head noun belongs to noun class 2. But the numeral in the gloss for nouns indicates the class to which the noun belongs. For example “Pp-6-noun” means the noun belongs to class 6.

1.3.4 Wh-question formation in Lubukusu

There are three ways of forming wh- questions in Lubukusu. These are the wh- in-situ strategy, the overt wh- movement (clefting) strategy and the pseudo-clefting. These strategies are illustrated in the following data.

7(a) Wafula a-la-kul-a si(ina)?

1Wafula 1-fut-buy-fv what

“What will Wafula buy?”

(b) Siina ni-sy-o Wafula a-la-kul-a?

What pred-7-pron 1Wafula 1-fut-buy-fv

“What will Wafula buy?”

(c) Ni-sy-o Wafula a-la-kul-a si-li si(ina)?

Pred-7-pron 1Wafula 1-fut-buy-fv 7-be what

“That which Wafula will buy is what?” (What will Wafula buy?)

(d) Wafula a-a-lom-a a-li siina ni-sy-o Nekesa a-a-kul-a?

1Wafula 1-pst-say- fv 1-sub what pred-7-pron 1Nekesa 1-pst-buy-fv

“What did Wafula say Nekesa bought?”

(e) Siina ni-sy-o Wafula a-a-lom-a a-li Nekesa a-a-kul-a?

What pred-7-pron 1Wafula 1-pst-say- fv 1-sub 1Nekesa 1-pst-buy-fv

“What did Wafula say Nekesa bought?”

(7a) uses the wh- in-situ strategy, (7c) the pseudo-clefting strategy and (7b, d & e) the clefting strategy. (7d) is an interesting case. Although it has cleft licensed overt movement, the wh- phrase does not raise into the C field of the main clause; it moves to the C field of the embedded clause instead. This and other aspects of clefting will be discussed in chapter 3.

Notice that the gloss in each of the sentences in 7(b) – (e) includes what I have abbreviated as pred and pron. I have made no attempt in this introductory chapter to explain what these are or why they should be analyzed as such. I will address this issue in chapter 2.

This dissertation is organized as follows. Chapter 2 discusses relativization and the structure of the left periphery. Chapter 3 deals with clefting in Lubukusu. Among other things, this chapter discusses the structure of the cleft, and island constraints on clefting. Chapter 4 is concerned wh-in-situ, while chapter 5 examines the syntax of wh-adjuncts in Lubukusu. Chapter 6 is the conclusion.

Chapter 2

Relativization in Lubukusu and other Bantu Languages

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the syntax of the relative clause (henceforth RC) in Lubukusu and several other Bantu languages. The properties of the RC which are discussed include the RC complementizer, subject – verb inversion, wh-agreement, and RC structure among others. Although the main focus of the chapter, like the rest of the dissertation, is Lubukusu, I have included a fairly good amount of cross-linguistic data. Languages with which Lubukusu is compared on relevant RC properties are all Bantu languages. They include Nkore-Kiga (Taylor 1985); Luganda (Ashton et. al 1954); Makua (Stucky 1985); Chichewa (Mchombo 2004); Kiswahili (Ashton 1944, Keach (1985), Spence (1997), Ngonyani (1999), Buell (2002); Chishona (Demuth & Harford 1999); Xhosa (Zeller 2002); Swati (Kula 2004); Zulu (Zeller 2004); Runyoro; Haya (Duranti 1977); Dzamba (Bokamba 1971, 1976a, 1976b, 1980); and Nweh (Nkemnji (1995). It will be shown that these languages differ from each other with regards to agreement, subject verb inversion, relativization strategy and whether or not they allow the object prefix to occur in the RC verb. It will also be shown that the structure of the RC complementizer in Lubukusu and other Bantu languages requires modification of the existing RC structure proposals. In particular, I will argue that in order to give an adequate account of the structure of the Lubukusu RC, Kayne's (1994) RC structure must be supplemented with an augmented version of Rizzi'z (1997) articulated left periphery. Augmentation of Rizzi's left periphery is necessitated by the complex nature of the RC complementizer in Lubukusu and the fact that this complementizer occurs in other constructions besides the RC.

Let us begin by examining the basic facts of relativization in Lubukusu. For the sake of clarity and systematicity, I examine subject relativization separately from non-subject relativization.

2.2 Relativization of subjects

Consider the following data which illustrate subject relativization. The glossing of the complex complex complementizer as Pred(ication)-Agr-pron will be explained and justified later in this chapter.

1(a) Ba-ba-ana ba-a-ch-a khu-sooko

Pp-2-child 2-pst-go-fv to-market

“Children went to the market.”

(b) Ba-ba-ana ba-ba-a-ch-a khu-sooko ba-a-kobol-a

Pp-2-child RM-2-pst-go-fv to-market 2-pst-return-fv

“Children who went to the market returned.”

(c) *Ba-ba-ana ni-b-o ba-ba-a-ch-a khu-sooko ba-a-kobol-a

Pp-2-child pred-2-pron RM-2-pst-go-fv to-market 2-pst-return-fv

“Children who went to the market returned.”

(d) Ba-ba-ana ni-b-o baa-sooreri ba-a-rum-a khu-sooko ba-a-kobool-e

Pp-2-child pred-2-pron 2-boy 1-pst-send-fv to-market 2-pst-return-fv

“Children who the boys sent to the market returned.”

In (1b), the subject ‘babana’ (=children) is relativized. Notice the additional agreement morphology that subject relativization triggers. The verb in the non-relative sentence (1a) and in the RC with a relativized non-subject (1d) has only one agreement prefix, ba-. In contrast, the verb in the relative clause (1b) has an additional agreement prefix. This special agreement, which I will refer to as wh-agreement, is better known in the literature as the relative marker (RM). Notice that while non-subject relativization requires the ‘complex complementizer’ (=the ni-agr-o word) (see 1d), it is absent when a subject is relativized (1b). In fact, as shown in (1c), the complex complementizer must obligatorily be absent. This contrasts with

closely related wh-constructions: the cleft wh-question construction and the non-interrogative cleft construction. Like subject relativization, subject cleft questions and non-interrogative subject clefts trigger wh-agreement (=RM). But unlike subject relativization, subject cleft questions and non-interrogative subject clefts optionally occur with the complex complementizer. Thus, while (1c) is ungrammatical, (2c) and (3a) are perfect. In the case of non-interrogative clefts, the presence of the complex complementizer as in (3a) is preferred.

2(a) Wafula a-a-kw-a

1Wafula 1-pst-fall-fv

“Wafula fell.”

(b) Naanu o-w-a-kw-a?

Who RM-1-pst-fall-fv

“Who fell?”

(c) Naanu (ni-y-e) o-w-a-kw-a?

Who pred-1-pron RM-1-pst-fall-fv

“Who fell?” (=who is it that fell?)

3(a) Ba-ba-ana (ni-b-o) ba-ba-a-kw-a

Pp-2-child pred-2-pron RM-2-pst-fall-fv

“It is children who fell.”

(b) Bá-bá-áná bá-bá-á-kw-á

Pp-2-child RM-2-pst-fall-fv

“It is children who fell.”

It is not surprising that subject cleft questions and non-interrogative subject clefts show similar behavior in optionally co-occurring with the complex complementizer. This is because the two constructions have a more or less similar structure

considering the fact that they both are basically clefts. What is surprising is the fact that the ‘complex complementizer’ which is incompatible with subject relativization, is compatible with subject clefting. It is surprising because the relative construction and the cleft construction in Lubukusu share a lot of structural similarities. If these constructions have a more or less similar structure, what then accounts for the incompatibility of the complex complementizer with subject relativization? I suggest that the answer to this question is to be found in the nature of the complementizer involved. It seems that there are two different types of relative clause complementizers in Lubukusu: the complex complementizer which is associated with non-subject relativization and clefting and the null complementizer, which is associated with subject relativization. In other words, sentences involving subject relativization such as (1b) have a null complementizer and do not require the overt complex complementizer. The ungrammaticality of (1c) follows from this fact. Before showing where in the left periphery each of these complementizers is base generated, let us retrace our steps to wh-agreement.

I have given a couple examples of wh-agreement which results from the relativization and clefting of subjects in Lubukusu (see for instance (1b)). To remove any doubts there might be about whether or not what we are dealing with is wh-agreement, and also whether it consistently shows up, let us examine more data. Compare the data in table 2 which shows regular subject agreement with the data in table 3 which shows wh-agreement.

Table 2. Lubukusu subject agreement (SA) by class

Class	Pp	Prefix	Noun	SA-Pst-Verb-fv	gloss
1	o	mu	aana	a-a-kw-a	the child fell
2	ba	ba	aana	ba-a-kw-a	children fell
3	ku	mu	saala	kw-a-kw-a	the tree fell
4	ki	mi	saala	ky-a-kw-a	trees fell
5	li	li	ino	ly-a-kw-a	the tooth fell
6	ka	me	eno	ka-a-kw-a	teeth fell
7	si	sy	uuma	sy-a-kw-a	the bead fell
8	bi	bi	uuma	by-a-kw-a	beads fell
9	e	n	dubi	ya-a-kw-a	the basket fell
10	chi	n	dubi	cha-a-kw-a	baskets fell
11	lu	lw	iki	lw-a-kw-a	the door fell
12	kha	kha	ana	kha-a-kw-a	the small child fell
14	bu	bw	oongo	bw-a-kw-a	brains fell
15	khu	khu	iicha	khw-a-bi-a	the coming turned bad
16	a		mesa	a-a-bi-a	at/by the table turned bad
16a	sya		mesa	ya-a-bi-a	towards table turned bad
17	khu		mesa	khw-a-bi-a	on the table turned bad
18	mu	mu	siinga	mw-a-bi-a	inside hive was bad
19	ku	ku	aana	kw-a-kw-a	the big child fell
23	e-		ekimilili	ya-a-ng'oona	at kimilili was good

Table 3. Lubukusu wh-agreement by class

<u>Class</u>	<u>Pp</u>	<u>Prf</u>	<u>Noun</u>	<u>wh-SA-pst-V-fv</u>	<u>gloss</u>
1	o	mu	aana	o-w-a-kw-a	the who child fell
2	ba	ba	aana	ba-ba-a-kw-a	children who fell
3	ku	mu	saala	ku-kw-a-kw-a	the tree which fell
4	ki	mi	saala	ki-ky-a-kw-a	trees which fell
5	li	li	ino	li-ly-a-kw-a	the tooth which fell
6	ka	me	eno	ka-ka-a-kw-a	teeth which fell
7	si	sy	uuma	si-sy-a-kw-a	the bead which fell
8	bi	bi	uuma	bi-by-a-kw-a	beads which fell
9	e	n	dubi	e-ya-a-kw-a	the basket which fell
10	chi	n	dubi	chi-cha-a-kw-a	baskets which fell
11	lu	lw	iki	lu-lw-a-kw-a	the door which fell
12	kha	kha		kha-kha-a-kw-a	the small child who fell
14	bu	bw	oongo	bu-bw-a-kw-a	brains which fell
15	khu	khu	iicha	khu-khw-a-bi-a	the coming which turned bad
16	a		mesa	a-a-a-bi-a	at/by the table that turned bad
16a	sya		mesa	e-ya-a-bi-a	towards table that turned bad
17	khu		mesa	khu-khw-a-bi-a	on the table that turned bad
18	mu	mu	siinga	mu-mw-a-bi-a	inside hive that became bad
19	ku	ku	aana	ku-kw-a-kw-a	the big child who fell
23	e-		kimilili	e-ya-a-ng'ona	at kimilili that was good

These tables leave no doubt that there is a clear distinction between regular verbal agreement and RC verbal agreement (when the subject is relativized). Verbs with regular agreement have only one agreement prefix, but verbs in the RC with a relativized subject have two agreement prefixes. It is therefore reasonable to

conclude that relativization of subjects in Lubukusu triggers wh-agreement. The two agreement prefixes that appear on the verb of the RC with a relativized subject are agreement prefixes: the first prefix is wh-agreement, which is triggered by movement of the subject from Spec IP to the Spec FinP. The second prefix is regular agreement, which is triggered by movement of the subject from Spec vP to Spec IP.

Wh-agreement is obligatory. Thus verbs of RCs (in which a subject is relativized) that appear without wh-agreement are ungrammatical. This is illustrated in the following data.

4(a) *o-mw-aana a-a-kwa

Pp-1-child 1-pst-fall

“The child who fell.”

(b) *Ba-ba-ana ba-a-kwa

Pp-2-child 2-pst-fall

“Children who fell”

5(a) *ku-mu-saala kw-a-kwa

Pp-3-tree 3-pst-fall

“The tree that fell”

(b) *ki-mi-saala ky-a-kwa

Pp-4-tree 4-pst-fall

“The tree that fell”

A question that arises is whether different types of subjects behave differently in terms of triggering or not triggering wh-agreement. As shown in the following sections, there doesn't seem to be any difference.

2.3 Relativization of intransitive subjects

Unaccusative and unergative predicates differ from each other in one important respect. Unaccusatives have an object but lack an external argument while unergative predicates have an external argument but lack an object (Perlmutter (1978, 1989), Burzio (1986). However, there is no morphological or syntactic difference between relativization of the single argument licensed by unaccusative predicates on the one hand and the unergative predicates on the other. In Lubukusu, both unaccusative subjects (logical objects) and unergative subjects (logical subjects) can relativize and they both trigger wh-agreement (=RM). This is illustrated in the following data.

6(a) Wafula a-a-fun-a ku-mu-lyango

1Wafula 1-pst-break-fv Pp-3-door

“Wafula broke the door.”

(b) Ku-mu-lyango kw-a-fun-ikh-a

Pp-3-door 3-pst-break-stat-fv

“The door broke.”

(c) Ku-mu-lyango ku-kw-a-fun-ikh-a kwa-a-ba ku-mu-tekhele

Pp-3-door 3-pst-break-stat-fv RM-pst-be Pp-3-weak

“The door that broke was weak.”

(c) Ku-no ni-kw-o ku-mu-lyango ku-kw-a-fun-ikh-a

3-dem pred-3-pron Pp-3-door RM-3-pst-break-stat-fv

“This is the door that broke.”

7(a) Ba-ba-ana ba-a-kon-a

Pp-2-child 2-pst-sleep-fv

“Children slept.”

- (b) Ba-ba-ana ba-ba-a-kon-a ba-li ne e-n-jala
 Pp-2-child 2-pst-sleep-fv 2-be with Pp-9-hunger
 “Children who slept are hungry.”
- (c) Ba-no ni-b-o ba-ba-ana ba-ba-a-kon-a
 2-dem pred-2-pron Pp-2-child RM-2-pst-sleep-fv
 “These are the children who slept.”

2.4 Relativization under passivization

As shown in (8) below, Lubukusu allows relativization of the grammatical subject (=logical object) in passive constructions. Notice that the passive subject triggers wh-agreement just like regular subjects in non-passive constructions (with subject relativization). In contrast, relativizing the agent phrase in passive constructions is only possible under the resumptive pronoun strategy.

- 8(a) Baa-somi ba-a-andik-a sii-tabu
 2-student 2-pst-write-fv 7-book
 “Students wrote a book.”
- (b) Sii-tabu sy-a-andik-w-a ne baa-somi
 7-book 7-pst-write-pass-fv by 2-student
 “The book was written by students.”
- (c) Sii-tabu si-sy-andik-w-a ne baa-somi sy-a-tib-il-e
 7-book RM-7-write-pass-fv by 2-student 7-perf-loose-perf-fv
 “The book that was written by students is lost.”
- (d) *Baa-somi ni-b-o sii-tabu sy-a-andik-w-a ne ba-a-kalukh-e
 2-student pred-2-pron 7-book 7-pst-write-pass-fv by 2-perf-return-fv
 “Students by whom the book was written have returned.”

- (e) ?Baa-somi ni-b-o sii-tabu sy-a-andik-w-a na-bo ba-a-kalukh-e
 2-student pred-2-pron 7-book 7-pst-write-pass-fv by-2 2-perf-return-fv
 “Students by whom the book was written have returned.”

Thus the agent can be relativized, but only under the resumptive pronoun strategy
 (8e). Preposition stranding is ruled out (8d).

Up to this point, I have established that relativization (and clefting) of subjects in Lubukusu triggers wh-agreement. But several important questions remain. First, why does relativization (and clefting) of subjects trigger wh-agreement? Secondly, why doesn’t relativization (and clefting) of non-subjects trigger wh-agreement? And thirdly, is the unique behavior of subjects specific to Lubukusu or is it attested cross-linguistically?

The answer to the third question seems to be no. There is substantial cross linguistic evidence which shows that agreement patterns or other properties associated with overt extraction of subjects are different from those associated with extraction of non-subjects. For instance English exhibits that-trace effects when a wh-subject is moved from a that-clause (Rizzi 1982, 1992 among others). In Malagasy, a wh-in-situ language, wh-subjects (but not non-subjects), obligatorily undergo overt wh-movement (Sabel 2003). In Palauan, realis verbal morphology is associated with wh-subject movement. This contrasts with irrealis verbal morphology which is associated with movement of non-subject wh-phrases (Georgopoulos 1991). In Pulaar, relativization of the subject involves cliticization of a class marker to the verb, but relativization an object doesn’t (Guerzoni & Shinichiro 2001). And in the northern Italian dialect of Fiorentino in which subjects can either be pre-verbal or post-verbal, agreement verbal morphology varies depending on whether the subject is pre-verbal or post-verbal (Rizzi 1982, Brandi and Cordin 1989, Richards 2001). Interestingly, overt wh- movement of the wh-

subject in this dialect forces the use of agreement similar to verbal agreement when the subject is post verbal. The following data which Richards (2001:148) adapted from Brandi and Cordin (1989) illustrates the point.

9(a) La Maria l' è venuta

The Maria she is come-Fem

“Maria came”

(b) Gli è venuto la Maria

It is come the Maria

“Maria came”

10(a) Quante ragazze gli è venuto con te?

How-many girls it is come with you

“How many girls came with you?”

(b) *Quante ragazze le sono venute con te?

How-many girls 3.Pl.Fem are come.Fem.Pl. with you

“How many girls came with you?”

Thus when the subject is in the preverbal position it agrees with the verb (9a), but when it is in the post-verbal position, it doesn't (9b). In wh-questions the wh-subject occurs before the verb, and one would expect the verb to agree with the subject, but it doesn't (10). Instead the verb is behaving as if the wh-subject is in the post-verbal position. This has led researchers such as Rizzi (1982), Jaeggli (1984), Brandi and Cordin (1989), Campos (1997) to argue that in languages in which subjects can occur either pre-verbally or post-verbally, wh-extraction of the subject takes place only from the post-verbal position.

The phenomenon of the sort depicted in (10) where wh-extraction does not trigger subject-verb agreement is sometimes called the anti-agreement effect.

According to Richards (2001), the anti-agreement effect (=use of impoverished or absent subject agreement morphology when the subject is overtly extracted) is quite common cross-linguistically. It is attested in languages such as Berber, Chamorro, Halkomelen, Jacaltec, K’ichee’, Kinande, Palauan, Selayarese, Turkish, Yimas and Kikuyu (Richards 2001 pg. 149). Richards (2001:147) attributes the anti-agreement effect to the necessity of languages to avoid forming chains containing two overt movement instances associated with one strong feature. According to him, such chains are ruled out by the PF filter (PF must receive complete instructions about which element in the chain to pronounce. Only the copy associated with a strong feature is to be pronounced). Richards assumes that the feature which is responsible for movement of the subject from a VP internal position to a higher position can either be strong or weak. When it is strong, the subject moves to a higher position. A consequence of this movement is subject-verb agreement. But when the feature is weak, the subject does not raise. In such cases the subject does not agree with the verb.

Richards accounts for the anti-agreement effect (in languages where it exists) by assuming that a weak feature is associated with wh-extraction of subjects. In other words the feature responsible for movement of the subject to a higher position is weak. This ensures that the wh-subject does not raise to the position associated with subject agreement, hence the lack of subject-verb agreement. Instead, the wh-subject has to move from its original vP internal position straight to spec of C. Besides accounting for the anti-agreement effect associated with wh-extraction of subjects, this account ensures that the resulting chain does not violate the PF filter.

Richard’s analysis may work for the languages that he lists (that is, Berber, Chamorro, Halkomelen, Jacaltec, K’ichee’, Kinande, Palauan, Selayarese, Turkish, Yimas, Kikuyu and Italian), but it definitely cannot account for the Lubukusu facts. We have seen that wh-subjects in the RC (as well as in clefts) trigger wh- agreement.

The fact that the verb in these constructions has two agreement prefixes, one of which is wh-agreement and the other regular subject agreement, strongly suggests that Lubukusu does not exhibit anti-agreement. In Richard's impoverished agreement or lack of agreement (=anti-agreement), the verb either lacks subject agreement or it has impoverished agreement. This is clearly not true for Lubukusu.

Rather than accounting for the anti-agreement facts in the manner of Richards by appealing to a PF filter and making the assumption that a weak feature is associated with wh-extraction of subjects, I take anti-agreement facts as simply indicating the special status of subjects. Similarly, wh-agreement in Lubukusu indicates the special status of subjects. This is consistent with the claim that subjects in Bantu are grammaticalized topics (Bresnan & Mchombo 1987, Henderson 2005, Demuth & Harford 1999 and Letsholo 2002 among others). If this claim is true, then wh-agreement which is triggered by subject relativization (as well as subject wh-questioning and subject clefting) is a reflection of either one or both of the following facts: (i) that the subject has moved from a non-canonical subject position and (ii) that the subject has moved into the left periphery.

The idea that subjects in Bantu are grammaticalized topics is discussed at length in Bresnan & Mchombo (1987). They argue that the reason why subjects in Chichewa (and other Bantu languages) cannot be questioned in-situ is that subjects are grammaticalized topics. A function clash which would come about if subjects are questioned in-situ is avoided by moving the wh-subject to the left periphery. For Henderson (2005), full NP subjects in Bantu are not true subjects but are topics which are generated in Spec of Top in all constructions, including wh-constructions. For him pro is the true subject that is generated in Spec vP and is subsequently moved to Spec IP.

The claim that subjects in Bantu are grammaticalized topics is attractive but it doesn't quite explain the variation between Bantu languages that exhibit wh-

agreement and those that don't. Wh-agreement is attested in Lubukusu for instance, but not in languages such as Kiswahili.

11(a) Wekesa a-a-kul-a sii-tabu (Lubukusu)

1Wekesa 1-pst-buy-fv 7-book

“Wekesa bought a book.”

(b) Naanu o-wa-a-kul-a sii-tabu?

Who wh-1-pst-buy-fv 7-book

“Who bought the book?”

11'(a) Juma a-li-nunu-a ki-tabu (Kiswahili)

1Juma 1-pst-buy-fv 7-book

Juma bought a book

(b) Naani a-li-nunu-a ki-tabu?

Who 1-pst-buy-fv 7-book

“Who bought the book?”

The question is: what accounts for this difference? If subjects in all Bantu languages are topics, and if wh-agreement is associated with the topic status of subjects in Bantu, it is reasonable to expect all Bantu languages to exhibit wh-agreement. The fact that this expectation is not met suggests that the topic status of subjects is not sufficient to account for the presence or absence of wh-agreement.

Secondly, attributing wh-agreement to the topic status of subjects in Bantu does not explain why wh-agreement is attested in relative clauses (when the subject is relativized). According to Bresnan and Mchombo (1987), a function clash results when a subject is questioned in-situ. It is not clear that this function-clash argument can be extended to the relative clause. Relativized NPs are neither topicalized nor focused, so the issue of function clash need not arise.

In short the observation that subjects in Bantu are topics may be useful, but it doesn't quite account for wh-agreement in Lubukusu and similar Bantu languages. It seems then, that topic-hood is not the property that enables subjects in Lubukusu to have a special status.

I argue that the special status of subjects is associated with the structure of the complementizer system. It seems that the structure and feature composition of the complementizer system is different for subject relativization and non-subject relativization. The fact that relativization and clefting of subjects trigger wh-agreement, but relativization and clefting of non-subjects does not suggest that the relative and cleft constructions in Lubukusu have two different types of 'wh-complementizers': (i) the null complementizer which is associated with relativization and clefting of subjects, and (ii) the overt complex complementizer (*ni-agr-o* in Lubukusu) which is associated with relativization and clefting of non-subjects. The fact that the overt complementizer, that is, *ni-agr-O*, precedes wh-agreement in Lubukusu as illustrated in the following construction suggests that the former is generated higher in the left periphery than the latter.

12(a)	Ba-no	ni-b-o	ba-ba-ana	ba-ba-a-ch-a	khu-sooko
	2-dem	pred-2-pron	Pp-2-child	wh-2-pst-go-fv	to-market
"These are the children who went to the market."					

I propose that the null complementizer is generated in Fin. A similar proposal is suggested and argued for by Henderson (2005). According to him there are two sets of relative features: those that are generated in Force (see also Rizzi 1997) and those that are generated in Fin. The null complementizer in my proposal corresponds to Henderson's Fin relative features while my overt complementizer corresponds to his Force relative features. Later on in this chapter, I will argue that the higher relative

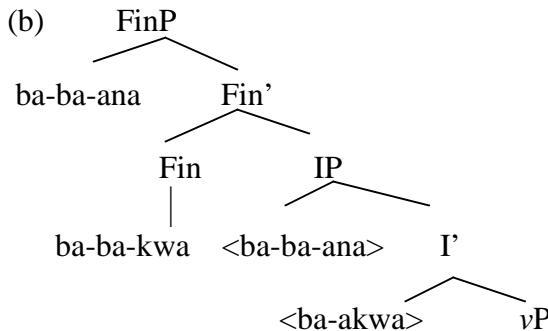
features (which are associated with the complex complementizer) are not generated in Force as proposed by Henderson (2005) and Rizzi (1997), but rather they are generated in Pred.

So, why should the form of the complementizer be important? It has been shown that in some languages of the world, the form of the complementizer is crucial to certain syntactic operations. In Scandinavian for instance, the subject trace in wh-constructions is obligatorily not preceded by the null complementizer (Svenonius 1998). My proposal for two distinct complementizers is therefore not out of the extraordinary. The overt complementizer is used in non-subject wh-constructions while the null complementizer is used in subject wh-constructions and is responsible for wh-agreement. As already pointed out, the null complementizer is generated in Fin. I assume that the null complementizer (the Fin head) has a strong subject-wh feature. This feature can only be checked by the subject. What this means is that Spec FinP in RCs that have a null complementizer (null Fin) is a strictly grammatical subject position. In the derivation of subject relativization, the null Fin-head enters into an agree relation with the grammatical subject. Subsequently, the subject moves into Spec FinP. This is illustrated in the following partial derivation.

13(a) ba-ba-ana ba-ba-a-kw-a

Pp-2-child wh-2-pst-fall-fv

“Children who fell”



Thus Fin enters into an agree relation with the subject *babaana*, which then moves to Spec FinP. The additional *ba-* is the morphological manifestation of the agree relation that is established between Fin and the subject. This agreement is what I have been calling wh-agreement. The fact that clefting of subjects triggers wh-agreement (just like subject relativization) suggests that these constructions also have a null complementizer (null Fin). The only difference is that the subject relativization construction lacks the higher overt complex complementizer while clefts have it (clefts have both the lower null complementizer and the higher complex complementizer. This may sound strange considering the fact that not many languages can have two complementizers in a single clause. Nonetheless, it is a possibility and it has actually been found at least in one language – Polish. In Polish, subordinate clauses have two complementizers (see Henderson 2005 and references cited therein).

My analysis which generates subject relative features in Fin and non-subject relative features in a higher head makes the following prediction: focus and topic should be possible in object relativization but not in subject relativization. In Rizzi's (1997) articulated left periphery, Force dominates both focus and topic, but the projection headed by Fin doesn't since it is the lowest in the left periphery. Therefore, focus and topic should be possible only with object relativization; it should not be possible with relativization of subjects. As shown in the following topicalization data, this prediction is borne out.

14(a) O-mw-aana o-w-a-a mw-aliimu sii-tabu ...

Pp-1-child wh-1-pst-give 1-teacher 7-book

“The child who gave the teacher a book...”

(b) *O-mw-aana mwa-alimu o-w-a-mu-a sii-tabu ...

Pp-1-child 1-teacher wh-1-pst-1-give 7-book

“The child the teacher who gave him/her a book...”

(c) *O-mw-aana sii-tabu o-w-a-si-a mw-aalimu ...

Pp-1-child 7-book wh-1-pst-7-give 1-teacher

“The child the book who gave him/her ...”

15(a) Mw-aalimu ni-y-e Wekesa a-a-a sii-tabu ...

1-teacher pred-1-pron 1Wekesa 1-pst-give 7-book

“The teacher that Wekesa gave a book...”

(b) ?Mw-aalimu ni-y-e sii-tabu Wekesa a-a-mu-a ...

1-teacher pred-1-pron 7-book 1Wekesa 1-pst-1-give

“The teacher who the book Wekesa gave him ...”

Since the topic projection is absent in subject relativization constructions, no topicalization may take place (14 (b) & (c)). In contrast, although topicalization in object relativization is not perfect, it is much better because the topic projection is available.

2.5 Wh-agreement and subject-verb inversion in other Bantu languages

In this section, I will show that Lubukusu differs in certain respects from other Bantu languages with regards wh-agreement (RM) and subject verb inversion. In Demuth & Harford (1999) and Kula (2004) among others, it is argued that in Bantu, subject-verb inversion is correlated with the form of the relative complementizer. When the relative complementizer is a bound affix (=REL), subject-verb inversion must take place in order to provide REL with a host on which to attach. But when the relative complementizer is an independent word, subject-verb inversion does not take place because the relative complementizer is independent and does not need to attach to

anything. This can be argued to be true for Lubukusu as well: subject-verb inversion is not attested because Lubukusu uses the complex complementizer strategy in the relativization of non-subjects (see data and discussion in sections 2.6 – 2.9). The claim that subject – verb inversion is correlated with RM is also supported by data from the Bantu languages that I examined. In almost all these languages, subject-verb inversion takes place only when the relative marker is a bound affix⁴ (although see Kula (2004) and Carstens (2005) for counterexamples). But for reasons having less to do with these counterexamples, I argue that subject-verb inversion is not motivated by the need for REL to have a host to attach to. I will also show that subject-verb inversion is derived not by head movement as is standardly assumed in the literature, but by XP movement.

Let us begin by examining languages that are similar to Lubukusu in terms of wh-agreement (RM). These languages include Luganda, Runyoro, Haya and Nkore-Kiga. Like Lubukusu, wh-agreement in these languages is limited to subject relativization. Relativization of non-subjects does not trigger wh-agreement.

Consider the following data.

⁴ In languages such as Makua, subject-verb inversion is attested even though the relative clause lacks an overt RM. But as shown in the following data, Kinyarwanda, which also lacks an overt RM (but uses tone to mark relativization), does not exhibit subject-verb inversion (Kimenyi 1980, 2002).

(i) Kinyarwanda (Kimenyi 1980)

N-a-boon-ye igitabo umhuúngu y-a-haá-ye umukobwa
I-pst-see-asp book boy he-pst-rel-give-asp girl
'I saw the book that the boy gave to the girl'

(ii) Makua (Stucky 1985)

niváká {naa}-han-ílé Hín-Sepéte – (nné)
{aa}

spear Sa/t/a-forge-t/a Sepete – (dem)
'The spear that Sepete forged'

Agreement on the verb of the relative clause in Makua may either be with the subject or head (relativized) noun. Notice also that Makua does not use tone or any other morpho-phonological element to mark relativization. A comment about relativization in Kinyarwanda and Makua is in order: Makua behaves like languages that use the RM strategy while Kinyarwanda behaves like languages that use the complex complementizer strategy. This may suggest that the relative clause has a covert RM in Makua but a covert complex complementizer in Kinyarwanda.

16 (a) Lubukusu

Ba-ba-ana ba-ba-a-ch-a khu-sooko ba-a-kobol-a
Pp-2-child RM-2-pst-go-fv to-market 2-pst-return-fv

“Children who went to the market returned.”

(b) Luganda (Ashton E.O, et al 1954)

E-ki-kopo e-ki-gudde kya-tise
Pp-7-cup wh-7-fall 7-break

“The cup which fell down is broken.”

(c) Haya (Duranti 1977)

a-bá-án’ á-ba-a-gend’ ómu-kyaaloo
Pp-2-child REL-2-P₁-go to-village

“the children who have gone to the village.”

(d) Runyoro

O-mw-ana a-ku-serr-a o-mu-ntu a-ya-guz-ir-e e-ki-tabo
Pp-1-child 1-prs-search-fv Pp-1-person REL-1-buy-asp-fv Pp-7-book

“The child is looking for the person who bought the book”

(e) Nkore-Kiga (Taylor 1985)

imwe aba-tuura aha mu-raire buhooro?
you who-live here you-sleep well

“You who live here, how are you?” (lit. ‘did you spend the night well?’)

The similarities between these languages and Lubukusu are striking. In each of these languages, the verb of the relative clause appears with 2 prefixes that are apparently identical to the pre-prefix and prefix of the relativized nouns. In Lubukusu the nominal prefixes *ba-ba* are identical to the verbal prefixes *ba-ba* (16a); in Luganda the nominal prefixes *e-ki* are identical to the verbal prefixes *e-ki* (16b) and in Haya nominal prefixes *a-bá* are identical to the verbal prefixes *a-bá* (16c). This raises the

possibility that the process of subject relativization is trying to make the verb of the relative clause as nominal as possible. However, nominal prefixes and the verbal prefixes are not always identical in Lubukusu (and perhaps other languages as well although I don't have data to verify this). As shown in the following table, subject relativization only reduplicates the pre-prefix; it never copies the prefix. This suggests that what we are dealing with here is agreement, not a noun formation process.

Table 4: Parallelism between nominal prefixes and RC-verb prefixes in Lubukusu

<u>Class</u>	<u>Noun (Pp-Prf-nominal stem)</u>	<u>RC verb wh-SA</u>
1	o-muu-ndu 'person'	o-w-akwa 'who fell'
2	ba-baa-ndu 'people'	ba-ba-akwa 'who fell'
3	ku-mu-saala 'tree'	ku-kw-akwa 'which fell'
4	ki-mi-saala 'trees'	ki-ky-akwa 'which fell'
5	li-li-no 'tooth'	li-ly-akwa 'which fell'
6	ka-ma-kaanda 'beans'	ka-ka-akwa 'which fell'
7	si-sii-ndu 'thing'	si-sy-akwa 'which fell'
8	bi-bii-ndu 'things'	bi-by-akwa 'which fell'
9	e-m-busi 'goat'	e-y-akwa 'which fell'
10	chii-mbusi 'goats'	chi-cha-akwa 'which fell'
11	lu-luu-chi 'river'	lu-lw-eechula 'which flooded'
12	kha-kha-ana 'child dimunitive'	kha-kha-akwa 'who fell'
14	bu-bu-ukhi 'honey'	bu-bw-achichukha 'which spilled'
15	khu-khuu-pa 'hitting'	khu-khw-aumisya 'which hurt'
16	a-musaala 'by the tree'	a-a-amalia 'which darkened'
16a	sya-musaala 'towards the tree'	e-y-amalia 'which darkened'
17	khu-musaala 'on the tree'	khu-u-malia 'which darkens'
18	mu-mu-saala 'inside the tree'	mu-mw-amalia 'which darkened'

To account for wh-agreement in Lubukusu, I argued that the subject enters into 2 agree relations: first with I and then with Fin. When the first agree relation is established, the subject moves to Spec of I and when the second agree relation is established, the subject moves to Spec of Fin. This analysis can be extended to Luganda, Haya, Runyoro and Nkore-Kiga without any modification. It certainly can also be applied to Dzamba although relativization in this language differs in certain respects from Lubukusu, Luganda, Haya, Runyoro and Nkore-Kiga. Consider the following data from Dzamba.

17. Dzamba (Bokamba 1976)

i-zi-bata í-zi-eza-áki oPoso ba-butu loome zi-kimí
the-duck RM-Ag-give-pst Poso the-guests today it-fled

“The duck that Poso gave the guests today ran away”

As shown in the Dzamba data (17), the affixes prefixed to the verb in the relative clause are identical to the prefixes of the relativized noun. In this sense, Dzamba exhibits wh-agreement just like Lubukusu. But relativization in the two languages is not identical. For one wh-agreement in Dzamba is more widespread: relativization of subjects as well as non-subjects always gives rise to wh-agreement. This contrasts with Lubukusu where only subject relativization gives rise to wh-agreement. Secondly, Dzamba but not Lubukusu exhibits subject-verb inversion. The question that we are faced with is this: how can the analysis that we used to account for Lubukusu wh-agreement be extended to Dzamba? It seems that Dzamba treats non-subjects as if they were subjects. It is as if being subject is a prerequisite for relativization in this language. This suggests that objects first transform into subjects before being relativized. A similar position is taken by Bokamba (1976) who argues that relativization in Dzamba is a grammatical function changing process. Under my

proposal, relativization of objects and other non-subjects in Dzamba proceeds the same way as subjects. To relativize an object or any other non-subject in Dzamba, the subject remains in-situ (in Spec of *v*) just as proposed by Henderson (2005). In contrast, the object (or other non-subject) moves up higher the tree. First it moves to Spec of Infl and then from there it raises to Spec of Fin. It might be argued that raising the object and other non-subjects over the subject violates the minimal link condition, but it does seem that in Dzamba (and in several other Bantu languages), at the time NPs are selected from the lexicon, they are specified as having a + or – relative feature. This being so, the minimal link condition is not violated especially if we assume that only the object (in the case of object relativization) bears the +relative feature. Therefore only the object can move (=relativize) in such cases; the subject cannot raise because it doesn't have the +relative feature. An alternative to this analysis is to say that movement of a non-subject DP to Spec IP over the subject is not the first step. Since Dzamba is a subject-object reversal language (Bokamba (1976), Kinalolo (1991)), it is reasonable to assume that the object (=non-subject) first moves to a position higher than the canonical subject position for independent reasons (see for instance Ndayiragije 1999 for a focus-based account subject-object reversal). When relativization eventually takes place, and the object moves from its derived position to Spec IP, the minimal link condition is not violated. This analysis is promising, but I haven't worked all the relevant details paying attention to issues pertinent to subject-object reversal. I leave this for future work.

Let us now turn to Bantu languages in which RM is not identical to the nominal pre-prefix (or pre-prefix ~ prefix structure). This group includes but is not limited to Chishona, Kiswahili, Chichewa, Xhosa, Swati and Zulu. Note that this group of languages is not exactly homogenous. For instance, while Chishona uses RM exclusively for relativization, Kiswahili and Chichewa use RM as well the complex complementizer strategy. In addition, languages in this group show different

agreement patterns, and they also differ in terms of whether they attach RM as prefix or suffix. Because of such differences, it is necessary to examine the languages separately or in subgroups. Let us first look at Chishona.

18. Chishona (Demuth and Harford 1999)

mbatya dza-v-aka-son-era vakadzi mwenga

clothes RM-3P-T-sew-APL women bride

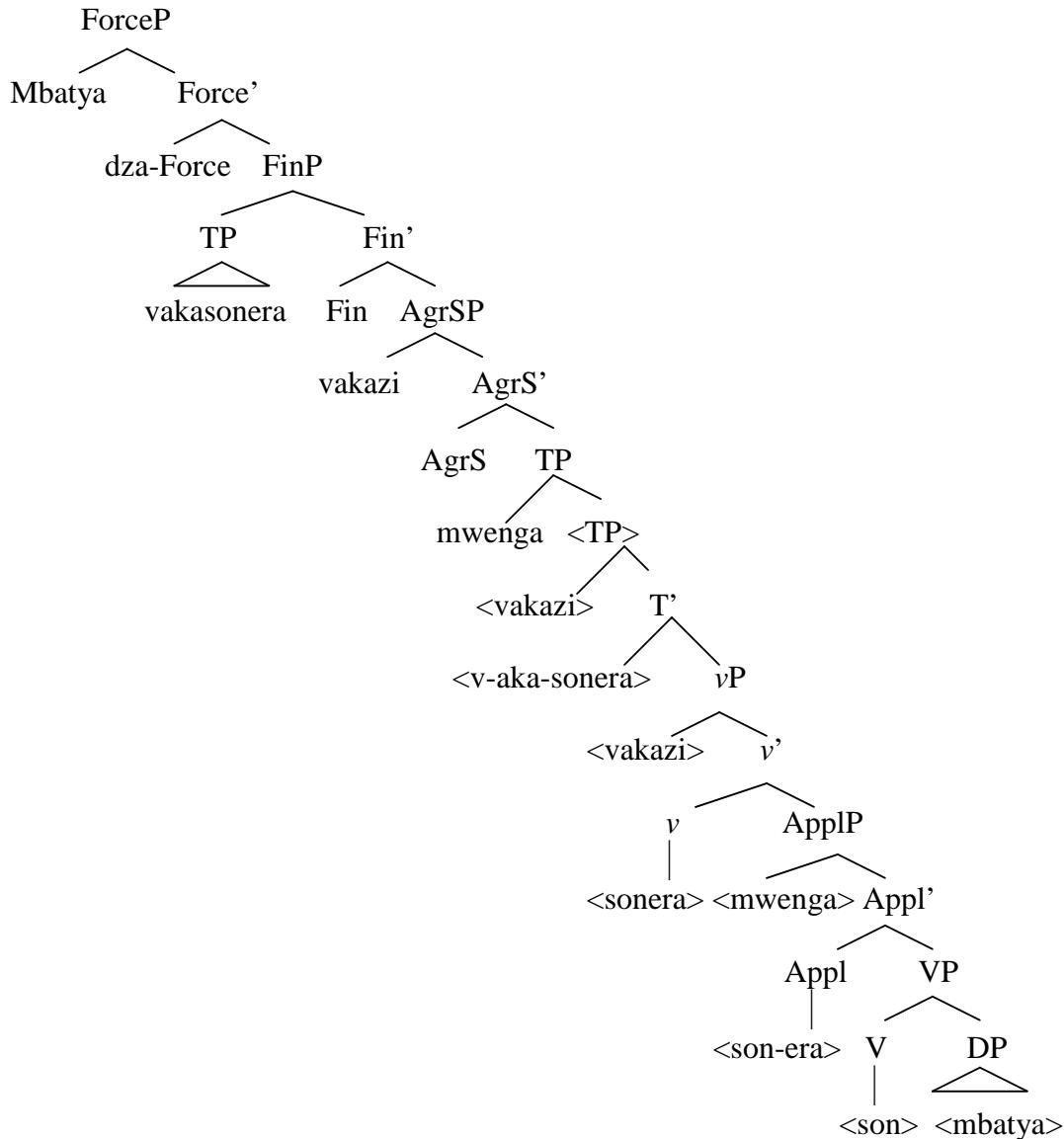
“Clothes which the women sewed for the bride”

As shown in (18) the verb in the Chishona relative clause has two agreement prefixes: an RM prefix that agrees with the relativized noun and a subject marker (=subject agreement). Notice also that the subject and verb are inverted in the Chishona relative clause. The presence of subject agreement indicates that the subject has moved at least as high as Spec of I/T. This is different from Dzamba where the subject remains in-situ. Clearly, we cannot derive Chishona subject-verb inversion the same way we derived Dzamba subject-verb inversion. To derive subject-verb inversion in Chishona, I propose that the verb complex (which I consider to be phrasal) moves to Spec of Fin to check the wh-feature of Fin. That movement of the verb complex to the left periphery is phrasal rather than head movement is supported by evidence from Kiswahili compound tense constructions which will be discussed later in this section.

The agreement prefixes which the Chishona relative verb bears reflect two agree relations: (i) between T/I and the subject and (ii) between Force (or another higher head) and the relativized object. When the first agree relation is established, the subject moves to Spec of T; when the second agree relation is established, the relativized object moves to Spec of Force. This is illustrated in the following partial derivation of the Chishona relative clause.

19. mbatya dza-v-aka-son-era vakadzi mwenga
 clothes RM-3P-T-sew-APL women bride

“Clothes which the women sewed for the bride”



As shown in this tree diagram, subject verb inversion is derived by moving the TP to Spec FinP. Notice that this movement is remnant movement: before the TP moves to Spec FinP, the DP mwenga (=bride), which is the Specifier of ApplP moves to an

joined TP position leaving behind a TP remnant. Eventually this remnant TP moves to Spec FinP to derive correct inverted word order.

Next let us consider relativization in Xhosa, Swati and Zulu. Although these languages also use the REL affix strategy, they differ from Chishona and all the other languages that we have examined so far. One of the salient properties of relativization in these languages is the double marking of REL on the verb. One REL is a prefix and the other is a suffix. This is illustrated in the following data.

20 (a) Xhosa (Zeller 2002)

indoda	amakhwenkwe	a-yi-bon-ile-yo
9man	6boy	6REL-9OM-see-PERF-REL
“The man whom the boys saw”		

(b) Swati (Kula 2004)

umfati	tintfombi	la.iti – m – elekelela – ko
1woman	10girl	10REL – 1OM – help – REL
“The woman whom the girls help”		

(c) Zulu (Zeller 2002)

incwadi	isitshudeni	a – isi – yi – fund – a – yo
9letter	7student	REL – 7SM – 9OM – read-FV-REL
“The letter that the student is reading”		

Other properties of relativization in these languages include the following: (i) the verb of the relative clause has an invariant relative prefix which is followed by subject agreement, (ii) the relative prefix does not bear agreement features of the relativized noun (as it does in other Bantu languages), (iii) the object prefix seems to be obligatory, and (iv) lack of subject-verb inversion.

Property (iv), i.e., absence of subject-verb inversion is surprising. We expect subject-verb inversion to take place in these languages since REL is an affix. The claim of the widely held theory of subject-verb inversion in Bantu is that when REL is an affix, the verb has to move to C (past the subject) in order to serve as host to the dependent REL. This claim is not supported by the Xhosa, Swati and Zulu data in (86) because in these languages the subject precedes the verb in the relative clause. However, this does not unequivocally show that the verb has not moved to C. On the contrary, I argue that the verb complex (TP) moves to C in the Xhosa, Swati and Zulu relative clauses. That the verb complex (TP) moves to the left periphery in Zulu (and perhaps in Xhosa and Swati) is supported by the existence of relative clauses in which the verb precedes the subject. This is illustrated in the following data.

21(a) Incwadi [esi-yi-funda-yo isitshudeni] in-de (Zulu: Zeller, ud)

letter9 RC7-OC9-read-RS student7 SP9-long

“The letter that the student is reading is long”

(b) Ingane [ezi-dlala na-yo izintombi] i-ya-hleka

child 9 RC10-play with-PC9 girl10 SP9-foc-laugh

“The baby with whom the girls play is laughing”

According to Zeller (undated), extraposition of the subject in Zulu (21) is not obligatory, but it is the preferred option for some speakers. It is likely that Swati and Xhosa also allow for optional subject-verb inversion.

Another property of relativization in Xhosa, Swati and Zulu that needs to be discussed is the verb final relative suffix. Henderson (2005) and Kula (2004) gloss it as REL while Zeller (undated) glosses it as RS. Unfortunately these researchers stop at glossing it; they do not discuss it at all. It is therefore unclear from their work what

its function is. I speculate that this REL suffix has a similar function to the Kiswahili and Chichewa REL suffix illustrated in the following data.

22. (a) Kiswahili

(a) Ki-tabu a-ki-som-a-ch-o mw-alimu ki-me-pote-a
7-book 1-7OM-read-fv-7-REL 1-teacher 7-asp-loose-fv

“The book that the teacher reads is lost”

(b) Chichewa (Mchombo 2004)

Mbuzí mú-kú-zí-fun-ă-z-o zi-li pa chulu
10-goats 2ndpl-pres-10OM-want-fv-10SM-rel 10SM-be 16-loc 7-anthill

“The goats that you want are on the anthill”

Notice that Zulu, Xhosa and Swati contrast with Kiswahili and Chichewa in a number of ways: (i) Kiswahili and Chichewa have only one REL affix in the RC - the verb-final REL; and (ii) verb final REL in Kiswahili and Chichewa agree with the relativized noun.

The fact that REL can appear only once (as a verbal suffix) - see Kiswahili and Chichewa data - strongly suggests that it is this verb final REL that bears the primary relative function in this type of relative clause: it marks the verb as relative. I will assume that this is correct not only for Kiswahili and Chichewa, but also for Zulu, Xhosa and Swati which have a REL prefix in addition to the REL suffix. In other words, I will assume that in these languages the primary affix that marks the verb as relative is the verb final REL. For reasons to be discussed below (on the basis of data from Kiswahili), I assume that this verb-final REL is generated internal to the IP as head of a function projection - RelP - located between IP and vP.

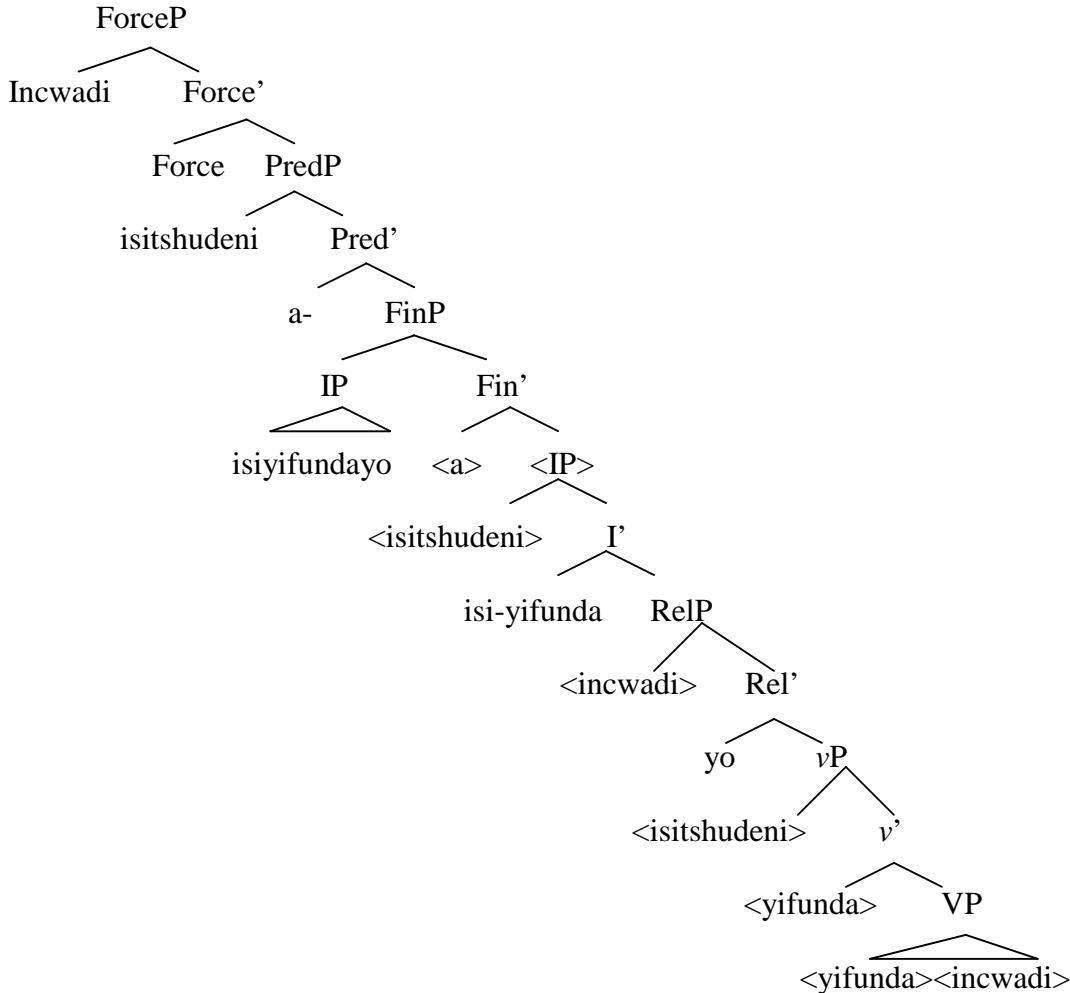
Given these assumptions, how does our theory of relativization (which generates relative features in Fin and in a higher head, namely Pron) account for the

agreement patterns that we see in the data – (20a-c and 21)? In particular, how do we account for the fact that both verb initial RM and verb-final RM in Xhosa, Swati and Zulu do not agree with the relativized noun? A more basic question is whether both verb-initial RM and verb-final RM are expected to agree with the relativized noun. It seems that these two, that is verb-initial RM and verb-final RM, are different from each other particularly in terms of their relation to the relativized noun. Verb-initial RM in Xhosa, Swati and Zulu seem to be a Fin head, and there is no reason to expect it to agree with the relativized noun particularly if the latter is an object. In contrast, we expect verb-final RM in these languages to agree with the relativized noun considering the fact that verb-final RM is the main RM affix marking the verb as relative. We should therefore expect verb-final RM in these languages to agree with the relativized noun just like in Kiswahili and Chichewa (see data in 22). But as shown in 20a-c and 21, this expectation is not met. It is not clear at this point why verb-final RM in these languages - Xhosa, Swati and Zulu - does not agree with the relativized noun. The following tree diagram illustrates the derivation of a Zulu RC (although it doesn't account for the absence of agreement between Rel and the relativized DP).

23. incwadi isitshudeni a-isi-yi-fund-a-yo

9letter 7student REL-7SM-9OM-read-fv-REL

“The letter that the student is reading”



As shown in this phrase marker, the relativized NP *incwadi* originates in the VP and moves all the way to Spec of Force through Spec of Rel. The subject NP *isitshudeni* which is generated in Spec of *v* moves to Spec of Pred through Spec IP (as evidenced by the subject agreement prefix). Since the verb (together with the Rel head *yo*) has a relative feature, it has to move to Spec of Fin to check its feature. Notice also that the Fin head *a-* has to move to Pred presumably to provide Pred with a morphological

host. To derive Zulu relative clauses that involve subject verb inversion such as (21), I assume that the final landing site for the subject is Spec of AgrS.

Kiswahili and Chichewa facts can be accounted for in a similar way. As shown in the following data, these languages also use the REL strategy of relativization⁵ and have the verb-final REL just like the Zulu-type languages.

24. (a) Kiswahili

(i) Ki-tabu a-li-cho-nunu-a mw-alimu ki-me-pote-a
7-book 1-pst-REL-buy-fv 1-teacher 7-asp-loose-fv

“The book that the teacher bought is lost”

(ii) Ki-tabu a-ki-som-a-ch-o mw-alimu ki-me-pote-a
7-book 1-7OM-read-fv-7-REL 1-teacher 7-asp-loose-fv

“The book that the teacher reads is lost”

(b) Chichewa (Mchombo 2004)

Mbuzí múa-kú-zí-fun-á-z-o zi-li pa chulu
10-goats 2ndpl-pres-10OM-want-fv-10SM-rel 10SM-be 16-loc 7-anthill

The goats that you want are on the anthill

As shown in these data, the verb final REL bears object agreement. The data also shows that Kiswahili has two positions for the REL-affix: (i) after tense prefix but before the verb root (24a(i)) and (ii) at the end of the verb complex (24a(ii)). Scholars such as Ngonyani (1999), Buell (2002) and Henderson (2005) among others who have attempted to provide an account of the REL strategy of relativization depicted in (24a (i)) have regrettably not been very successful. Part of the problem is

⁵ The REL strategy of relativization in Kiswahili is not compatible with all tense and aspectual forms. For instance it is not compatible with the perfect. For a complete discussion of conditions under which the REL strategy can or cannot be used see Keach (1985) and Ngonyani (1999)

the generally held assumption that the REL in 24a (i) and (ii) is generated in C. I argue that this assumption is flawed. Just because REL is attached to the verb doesn't necessarily mean it is generated in C. Subject-verb inversion which is usually attributed to the need for the REL particle in C to have a host need not be interpreted as such. Instead of generating the Kiswahili REL (24a (i) & (ii)) in C, I argue that it is generated internal to IP as a Rel (=relative) head just like in the Zulu-type languages. This is not unreasonable especially considering the fact that Kiswahili has C-related verbal affixes that cannot be claimed to be generated in C. As shown in the following sentences, either subject-verb inversion is optional or it is unavailable, so it is unlikely that these C-relevant affixes are always generated in C.

25(a) Fanya kama mwa-limu a-na-vyo-tak-a

do as 1-teacher 1-pres-rel-like-fv

“Do as the teacher wants”

(b) Fanya kama a-na-vyo-tak-a mwa-limu

do as 1-pres-rel-like-fv 1-teacher

“Do as the teacher wants”

26(a) Juma a-li-po-ondok-a ...

1Juma 1-pst-rel-leave-fv

“When Juma left ...”

(b) A-li-po-ondok-a Juma ...

1-pst-rel-leave 1Juma

“When Juma left ...”

27(a) Juma a-ondok-a-po ...

1Juma 1-leave-fv-rel

“Whenever Juma leaves ...”

(b) A-ondok-a-po Juma ...

1-leave-fv-rel 1Juma

“Whenever Juma leaves ...”

28(a) Juma a-ki-pit-a m-tihani,

1Juma 1-cond-pass-fv 3-exam

“If Juma passes the exam, ...”

(b) *A-ki-pit-a Juma m-tihani, ...

1-cond-pass-fv 1Juma 3-exam

Thus it does not seem that REL or other affixes associated with C (for instance the conditional prefix) are always generated in C. Moreover, it is not entirely true that subject-verb inversion takes place in order to provide the REL affix with a host. As shown in the following data on the Kiswahili compound tense (CT), it does seem that subject-verb inversion takes place for reasons having nothing to do with providing REL with a morphological host.

29(a) Ki-tabu a-li-cho-kuwa a-na-som-a Juma

7-book 1-pst-rel-be 1-pres-read-fv 1Juma

“The book that Juma was reading”

(b) *Ki-tabu a-li-cho-kuwa Juma a-na-som-a

7-book 1-pst-rel-be 1Juma 1-pres-read-fv

“The book that Juma was reading”

If it were true that subject-verb inversion takes place in order to provide a host for the REL affix, (29b) should be grammatical because the auxiliary, which has been moved to C should be sufficient as a host to REL. But it is not. This suggests that verb movement to C is not motivated by the affixal nature of REL. It also suggests

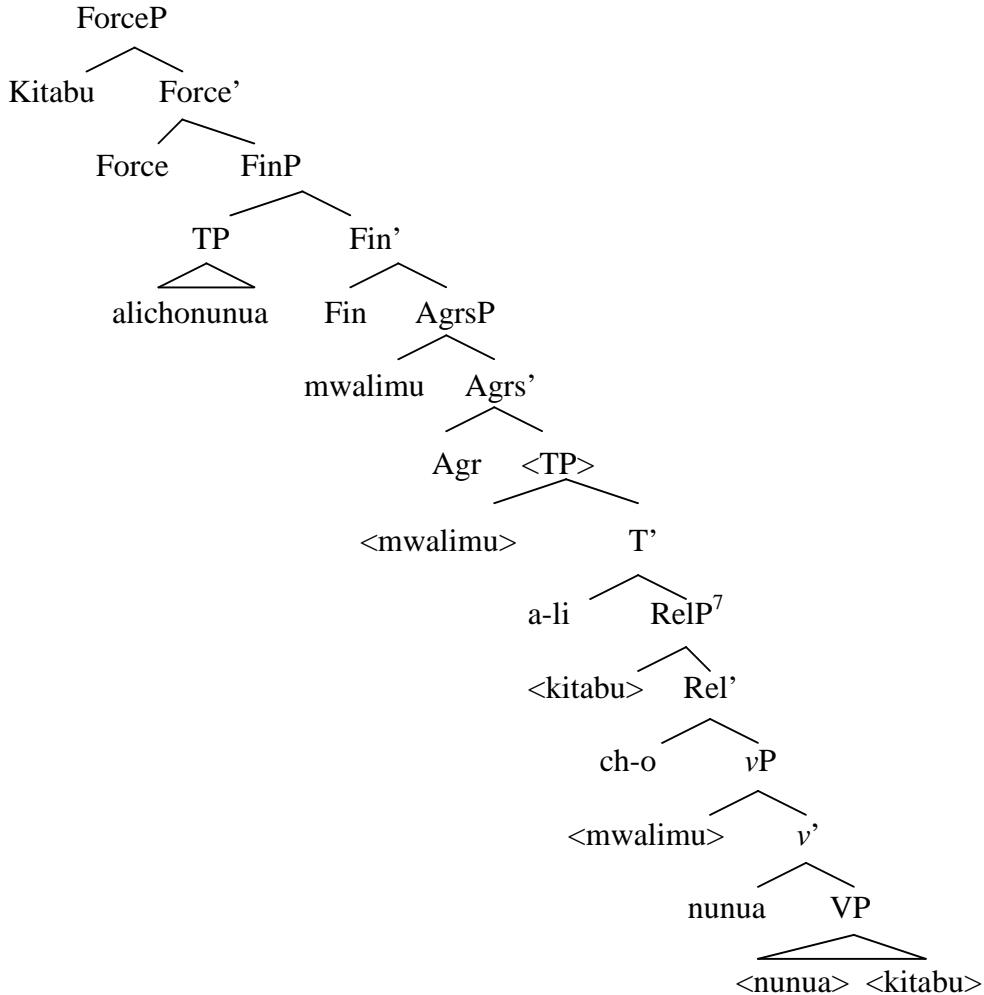
that what we are seeing is not verb movement but movement of a constituent that is larger than a verb. Therefore to account for the position of REL and subject-verb inversion in the Kiswahili and Chichewa data in 24a&b, I propose that REL is attached to the verb before the verb or TP/IP moves to the left periphery. Specifically, REL is generated as a Rel head between IP and vP just like in the Zulu-type languages. In the case of 24a (i), where REL occurs between tense and the verb root⁶, REL attaches to an auxiliary which is generated right above the REL-headed RelP. In this case, the main verb does not move to the Rel. But in the case of 24a (ii) and also the Chichewa example (24b) where REL occurs in the verb final position, REL attaches to the verb when the latter moves to Rel. To derive subject-verb inversion that we see in 24a (i) & (ii) and 24(b), the TP remnant moves to Spec of Fin. This movement operation is motivated by a wh-feature on Fin. The derivation of a Kiswahili relative clause is illustrated in the following tree.

⁶ For a discussion of why the position between tense and the verb root in Kiswahili should be considered a final position of sorts, see Keach 1985, Ngonyani 1999 and Buell 2002 among others.

30. Ki-tabu a-li-cho-nunu-a mw-alimu

7-book 1-pst-REL-buy-fv 1-teacher

“The book that the teacher bought”



To summarize, we have seen that Bantu languages that use the REL (the affixal non-complementizer) relativization strategy are not identical. In languages such as Chishona, REL is an agreement prefix in the left periphery; it is a reflection of agreement between Fin and the relativized noun. But in languages such Zulu, Xhosa, Swati as well as Kiswahili and Chichewa, REL is an IP internal agreement prefix. In

⁷ It is possible that RelP is the left periphery of vP just like Jayaseelan (2001) has TopP and FocP dominating vP.

these languages, REL is a reflection of agreement between Rel and the relativized noun. Finally, I argued that subject-verb inversion in Bantu is derived not by verb to C movement but by TP movement to Spec FinP.

2.6 Relativization of direct objects in Lubukusu

Relativization of non-subject NPs (including direct objects) does not trigger wh-agreement like relativization of subjects. Moreover, unlike subject relativization, RCs in which a non-subject is relativized are obligatorily introduced by the complex complementizer (the ni-agr-o word). This is shown in the following data.

- 31(a) Ku-mu-saala ni-kw-o papa a-a-byaal-a kwa-a-cho-il-e
 Pp-3-tree pred-3-pron 1father 1-pst-plant-fv 3-pst-grow-perf-fv
 “The tree which father planted has grown”
- (b) *Ku-mu-saala papa a-a-byaal-a kwa-a-cho-il-e
 Pp-3-tree 1father 1-pst-plant-fv 3-pst-grow-perf-fv
 “The tree which father planted has grown”
- (c) *Ku-mu-saala ni-kw-o papa kw-a-a-byaal-a kwa-a-cho-il-e
 Pp-3-tree pred-3-pron 1father RM-1-pst-plant-fv 3-pst-grow-perf-fv
 “The tree which father planted has grown”
- (d) *Ku-mu-saala papa kw-a-a-byaal-a kwa-a-cho-il-e
 Pp-3-tree 1father RM-1-pst-plant-fv 3-pst-grow-perf-fv
 “The tree which father planted has grown”
- (e) *Ku-mu-saala kw-a-a-byaal-a papa kwa-a-cho-il-e
 Pp-3-tree RM-1-pst-plant-fv 1father 3-pst-grow-perf-fv
 “The tree which father planted has grown”

(f) *Ku-mu-saala ni-kw-o a-a-byaal-a papa kwa-a-cho-il-e
Pp-3-tree pred-3-pron 1-pst-plant-fv 1father 3-pst-grow-perf-fv

“The tree which father planted has grown”

(g) *Ku-mu-saala a-a-byaal-a papa kwa-a-cho-il-e
Pp-3-tree 1-pst-plant-fv 1father 3-pst-grow-perf-fv

“The tree which father planted has grown”

(h) *Ku-mu-saala ni-kw-o papa a-a-ku-byaal-a kwa-a-cho-il-e
Pp-3-tree pred-3-pron 1father 1-pst-O3-plant-fv 3-pst-grow-perf-fv

“The tree which father planted has grown”

(31a) shows that the relativization of the direct object requires the complex complementizer at the head of the relative clause. Notice that the complex complementizer agrees with the relativized noun while the subject agrees with the verb. The complex complementizer is obligatory in direct object relativization. Thus (31b) which lacks the complex complementizer is ungrammatical. (31c&d) show that wh-agreement is incompatible with relativization of the direct object. (31e-g) shows that subject-verb inversion in the relative clause, with or without wh-agreement, is unacceptable in Lubukusu. Lastly, (31h) shows that the object prefix (OM) is incompatible with direct object relativization. This lends support to Bresnan and Mchombo’s (1987) conclusion that the object prefix in Bantu is an incorporated pronoun. As an incorporated pronoun, OM in Lubukusu cannot co-occur with the full NP that it refers to. In other words, OM and the full NP that it refers to are in complementary distribution in Lubukusu: whenever OM is used, the full NP must be absent; and whenever a full NP is used in a sentence, OM must be omitted. Notice that the incompatibility of OMs with their corresponding full NPs is not limited to the relative clause. In any simple sentence with a transitive verb, the two cannot co-occur. This is illustrated in the following sentences.

32(a) Wekesa a-a-som-a sii-tabu

1Wekesa 1-pst-read-fv 7-book

“Wekesa read a book”

(b) Wekesa a-a-si-som-a

1Wekesa 1-pst-7-read-fv

“Wekesa read it”

(c) *Wekesa a-a-si-som-a sii-tabu

1Wekesa 1-pst-7-read-fv 7-book

“Wekesa read it, a book”

But in other Bantu languages such as Kiswahili, the OM and the full NP that it refers to are not incompatible. Even in relative clauses, OM is not ruled out. Thus a relative construction such as the following is grammatical in Kiswahili.

33. Ki-tabu a-li-cho-ki-som-a Juma ki-me-pote-a

7-book 1-pst-REL-7-read-fv 1Juma 7-perf-lose-fv

“The book that Juma read is lost”

As argued by Bresnan and Mchombo (1987), full NPs that co-occur with OM are not complements of the verb, they are adjuncts which can have a topic function.

Turning back to relativization in Lubukusu, we should point out that the 3 facts which we observed in the relativization of direct objects, that is, the obligatory presence of the complex complementizer which agrees with the relative head, the incompatibility of RM with object relativization and the incompatibility of OM with direct object relativization – also hold for relativization of indirect objects.

2.7 Relativization of indirect objects

Lubukusu allows relativization of indirect and direct objects in constructions involving ditransitive verbs (34) and in applicative constructions (35). As shown in (34) and (35), indirect object relativization requires the complex complementizer at the head of the relative clause. The data also show that wh-agreement and OM are incompatible with indirect object relativization.

- 34(a) Chi-khaafu ni-ch-o kuuka a-a-elesy-a baa-sooreri chi-li e-luuchi
10-cow pred-10-pron 1grandfather 1-pst-give-fv 2-boy 10-be at-river
“The cows which grandfather gave the boys are at the river”
- (b) Baa-sooreri ni-b-o kuuka a-a-elesy-a chi-khaafu ba-li e-luuchi
2-boy pred-2-pron 1grandfather 1-pst-give-fv 10-cow 2-be at-river
“The boys who grandfather gave the cows are at the river”
- (c) *Baa-sooreri ni-b-o a-a-elesy-a kuuka chi-khaafu ba-li e-luuchi
2-boy pred-2-pron 1-pst-give-fv 1grandfather10-cow 2-be at-river
“The boys who grandfather gave the cows are at the river”
- (d) *Baa-sooreri ni-b-o kuuka o-wa-a-elesy-a chi-khaafu ba-li e-luuchi
2-boy pred-2-pron 1grandfather RM-1-pst-give-fv 10-cow 2-be at-river
“The boys who grandfather gave the cows are at the river”
- (e) *Baa-sooreri kuuka a-a-elesy-a chi-khaafu ba-li e-luuchi
2-boy 1grandfather 1-pst-give-fv 10-cow 2-be at-river
“The boys who grandfather gave the cows are at the river”
- (f) ??Baa-sooreri ni-b-o kuuka a-a-ba-elesy-a chi-khaafu ba-li e-luuchi
2-boy pred-2-pron 1grandfather 1-pst-2-give-fv 10-cow 2-be at-river
“The boys who grandfather gave them the cows are at the river”

- 35(a) Bi-by-uuma ni-by-o baa-sooreri ba-a-kul-il-a o-mu-khaana bi-li mu-nju
 Pp-8-bead pred-8-pron 2-boy 2-pst-buy-appl-fv Pp-1-girl 8-be in-house
 “The beads which boys bought for the girl are in the house”
- (b) O-mu-khaana ni-y-e baa-sooreri ba-a-kul-il-a bi-by-uuma a-a-kon-il-e
 Pp-2-girl pred-1-pron 2-boy 2-pst-buy-appl-fv Pp-8-bead 1-pst-sleep-perf-fv
 “The girl who the boys bought beads is asleep”
- (c) *O-mu-khaana ni-y-e ba-a-kul-il-a baa-sooreri bi-by-uuma a-a-kon-il-e
 Pp-2-girl pred-1-pron 2-pst-buy-appl-fv 2-boy Pp-8-bead 1-pst-sleep-perf-fv
 “The girl who the boys bought beads is asleep.”
- (d) *O-mu-khaana ni-y-e baa-sooreri ba-ba-a-kul-il-a bi-by-uuma a-a-kon-il-e
 Pp-2-girl pred-1-pron 2-boy RM-2-pst-buy-appl-fv Pp-8-bead 1-pst-sleep-perf-fv
 “The girl who the boys bought beads is asleep”
- (e) *O-mu-khaana baa-sooreri ba-a-kul-il-a bi-by-uuma a-a-kon-il-e
 Pp-2-girl 2-boy 2-pst-buy-appl-fv Pp-8-bead 1-pst-sleep-perf-fv
 “The girl who the boys bought beads is asleep”
- (f) ??O-mu-khaana ni-y-e baa-sooreri ba-a-mu-kul-il-a bi-by-uuma a-a-kon-il-e
 Pp-2-girl pred-1-pron 2-boy 2-pst-O1-buy-appl-fv Pp-8-bead 1-pst-sleep-perf-fv
 “The girl who the boys bought beads is asleep.”

However, in constructions that involve ‘affected possessor’ NPs, only the indirect object (=first object) can relativize. As shown in the following data, the direct object (=second object) cannot relativize.

- 36(a) Wafula a-a-fun-a o-muu-ndu ku-mu-khono
 1Wafula 1-pst-break-fv Pp-1-person Pp-3-hand
 “Wafula broke some person’s hand” (Lit. Wafula broke some person a hand)

- (b) O-muu-ndu ni-y-e Wafula a-a-fun-a ku-mu-khono a-a-rekukh-e
 Pp-1-person pred-1-pron 1Wafula 1-pst-break-fv Pp-3-hand 1-pst-leave-fv
 Literal: “The person who Wafula broke hand left”
 = “The person whose hand Wafula broke left”
- (b) *Ku-mu-khono ni-kw-o Wafula a-a-fun-a o-muu-ndu kw-aa-biimb-a
 Pp-3-hand pred-3-pron 1Wafula 1-pst-break-fv Pp-1-person 3-pst-swell-fv
 “The hand which Wafula broke the man swelled.”

Notice that no genitive or preposition expressing the idea of possession is required in (36a). In contrast the corresponding English sentence requires the relative possessive ‘whose.’ This suggests that the function of the verb ‘funa’ (=break) in English differs from its function in Lubukusu. It seems that in Lubukusu (but not in English), the verb ‘funa’ (=break) in a sentence such as (36a) is functioning as a ditransitive verb. It is a special type of ditransitive verb different from regular ditransitive verbs such as ‘give.’ We know from (34) and (35) above that both the direct object and the indirect object can relativize in regular ditransitive constructions. This is not possible in the special-type ditransitive constructions such as (36). Here only the indirect object can relativize. I argue that the apparent direct objects in constructions of this type are not true objects. They are obliques and they occupy the Spec position of a phonetically null functional head, which I will call little *p*. This little *p* bears similarity to Baker and Collins’ (2006), linker (Lk). It is possible that little *p* and Lk are one and the same, but I am not in a position to say whether this is the case because I have not conducted a thorough comparison of these two elements. I will therefore refrain from using the label Lk, but will continue using the label little *p*.

Evidence that the apparent direct objects in special ditransitive constructions are not true objects comes from tests for primary object-hood (see Mchombo and Bresnan (1990)). As shown in (37) and (38), the apparent direct object fails the

object prefix test and the passivization test. In contrast, a true DOC direct object which is illustrated in (39) and (40) does not fail these tests.

37(a) Wafula a-a-fun-a Nekesa ku-mu-khono

1Wafuka 1-pst-break-fv 1Nekesa Pp-3-hand

Literal: “Wafula broke Nekesa hand” (=Wafula broke Nekesa’s hand)

(b) Wafula a-a-mu-fun-a ku-mu-khono

1Wafula 1-pst-O1-break-fv Pp-3-hand

“Wafula broke her/his hand”

(c) *Wafula a-a-ku-fun-a Nekesa

1Wafula 1-pst-O3-break-fv 1-Nekesa

“Wafula broke it Nekesa”

38. (a) Nekesa a-a-fun-w-a ku-mu-khono (ne Wafula)

1Nekesa 1-pst-break-pass-fv Pp-3-hand (by 1Wafula)

Literal: “Nekesa was broken her hand by Wafula” (= Nekesa’s hand was broken by Wafula)

(b) *Ku-mu-khono kwa-a-fun-w-a Nekesa (ne Wafula)

Pp-3-hand 3-pst-break-pass-fv 1-Nekesa (by Wafula)

Literal: “The hand was broken Nekesa (by Wafula).”

39(a) Kuuka a-a-elesy-a baa-sooreri chi-khaafu

1grandfather 1-pst-give-fv 2-boy 10-cow

“Grandfather gave the boys cows”

(b) Kuuka a-a-ba-elesy-a chi-khaafu

1grandfather 1-pst-2-give-fv 10-cow

“Grandfather gave them cows”

- (c) ?Kuuka a-a-chi-elesy-a baa-sooreri
 1grandfather 1-pst-10-give-fv 2-boy
 “Grandfather gave them to boys”
- 40(a) Baa-sooreri ba-a-eeb-w-a chi-khaafu (ne kuuka)
 2-boy 2-pst-give-pass-fv 10-cow (by grandfather)
 “The boys were given cows by grandfather”
- (b) Chi-khaafu cha-a-eeb-w-a baa-sooreri (ne kuuka)
 10-cow 2-pst-give-pass-fv 2-boy (by grandfather)
 “Cows were given to the boys (by grandfather)”

Notice that the apparent direct object in (36), which I have argued is oblique, is syntactically similar to instrumental NPs that are not introduced by a preposition. Like the apparent direct objects, instrumental NPs cannot relativize. This is shown in the following data.

- 41(a) O-muu-ndu ni-y-e Wafula a-a-un-a lii-fumo a-li mu-osibito
 Pp-1-person pred-1-pron 1Wafula 1-pst-stub-fv 5-spear 1-be in-hospital
 “The person who Wafula stubbed with a spear is in hospital”
- (b) *Lii-fumo ni-ly-o Wafula a-a-un-a o-muu-ndu li-li mu-nju
 5-spear pred-5-pron 1Wafula 1-pst-stub-fv Pp-1-person 5-be in-house
 “The spear with which Wafula stubbed the man is in the house.”

Moreover, instrumental NPs fail primary object-hood tests. This is shown in (42&43).

- 42(a) Wafula a-a-un-a o-muu-ndu lii-fumo
 1Wafula 1-pst-stub-fv Pp-1-person 5-spear
 “Wafula stubbed a person/man with a spear”

(b) Wafula a-a-mu-un-a lii-fumo

1Wafula 1-pst-O1-stub-fv 5-spear

“Wafula stubbed him/her with a spear”

(c) *Wafula a-a-li-un-a o-muu-ndu

1Wafula 1-pst-O5-stub-fv Pp-1-person

“Wafula stubbed with it a person/man”

43. (a) O-muu-ndu a-a-un-w-a lii-fumo (ne Wafula)

Pp-1-person 1-pst-stub-pass-fv 5-spear (by 1Wafula)

“A person/man was stubbed with a spear by Wafula”

(b) *Lii-fumo lya-a-un-w-a o-muu-ndu (ne Wafula)

5-spear 5-pst-stub-pass-fv Pp-1-person (by 1Wafula)

“A spear was stubbed a person/man by Wafula”

Thus the instrumental NPs are oblique – just like the apparent direct objects in ‘affected possessor’ NPs. They are potentially PPs which are introduced by covert prepositions. Oblique NPs are PPs and cannot therefore relativize. Relativization in cases such as these leads to preposition stranding which is unacceptable in Lubukusu. The last resort strategy – the resumptive pronoun strategy is apparently unavailable in these constructions.

2.8 Relativization of preposition phrases

Prepositional phrases in Lubukusu as well as other Bantu languages behave differently under relativization. Some prepositional phrases such as locative PPs relativize naturally and do not require any special lexical additions in order to relativize. In fact locative PPs behave exactly like non-subject DPs in requiring the complex complementizer, not licensing RM and in not allowing subject verb inversion. Moreover, relativized locative PPs are incompatible with an incorporated

preposition just like relativized non-subject DPs are incompatible with the object prefix. These properties (of locative PP relativization) are shown in (44) & (45).

44(a) Wafula a-a-r-a chi-seendi mu-si-kombe

1Wafula 1-pst-put-fv 10-money in-7-cup

“Wafula put money in a cup”

(b) Wafula a-a-r-a-mo chi-seendi

1Wafula 1-pst-put-fv-loc 10-money

“Wafula put money in” (= Wafula put money inside some object)

(c) *Wafula a-a-r-a-mo chi-seendi mu-si-kombe

1Wafula 1-pst-put-fv-loc 10-money in-7-cup

“Wafula put in money in the cup”

(d) Wafula a-a-chi-r-aa-mo

1Wafula 1-pst-10-put-fv-loc

“Wafula put them in”

(e) *Wafula a-a-chi-r-aa-mo chi-seendi

1Wafula 1-pst-10-put-fv-loc 10-money

“Wafula put money in”

45(a) Muu-nju ni-mw-o ba-ba-ana ba-a-kon-a mw-a-ba mu-nyifu

18-house pred-18-pron Pp-2-child 2-pst-sleep-fv 18-pst-be 18-cold

“The house in which children slept was cold.”

(b) *Muu-nju ni-mw-o ba-ba-ana ba-ba-a-kon-a mw-a-ba mu-nyifu

18-house pred-18-pron Pp-2-child RM-2-pst-sleep-fv 18-pst-be 18-cold

“The house in which children slept was cold.”

(c) *Muu-nju ni-mw-o ba-a-kon-a ba-ba-ana mw-a-ba mu-nyifu

18-house pred-18-pron 2-pst-sleep-fv Pp-2-child 18-pst-be 18-cold

“The house in which children slept was cold.”

- (d) *Muu-nju ni-mw-o ba-ba-ana ba-a-kon-a-mo mw-a-ba mu-nyifu
 18-house pred-18-pron Pp-2-child 2-pst-sleep-fv-18 18-pst-be 18-cold
 “The house in which children slept was cold”

One might ask why locative PPs exhibit similar syntactic behavior to DPs under relativization as well as in other syntactic processes. The most natural explanation is that locative PPs in Lubukusu and in Bantu generally are essentially nominal. Like regular nominals, locative PPs can be used as complement of associative preposition (46), they function as subject and when they do, they govern subject verb agreement just like regular nominals (47).

- 46(a) O-mw-aana w-e khu-bi-kele
 Pp-1-child 1-ass on-8-leg/lap
 “A young child” (literally, ‘the child of on lap’)
- (b) Ka-me-echi k-e muu-soongo
 Pp-5-water 5-ass in-pot
 “Pot water” (literally, ‘the water of in-pot’)

- 47(a) Muu-soongo mu-kha-malii-e
 18-pot 18-fut-black-fv
 “The inside of the pot will become dirty”
- (b) Khu-luuchi khu-kha-siimb-e
 17-river 17-fut-overgrow-fv
 “The riverside will become bushy”

For a detailed discussion of the nominal nature of locative PPs in Bantu (see Baker & Collins 2006 among others).

Not all PPs in Lubukusu relativize easily and naturally like locative PPs. In fact non-locative PPs such as comitative PPs, associative PPs, instrumental PPs and complex PPs do not relativize at all. This seems to be due to the fact that prepositions lack phi-features. As will be shown in chapters 3 and 5, other elements that also lack phi-features do not undergo cleft licensed movement. In the data that we are discussing here, only NPs that are contained within in PPs can relativize (they have phi-features). But even then, they can only relativize under the preposition incorporation and/or the resumptive pronoun strategy (the pro strategy). The data in (48)-(51) illustrate these facts.

48(a) Wafula a-a-ch-a khu-sooko ne ba-ba-ana.

1Wafula 1-pst-go-fv at-market with Pp-2-child

“Wafula went to the market with children.”

(b) *Ne ba-ba-ana ni-b-o Wafula a-a-ch-a khu-sooko ba-layi

With Pp-2-child pred-2-pron 1Wafula 1-pst-go-fv at-market 2-good

“The children with whom Wafula went to the market are nice.”

(c) *Ba-ba-ana ni-b-o Wafula a-a-ch-a khu-sooko ne ba-la-kalukh-a luno

Pp-2-child pred-2-pron 1Wafula 1-pst-go-fv at-market with 2-fut-return-fv today

“The children who Wafula went to the market with will return today”

(d) Ba-ba-ana ni-b-o Wafula a-a-ch-a na-bo khu-sooko ba-la-kalukh-a luno

Pp-2-child pred-2-pron 1Wafula 1-pst-go-fv with-2 to-market 2-fut-return-fv today

“The children who Wafula went to the market with will return today”

(e) Ba-ba-ana ni-b-o Wafula a-a-ch-a khu-sooko na-bo ba-la-kalukh-a luno

Pp-2-child pred-2-pron 1Wafula 1-pst-go-fv to-market with-2 2-fut-return-fv today

“The children who Wafula went to the market with will return today”

- 49(a) Papa a-a-rum-a ba-ba-ana b-a o-mu-limi khu-sooko
 1father 1-pst-send-fv Pp-2-child 2-of Pp-1-farmer to-market
 “Father sent the farmer’s children to the market.”
- (b) Ba-ba-ana b-a o-mu-limi ni-b-o papa a-a-rum-a
 Pp-2-child 2-of Pp-1-farmer pred-2-pron 1father 1-pst-send-fv
 khu-soko ba-a-kw-a
 to-market 2-pst-fall-fv
 “The farmer’s children, who father sent to the market, fell.”
- (c) ??Ba-ba-ana ni-b-o papa a-a-rum-a b-a o-mu-limi
 Pp-2-child pred-2-pron 1father 1-pst-send-fv 2-of Pp-1-farmer
 khu-soko ba-a-kw-a
 to-market 2-pst-fall-fv
 “The children, who father sent, of the farmer, to the market, fell.”
- (d) *B-a o-mu-limi ni-b-o papa a-a-rum-a ba-ba-ana
 2-of Pp-1-farmer pred-2-pron 1father 1-pst-send-fv Pp-2-child
 khu-soko ba-a-kw-a
 to-market 2-pst-fall-fv
 “*Of the farmer who father sent children to the market, fell.”
- (e) *O-mu-limi ni-y-e papa a-a-rum-a ba-ba-ana
 Pp-1-farmer pred-1-pron 1father 1-pst-send-fv Pp-2-child
 b-a khu-soko a-a-kw-a
 2-of to-market 1-pst-fall-fv
 “The farmer whose children father sent to the market fell.”
- (f) O-mu-limi ni-y-e papa a-a-rum-a ba-ba-ana
 Pp-1-farmer pred-1-pron 1father 1-pst-send-fv Pp-2-child
 b-e-we khu-soko a-a-kw-a
 2-of-his to-market 1-pst-fall-fv

“The farmer whose children father sent to the market fell.”

50. (a) O-mu-saakhulu a-la-nyw-a ka-ma-lwa ne luu-sekhe

Pp-1-elder 1-fut-drink-fv Pp-6-beer with 11-straw

“The old man will drink beer with a straw”

(b) *Luu-sekhe ni-lw-o o-mu-saakhulu a-la-nyw-a ka-ma-lwa ne lw-a-maali-e

11-straw pred-11-pron Pp-1-elder 1-fut-drink-fv Pp-6-beer with 11-perf-black-fv

“The straw with which the old man will drink beer is dirty”

(c) Luu-sekhe ni-lw-o o-mu-saakhulu a-la-nyw-a ka-ma-lwa

11-straw pred-11-pron Pp-1-elder 1-fut-drink-fv Pp-6-beer

na-lwo lw-a-maali-e

with-11 11-perf-black-fv

“The straw with which the old man will drink beer is dirty”

(d) Luu-sekhe ni-lw-o o-mu-saakhulu a-la-nyw-el-a ka-ma-lwa lw-a-maali-e

11-straw pred-11-pron Pp-1-elder 1-fut-drink-appl-fv Pp-6-beer 11-perf-black-fv

“The straw with which the old man will drink beer is dirty”

51(a) Sii-tabu si-li asi we e-n-debe

7-book 7-be under of Pp-9-chair

Literal: “The book is under of the chair” (=the book is under the chair)

(b) Asi we e-n-debe ni-i-o sii-tabu sy-a-ba a-a-ba a-miliu

Under of Pp-9-chair pred-17-pron 7-book 7-pst-be 17-pst-be 17-clean

“Under the chair where the book was, was clean”

(c) *E-n-debe ni-y-o sii-tabu sy-a-ba asi wa ya-a-funikh-e

Pp-9-chair pred-9-pron 7-book 7-pst-be under of 9-prf-break-fv

“The chair under which the book was is broken.”

(d) E-n-debe ni-y-o sii-tabu sy-a-ba asi wa-yo ya-a-funikh-e

Pp-9-chair pred-9-pron 7-book 7-pst-be under of-9 9-prf-break-fv

“The chair under which the book was is broken.”

The data in (48)-(51) illustrate relativization facts in the main PP types: comitative PP in (48), associative PP in (49), instrumental PP in (50), and complex PP in (51). Notice that on first impression (50d) seems to undermine our conclusion that little *p*-associated NPs (=oblique NPs) do not relativize especially so since (50d) seems to involve a null preposition. However, a closer examination shows that (50d) is significantly different from (39b) structurally. (39b) has little *p*, but it lacks an applicative head. In contrast, (50d) has an applicative head. This may suggest that the properties of the applicative head and null preposition are quite different from each other. The applicative head's properties allows for relativization (50d) while those of little *p* (39b). More precisely, the applicative head is verbal (see Baker and Collins (2006)) and can therefore check case: it checks the case feature of the object. In contrast, little *p* (null preposition) is not verbal and does not check the case feature of the object.

Another observation about the instrumental construction (50) is order: instrumentals relativize most naturally when they are first promoted to object status as in (50d). (50c) is okay, but (50d) is preferred.

From the data in (48)-(51), it is clear that Lubukusu does not allow relativization of PPs. Neither does it allow relativization of NPs contained in non-locative PPs except under the resumptive pro strategy. This is due to the fact that non-locative PPs are not nominal. Apparently only nominals can relativize in Lubukusu. But one might object saying (51b), which is grammatical, is a case of PP relativization. This seems so on first impression, but it is not entirely true. The word *asi* (=under) sometimes functions as a noun, and it does seem that in (51), it is indeed a noun. Perhaps it is an overstretch to say that *asi* (=under) is a noun. It might therefore be prudent to retain the view that it is a preposition that has nominal qualities. This is reasonable considering the fact that *asi* is a locative preposition of sorts, and as we saw in (42), locative PPs are basically nominal. Since such PPs are

nominal, they can relativize. Being nominal is a necessary condition not just for relativization; it is also a necessary condition for clefting. As will be shown in chapter 3, only ‘nominal PPs’ can be clefted. All other PPs cannot. This distinction can be explained in terms of phi-features: nominal PPs have phi-features while non-nominal PPs lack phi-features.

Notice that the data in (48)-(51) also shows that Lubukusu does not allow preposition stranding. How do we account for this fact? In the Government and Binding theory, the non-availability of preposition stranding was accounted for by the Empty Category Principle (ECP). Under that approach, it was argued that prepositions in languages that do not allow preposition stranding are not proper governors. In relative clauses then, the gap (empty category) following the preposition remains ungoverned in violation of the ECP. But since ECP does not exist in the minimalist program, we must look elsewhere for an explanation.

As a first approximation, we can say that preposition stranding in languages of the world is determined by the sub-categorization requirements of prepositions and PF interface requirements in individual languages. It seems that prepositions in the Lubukusu relative clause can sub-categorize for PronP (Pronoun Phrase). PronP is a type of DP since pronouns are determiners (Abney 1987, Radford 1997). The following Lubukusu data also seem to support putting pronouns in the determiner class.

52(a) Efwe baa-bukusu khw-a-m-a misri

We 2-bukusu 1stPl-pst-come-fv misri

“We Bukusu people came from misri.”

(b) Enywe baa-somi mw-a-siim-a khu-som-a

You (pl.) 2-student 2ndPl-pst-like-fv inf-read-fv

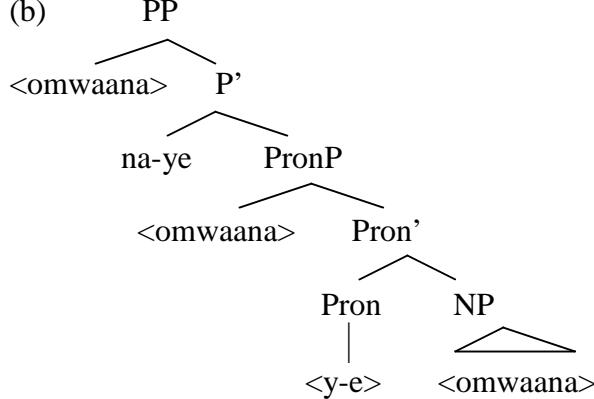
“You students like reading/studying.”

Unfortunately, the subcategorization of PronP by prepositions in Lubukusu is itself not sufficient to account for the impossibility of preposition stranding. While it is reasonable to argue that PronP is indeed subcategorized by prepositions in Lubukusu, it is not at all clear that PronP is not subcategorized by prepositions in stranding languages such as English. Indeed it is not at all unreasonable to argue that prepositions in stranding languages such as English subcategorize for PronP just like non-stranding languages. For this reason, we must conclude that the projection PronP or subcategorization generally is not a factor in preposition stranding: it does not explain why some languages allow or disallow preposition stranding. Notice that although the projection PronP does not account for the presence or absence of preposition stranding, it does make deriving agreement patterns in the Lubukusu PP easier.

As shown in the following partial derivation of the comitative PP (53b), postulating the projection PronP allows us to straightforwardly account for agreement.

- 53a. O-mw-ana ni-y-e Wafula a-a-lom-a [PP na-y-e]
 Pp-1-child pred-1-pron 1Wafula 1-pst-speak-fv with-1-pron

“The child who Wafula spoke with”



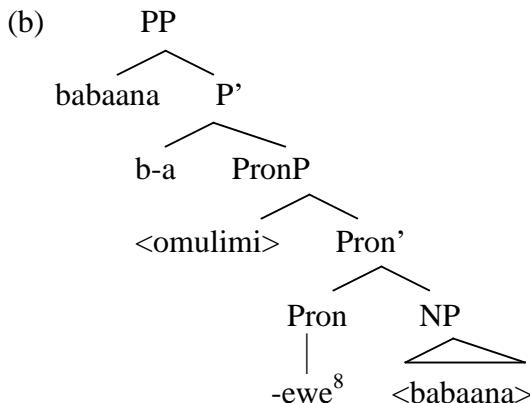
The NP ‘omwaana’ enters into an agree relation with Pron, and then it moves to Spec of P. The affix –y- is a reflection of the agree relation that holds between the NP ‘omwaana’ and Pron. We could say that Agree+Pron then moves to P by head movement and right adjoins to it. However, this violates Kayne’s LCA.

A non-movement account which I adopt here does not violate the LCA. By this account, Pron does not move; it remains in-situ. The reason why P (= preposition) and Pron are adjacent is that nothing intervenes between them syntactically.

From Spec of Pron, the NP ‘omwaana’ moves into Spec positions of higher projections. The fact that P is not prefixed with an agreement prefix seems to suggest that the NP does not enter into an agree relation with the preposition. This is significant because it shows that case checking is not dependant on agree – in support of the proposal to dissociate case checking from agree (see Carstens (1993), Henderson (2005) and Baker & Collins (2006) among others).

The projection PronP is also useful in deriving agreement in associative PPs. The agreement patterns within the associative PP can be derived in the manner of (54b).

- 54a. O-mu-limi ni-y-e papa a-a-rum-a [PP ba-ba-ana be-e-we]
 Pp-1-farmer pred-1-pron 1father 1-pst-send-fv Pp-2-child 2-ass-pron
 “The farmer whose children father sent ...”



⁸ When a form such as *beewe* (=his/her) is the only constituent of NP it surfaces as *babewe*. Consider the following examples.

As shown in this tree diagram, the NP *babaana* (=children) enters into an agree relation with the associative P head, *-a* and then it moves to the latter's Spec position. Although this movement step violates the Minimal Link Condition, the derivation does not crash for reasons that are not clear to me at this point.

Next, the NP *omulimi* (=farmer) which is generated in Spec of Pron moves to a higher position (not shown in 54b) when it is relativized. No other movement operation is necessary. Since the NP *omulimi* has moved higher up, we expect the associative P and Pron to be adjacent: no phonological material intervenes between them.

Let us now return to the issue of preposition stranding. I have argued that although the projection PronP is instrumental in deriving agreement patterns within the Lubukusu PP, it doesn't explain presence or absence of preposition stranding. In other words we cannot say that languages that disallow preposition stranding subcategorize for PronP but those that allow preposition stranding don't subcategorize for PronP – because it reasonable to argue that all languages do indeed subcategorize for PronP.

An alternative to subcategorization of PronP (as an explanation for availability or non availability of preposition stranding) is the nature or form of prepositions. It is a fact that prepositions in Lubukusu differ structurally from their English counterparts. For instance, while almost all prepositions in Lubukusu are affixes (see 55), English prepositions are self standing free morphemes. Thus Lubukusu prepositions are dependent both morphologically (since they are bound)

(i) Ba-ba-ana ba-a-be-we
Pprf-2-child 2-asso-2-his/hers
“The Children are his/hers”

(ii) Ba-a-be-we ba-a-mu-siim-a
2-asso-2-his/hers 2-pst-1-love-fv
“His/her love him/her” (His/her people love him/her)

This suggests that the NP possessed NP (e.g. *babaana* in (i)) moves through two positions: Spec PP and Spec of one other projection. It thus enters into an agree relation with P and a second head, hence the two agreement prefixes.

and syntactically (since they must be bound to their complements). In contrast, prepositions in English are independent.

- 55(a) khu- “on, at”
(b) mu- “in”
(c) a- “at, by”
(d) e- “at”
(e) sya- “towards”
(f) -a “of, association/possession”
(g) -e “of, association”

It can be argued that Lubukusu disallows preposition stranding because its prepositions are dependent but that English allows preposition stranding because its prepositions are independent. Unfortunately, it is not entirely true that stranding is always possible with independent prepositions. Ne(ende) ‘with’ in Lubukusu is an independent preposition, but it cannot be stranded (56). Similarly, katika ‘in’ and kwa ‘on’ in Kiswahili are independent prepositions but they cannot be stranded (57) & (58). Nor is stranding possible in French and Italian even though prepositions in these languages are clearly non-bound and independent (59).

56(a) Wekesa a-a-ch-a Kimilili ne o-mw-aana (Lubukusu)

1Wekesa 1-pst-go-fv Kimilili with Pp-1-child

“Wekesa went to Kimilili with the child”

(b) *O-mw-aana ni-y-e Wekesa a-a-ch-a Kimilili ne
Pp-child pred-1-pron 1Wekesa 1-pst-go-fv Kimilili with
“The child that Wekesa went to Kimilili with”

Clearly, the dependent ~ independent distinction, if defined morphologically, does not explain why preposition stranding is possible in some languages but not in others. Not only is stranding impossible with dependent (=affixal) prepositions (for instance in Lubukusu), it is also impossible with independent prepositions (for instance in Lubukusu, Kiswahili, French and Italian).

A more promising approach to preposition stranding is syntactic dependency – a dependency that is defined in terms of the relationship between the preposition and its complement. The basic idea is that in non-stranding languages such as

Lubukusu, prepositions – affixal as well as free forms – are completely dependent on their complements. Such prepositions require the overt presence of their complements at spell-out. In contrast, prepositions in preposition stranding languages such as English, are not strictly dependent on their complements. In such languages, prepositions are independent and therefore they do not need to be followed overtly by their complement.

To formalize the distinction between non-stranding languages on the one hand and stranding languages on the other under this approach, I propose that a PF-interface condition on prepositions is operative in non-stranding languages but not in stranding languages. This PF-interface condition requires a preposition to be followed overtly by its complement and can be formally stated as follows.

60. *P XP if XP is complement of P and is phonetically null.

This condition rules out preposition stranding in Lubukusu and other Bantu languages. If a DP complement of a preposition undergoes movement in Lubukusu, then PronP must be used to provide an overtly realized pseudo-complement (a resumptive pronoun).

An alternative to the PF-interface condition on preposition stranding is Abels' (2003) phase-based theory. According to Abels, preposition stranding is ruled out in a language if P is a phase head. But if P is not a phase head, then preposition stranding is possible. By Abel's theory then, P in Lubukusu is a phase head.

Both theories – the PF-interface condition and Abels' phase-based account – derive the desired results, but the question is: which one of these theories is the correct one? I leave this question for future research.

Another issue that needs to be discussed with regards to the comitative-resumptive PP is the head of PronP (the final vowel of resumptive pronoun). It turns

out that the form of Pron (head of PronP in comitative-resumptive constructions) is similar to vowel of the complex complementizer (=ni-agr-o) in relative and cleft constructions. As shown in the following table both the Pron head and the final vowel of the complex complementizer are realized as O for all noun classes, with the exception of class 1 where O is replaced by the vowel e-.

Table 5: Realization of –O in resumptive pronoun and complex complementizer

<u>Class</u>	<u>Resumptive pronoun (with it)</u>	<u>Complex Complementizer</u>
1	na-y-e	ni-y-e
2	na-b-o	ni-b-o
3	na-kw-o	ni-kw-o
4	na-ky-o	ni-ky-o
5	na-ly-o	ni-ly-o
6	na-k-o	ni-k-o
7	na-sy-o	ni-sy-o
8	na-by-o	ni-by-o
9	na-y-o	ni-y-o
10	na-ch-o	ni-ch-o
11	na-lw-o	ni-lw-o
14	na-bw-o	ni-bw-o
15	na-khw-o	<u>ni-khw-o</u>

The similarity between the Pron head (in the comitative-resumptive construction) and the final vowel of the complex complementizer (= O of reference) suggests that Pron is also a marker or indicator of a certain type of relationship that holds between PP-internal constituents and PP-external constituents. Alternatively, the similarity may suggest that O in the complex complementizer is a pronominal

head just like Pron in the comitative construction. I will argue later in this chapter that the later view is the correct one.

2.9 Relativization of objects of comparison

For relativization of the object of comparison to be possible in Lubukusu, the resumptive pro strategy must be used. This is illustrated in the following data.

- 61(a) Chii-mbusi (chi-li) chii-ngesi khu-khil-a ka-ma-kheese
10-goat (10-be) 10-clever inf-surpass-fv Pp-5-sheep
“Goats are clever than sheep”
- (b) Chi-no ni-ch-o chii-mbusi chii-li chii-ngesi khu-khil-a ka-ma-kheese
10-dem pred-pron 10-goat RM10-be 10-clever inf-surpass-fv Pp-5-sheep
“These are the goats that are clever than sheep”
- (c) *Ka-ma-kheese ni-k-o chii-mbusi chii⁹-li chii-ngesi khu-khil-a ka-li a-no
Pp-5-sheep pred-5-pron 10-goat RM10-be 10-clever inf-surpass-fv 5-be 17-here
“*The sheep which goats are clever than, are here.”
- (d) Ka-ma-kheese ni-k-o chii-mbusi chi-li chii-ngesi khu-ka-khil-a ka-li a-no
Pp-5-sheep pred-5-pron 10-goat 10-be 10-clever inf-5-surpass-fv 5-be 17-here
“The sheep which goats are clever than them, are here.”

What is interesting about relativization of the comparative object illustrated in these data is that the object agreement prefix (=resumptive pro) is a verbal affix (61d), not a preposition affix as is the case with relativization out of a PP (see data above). This is unexpected. As we saw in (31h) and (35f) repeated here as (62a) and (62b) respectively, the object prefix is incompatible with relativization in Lubukusu.

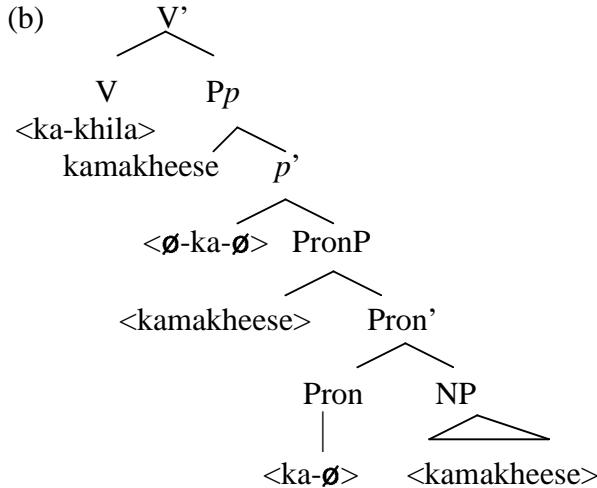
⁹ Chi-chi becomes chii- by haplology. See Mutonyi 2000 for discussion of haplology in Lubukusu.

- 62(a) *Ku-mu-saala ni-kw-o papa a-a-ku-byaal-a kwa-a-cho-il-e
 Pp-3-tree pred-3-pron 1father 1-pst-O3-plant-fv 3-pst-grow-perf-fv
 “The tree which father planted has grown big”
- (b) *O-mu-khaana ni-y-e baa-sooreri ba-a-mu-kul-il-a bi-by-uuma a-a-kon-il-e
 Pp-2-girl pred-1-pron 2-boy 2-pst-O1-buy-appl-fv Pp-8-bead 1-pst-sleep-prf-fv
 “The girl who the boys bought beads is asleep.”

Why then does the presence of the object prefix in the verb of the comparative relative clause in (76d) not lead to ungrammaticality? Why is the object prefix allowed in such cases?

I argue that the complement of the verb in the relative clause in (61d) is structurally different from that of (62a&b): the former is a PP and latter is DP. As shown in the following partial phrase marker of the RC VP of (61d), which is repeated here as (63a), the head of the PP in comparative structures is little *p*, a null preposition. Notice also that Pron is phonologically null. The symbol *ø* stands for null heads (*p* and Pron).

- 63(a) Ka-ma-kheese ni-k-o chii-mbusi chi-li chii-ngesi khu-ka-khil-a ka-li a-no
 Pp-5-sheep pred-5-pron 10-goat 10-be 10-clever inf-O5-surpass-fv 5-be 17-here
 “The sheep which goats are clever than them, are here”



Since *p* is null, it cannot serve as a host to null pronoun and the agreement prefix. In the absence of an overt preposition host, the null pronoun and agreement must incorporate into the verb.

2.10 The relative complex complementizer and agreement

We have seen that in Lubukusu, subject NPs, direct objects, indirect objects and locative PPs can relativize. Non-locative PPs cannot relativize. We have also seen that preposition stranding is not possible in Lubukusu. We suggested two ways of ruling out preposition stranding: (i) a PF interface condition which requires that a preposition be followed by an overt complement; and (ii) Abels’ P-as-a-phase-head theory. However, we have not discussed the structure of the complex complementizer and the associated agreement patterns. This will be the main focus of this section.

As already pointed out, the use of RM in Lubukusu is limited to relativization and clefting of subjects. Non-subject relativization uses the complex complementizer strategy.

2.10.1 The Complex Complementizer in Lubukusu

I have argued that in Lubukusu the complementizer in Fin is null in RCs that involve relativization of subjects. In such cases, RM shows up and it is attached to the verb. This is true also for clefts: in clefts that involve clefting of the subject, the complementizer in Fin is null. In contrast, constructions that involve relativization or clefting of a non-subject have a phonetically realized complementizer, which is generated higher than FinP. There are differences in the way the two types of complementizers are used in wh-constructions. Apparently clefts can have both complementizers, but the relative clause can only have one complementizer at a time in Lubukusu. As shown in (31a&c) repeated here as (64a&b) and (65), the relative clause can have either the null complementizer or the overt complementizer, but not both.

- 64(a) Ku-mu-saala ni-kw-o papa a-a-byaal-a kwa-a-cho-il-e
Pp-3-tree pred-3-pron 1father 1-pst-plant-fv 3-pst-grow-perf-fv

“The tree which father planted has grown/matured”

- (b) *Ku-mu-saala ni-kw-o papa kw-a-a-byaal-a kwa-a-cho-il-e
Pp-3-tree pred-3-pron 1father RM-1-pst-plant-fv 3-pst-grow-perf-fv
“The tree which father planted has grown/matured”

- 65(a) Ba-ba-ana ba-ba-a-ch-a khu-sooko ba-a-kobol-a
Pp-2-child RM-2-pst-go-fv to-market 2-pst-return-fv
“Children who went to the market returned.”

- (c) *Ba-ba-ana ni-b-o ba-ba-a-ch-a khu-sooko ba-a-kobol-a
 Pp-2-child pred-2-pron RM-2-pst-go-fv to-market 2-pst-return-fv
 “Children who went to the market returned.”

In contrast, clefts can have both complementizers. This is shown in (2b&c) and (3) repeated here as (66a&b) and (67) respectively.

- 66(a) Naanu o-w-a-kw-a?
 Who RM-1-pst-fall-fv
 “Who fell?”
 (b) Naanu ni-y-e o-w-a-kw-a?
 Who pred-1-pron RM-1-pst-fall-fv
 “Who fell?” (=who is it that fell?)
 66(a) Ba-ba-ana ni-b-o ba-ba-a-kw-a
 Pp-2-child pred-2-pron RM-2-pst-fall-fv
 “It is children who fell”
 (b) Bá-bá-áná bá-bá-á-kw-á
 Pp-2-child RM-2-pst-fall-fv
 “It is children who fell”

In subject relativization then, the subject moves to Spec of Fin and remains there. But in the clefts (66 & 67), the subject moves from Spec of Fin to a higher position within the left periphery apparently because they can have topic, focus or Pred features. It is therefore possible for clefted phrases to move to Spec FocP, Spec PredP, or Spec TopP. But in RCs that involve relativization of the subject, these projections are not available.

In (64) which is an example of non-subject relativization, the object moves to Spec of the higher (overt) complementizer. As shown by the ungrammaticality of (64b), the object does not move to Spec of Fin, the reason being that Fin in such a construction does not have a wh-feature. The wh-feature is contained in the higher complementizer. The feature contained in the higher complementizer is a non-subject wh-feature which attracts only non-subjects.

Notice that the higher complementizer in Lubukusu is complex and always agrees with relativized non-subject NP. It is complex in the sense that it has three parts to it: the invariant ni-, an agreement affix and a vowel comparable to Kiswahili's O of reference (Ashton 1944). This complex nature of the relative complementizer contrasts with simple complementizers such as 'mbo' (=that) (see 'mbo' in the following sentence).

68. Nafula a-a-nyol-a chi-lomo mbo Wafula e-e-b-a chi-n-gubo ch-ewe
1Nafula 1-pst-get-fv 10-word C 1Wafula 1-pst-steal-fv Pp-10-cloth 10-his
“Nafula got word that Wafula stole her clothes”

The complex complementizer has a structure similar to that of the demonstrative. This is illustrated in the following table.

Table 6: Structural similarity between complex complementizer and demonstrative

class	Noun	Cplx Comp	‘this’	‘that, far’
1	omwaana	ni-y-e	yu-n-o	o-y-o
2	babaana	ni-b-o	ba-n-o	a-b-o
3	kumusaala	ni-kw-o	ku-n-o	o-kw-o
4	kimisaala	ni-ky-o	ki-n-o	e-ky-o
5	liliino	ni-ly-o	li-n-o	e-ly-o
6	kameeno	ni-k-o	ka-n-o	a-k-o
7	sisindu	ni-sy-o	si-n-o	e-sy-o
8	bibindu	ni-by-o	bi-n-o	e-by-o
9	eenju	ni-y-o	yi-n-o	e-y-o
10	chiinju	ni-ch-o	chi-n-o	e-ch-o
11	luluchi	ni-lw-o	lu-n-o	o-lw-o
12	khakhaana	ni-kh-o	kha-n-o	a-kh-o
14	bubwoongo	ni-bw-o	bu-n-o	o-bw-o
15	khuukenda	ni-khw-o	khu-n-o	o-khw-o
16	anju	ni-o ¹⁰	a-n-o	a-o
17	khunju	ni-khw-o	khu-n-o	o-khw-o
18	munju	ni-mw-o	mu-n-o	o-mw-o

What is interesting is the fact that the similarity between the complex complementizer and demonstratives is not just a language particular property: languages such as Nweh (Nkemnji 1995) also show this similarity. This strongly suggests that the similarity is not accidental.

¹⁰ Underlyingly the form of this complementizer is /ni-a-o/ but /a/ is deleted by the general rule that deletes the first vowel in a hiatus situation when the first vowel is [-high].

2.10.2 The status of the complex complementizer and its constituent elements

The distribution and structure of the complementizer (the ‘ni-agr-o’ word) raises several interesting questions.

- (i) Is the entire ‘ni-agr-o’ word a complementizer or is only one of its constituent morphemes the complementizer?
- (ii) What exactly is ni-?
- (iii) Is ni- a copular? If it is, why is it part of the complementizer?
- (iv) What is –o?
- (v) How does ‘ni-agr-o’ fit into the left periphery?

Let us start with question (i).

2.10.3 ‘ni-agr-o’ as a complementizer

In all the examples of non-subject relativization that we have seen, the ‘ni-agr-o’ word occurs in the canonical complementizer position for SVO languages – between the head noun of the RC and the subject of the RC. The following data further illustrates this fact.

69. Near Past

(a) Wafula a-a-tabul-e sii-tabu ni-sy-o maayi a-a-kul-il-e

1Wafula 1-past-tear-fv 7-book pred-7-pron 1mother 1-past-buy-asp-fv

“Wafula tore the book which mother bought.”

(b) Wafula a-a-tabul-e sii-tabu ni-sy-o ba-ba-ana ba-a-kul-il-e

1Wafula 1-past-tear-fv 7-book pred-7-pron Pp-2-child 2-past-buy-asp-fv

“Wafula tore the book which children bought.”

(c) Ba-ba-ana ba-a-tabul-e sii-tabu ni-sy-o maayi a-a-kul-il-e

Pp-2-child 2-past-tear-fv 7-book pred-7-pron 1mother 1-past-buy-asp-fv

“Children tore the book which mother bought”

Similarly the word ‘ni-agr-o’ occurs in the canonical complementizer position in clefts.

70(a) Si-li sii-tabu ni-sy-o maayi á-lá-kúl-a
7-be 7-book pred-7-pron 1mother 1-fut-buy-fv

“It is a book that mother will buy”

(b) Bi-li bii-tabu ni-by-o maayi á-lá-kúl-a
8-be 8-book pred-8-pron 1mother 1-fut-buy-fv
“It is books that mother will buy”

The fact that ‘ni-agr-o’ occurs in the canonical complementizer position suggests that it is indeed a complementizer and that its function is to introduce relevant RCs and clefts. In this sense, ‘ni-agr-o’ is equivalent to English ‘that’ and has the same function as ‘that’. It could then be argued that ‘ni-agr-o’ (the entire complex complementizer) is in Force, the head position in which Rizzi (1997) generates English ‘that’.

The problem with this analysis is that it obscures the fact that the Lubukusu complex complementizer is made up three morphological forms: ni-, agreement and O-. It assumes that the complex complementizer is a single functional head. This is obviously not true.

Moreover, this single-head approach lacks a principled means of accounting for agreement within the complex complementizer. As shown in table 6, the agreement prefix in the complex complementizer follows ni-. This is surprising because in Lubukusu, agreement affixes generally precede functional and lexical heads.

Table 7: Agreement prefixes of the complex complementizer by class

<u>Class Noun</u>		<u>CplxComp</u>	<u>Subject - verb agreement</u>
1 omwaana ‘child’	ni-y-e	omwaana a-kwa ‘the child falls’	
2 babaana ‘children’	ni-b-o	babaana ba-kwa ‘children fall’	
3 kumusaala ‘tree’	ni-kw-o	kumusaala ku ¹¹ -kwa ‘the tree falls’	
4 kimisaala ‘tree’	ni-ky-o	kimisaala ki-kwa ‘trees fall’	
5 liliino ‘tooth’	ni-ly-o	liliino li-kwa ‘the tooth falls’	
6 kameeno ‘teeth’	ni-k-o	kameeno ka-kwa ‘teeth fall’	
7 sisindu ‘thing’	ni-sy-o	sisiindu si-kwa ‘a thing falls’	
8 bibindu ‘things’	ni-by-o	bibiindu bi-kwa ‘things fall’	
9 eenju ‘house’	ni-y-o	eenju e-kwa ‘the house falls’	
10 chiinju ‘houses’	ni-ch-o	chiinju chi-kwa ‘houses fall’	
11 lulwiiki ‘door’	ni-lw-o	lulwiiki lu-kwa ‘the door falls’	
12 khakhaana ‘big kid’	ni-kh-o	khakhaana kha-kwa ‘the child falls’	
14 bubwoongo ‘brains’	ni-bw-o	bubwoongo bu-kwa ‘brains fall’	
15 khuukwa ‘falling’	ni-khw-o	khuukwa khu-bia ‘falling turns bad’	
16 anju ‘by the house’	ni-o	aanju a-bia ‘by house turns bad’	
16a syaanju ‘towards hse	ni-y-o	syaanju e-bia ‘towards house turns bad’	
17 khuunju ‘on house’	ni-khw-o	khuunju khu-bia ‘on house turns bad’	
18 muunju ‘in house’	ni-mw-o	muunju mu-bia ‘in house turns bad’	
20 kukwaana ‘big kid’	ni-kw-o	kukwaana ku-kwa ‘big kid falls’	
24 ekimilili ‘at kimilili	ni-y-o	ekimilili e-bia ‘at kimilili turns bad’	

This table also shows that agreement in the complex complementizer is determined by the class of the noun that is relativized or clefted. Thus the agreement prefix takes

¹¹ The agreement prefixes exhibit allomorphic variation which is conditioned phonologically.

different forms depending on the noun class of the relativized or clefted noun. Notice that agreement in the complex complementizer is similar to the regular subject-verb agreement – with exception of classes 16, 16a and 24. Lack of similarity between agreement in the complex complementizer and subject agreement prefix in these classes may be due to phonological mutation.

Turning back to the single complementizer proposal, it is difficult to see how it can account for agreement after *ni*- . As far as I know, there is no other functional or lexical head in Lubukusu that is followed rather than preceded by the agreement affix.

It is also not clear how this single head approach would differentiate between types of clauses considering the fact that this analysis generates the complex complementizer in force. According to Rizzi (1997), force encodes clause-type information (question, declarative, exclamative etc.). Generating the entire complex complementizer or even only *ni*- in Force would suggest that RCs, cleft wh-questions and non-question clefts in Lubukusu are of the same type (since the complex complementizer occurs in each of these clauses). Obviously this cannot be true and we must accordingly reject the single-unit analysis of the Lubukusu complex complementizer.

2.10.4 *Ni*- and *O*-: Force head, Focus head or Topic head?

The form of the *ni*- and *O*- in the complex complementizer is invariant (see for instance data in (69), (70) and table 7. This strongly suggests that these two are functional heads. Since they are part of the complex complementizer, it is safe to conclude that they are located in Rizzi's (1997) left periphery. But the question is, what heads are they? Is *ni*- a force head, a focus head or a topic head? What about *O*?

An initial hypothesis, call it hypothesis 1, is that *ni-* is focus and that *O-* is a topic head or vice versa. The problem that this hypothesis runs into right away is that *ni-* and *O-* (or the entire complex complementizer for that matter) in Lubukusu can occur in question clefts, non-question clefts and in relative clauses. It is therefore not accurate to say that the complex complementizer or any of its constituent heads, that is, *ni-* and *O-*, are generated either in focus or topic. It would be reasonable to say that *ni-* in questions is generated in focus and that it has a focus feature, but this will not work for relative clauses, the reason being that focus is not involved in relativization. Similarly, it might work to say that *ni-* is generated in topic – in the case of relative clauses, but this won't work for questions, the reason being that question words are clearly not topics. Analyzing *O-* either as a focus head or a topic head has the same problem because *O-* occurs both in question clefts and relative clauses. We must therefore conclude that hypothesis 1 is false: neither *ni-* nor *O-* can be focus or topic.

A second hypothesis, call it hypothesis 2, is that *O-* is a force head and that *ni-* is a head generated above ForceP. The reasoning behind this hypothesis is this: since neither *ni-* nor *O-* can be focus or topic, only *O-* can be generated as a force head. Generating *ni-* as a force head is not an option – because doing so will leave no space for *O-*. But if *O-* is generated as a force head, then it can reasonably be argued that *ni-* is generated as the head of a projection that dominates ForceP. Moreover generating -*O* as a force head is consistent with Rizzi's (1997) proposal that the relative operator moves to Spec ForceP. It is also consistent with Henderson's (2005) proposal that REL features are generated in Force. By hypothesis 2, then, only one head, namely -*O*, occupies a position within Rizzi's left periphery. In contrast, *ni-* has to be generated higher than ForceP. A question that arises is whether the functional projection headed by *ni-* is inside or outside the left periphery. That is, is the functional projection headed by *ni-* part of the complementizer system or does it

belong with the higher copular clause? Let us first consider the possibility that it is outside the complementizer system. The legitimacy and validity of this view depends on showing unambiguously that *ni* precedes the highest projection in the left periphery. Unfortunately Lubukusu doesn't allow us to do so. This is because of the impossibility to see the parts that might be in the left periphery and those that might be outside just by looking at the complex complementizer. The reason for this is that the elements that make up the complex complementizer are all bound up together. But a language with simple or independent complementizers such as English might provide us with clues. Consider the following English cleft question.

71. What is it that you are doing?

In this question, the copula is followed by the pronoun *it* which in turn is followed by the complementizer *that*. It could be argued that this order also holds in Lubukusu: the copula *is* corresponds to *ni*- the pronoun *it* corresponds to the agreement prefix and the complementizer *that* corresponds to O (=Force). This seems reasonable and could have worked were it not for the fact that there is more to the cleft construction in Lubukusu beyond the complex complementizer. Consider (72) which is the Lubukusu equivalent of (71).

72. (Si-li) siina ni-sy-o o-likho o-khol-a?

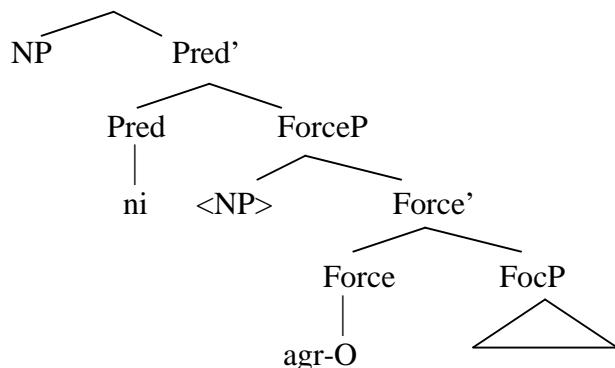
(7-be) what pred-7-pron 1-prog 1-do-fv

“What is it that you are doing?” (Literally, it is what that you are doing?)

Clearly, *ni*- cannot be the equivalent of the English copula. The correct equivalent to the English copula is *-li*. As shown in (72), *-li* is optional. This is not surprising because in general, the non-negative present tense copula in Lubukusu is optional.

Establishing this fact – that *ni-* is not the equivalent of the English Copular – is important, but it doesn't necessarily rule out the possibility that the projection headed by *ni-* is outside the complementizer field. This is because it can reasonably be argued that the *ni*-headed projection is in the higher (copula) clause. Under this view the *ni*-headed projection is the complement of the copula in the higher clause. The sentence in (72) and its English equivalent in (71) seem to support this view. In (71), *what* is clearly in the complementizer field of the copula clause (=the higher clause). In (72) the question word *siina* is also in the copula clause even though it is not in the complementizer field of this clause. This is not surprising because we know that unlike English, Lubukusu is a wh-in-situ language. Therefore in (72), the question word *siina* is in the “in-situ” post verbal position in the copula clause (it presumably moves from an IP-internal position to this “in-situ” position). On the basis of facts such as these, it can be concluded that only –O and the agreement prefix attached to it are part of the complementizer system of the lower clause; *ni-* is outside this complementizer system. Specifically, it belongs to the upper clause – the copula clause. By hypothesis 2, then, the complex complementizer has the following structure.

73. PredP



But hypothesis 2 has one problem. If Force encodes clause type information, and if O is indeed a Force head, then it shouldn't be possible for it to occur in RCs, question clefts and declarative clefts since these three clause types have three different values for force. But it does. This makes hypothesis 2 untenable. Assigning O the status of a Force head makes it impossible for us to distinguish between different types of clauses. In fact it erroneously suggests that RCs, question clefts and declarative clefts are clauses of the same force type (considering the fact that O appears in each of these clauses). Because of this problem, hypothesis 2 must also be rejected. We must also give up the idea of generating a ni-headed projection above ForceP within the left periphery. If the head of highest projection in Rizzi's system, that is Force, encodes clause type information, then there is no way an additional projection can be added above ForceP, unless the added projection belongs to a higher clause. This could be argued to be true for clefts – because clefts have a copula clause above the left periphery of the lower clause. But it is difficult to see how this can work for RCs. Unlike clefts which have a copula clause above the lower clause, RCs do not have a copula clause above them. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that in RC constructions (and perhaps in clefts as well), ForceP dominates the projection headed by ni-. We need ForceP to dominate everything else in the RC because every clause must be specified for clause type. This information is only available in Force according Rizzi (1997).

To summarize, I have argued that neither ni- nor O- corresponds to any of Rizzi's functional heads. This conclusion is based on distribution facts of ni- and O-. But if these two heads do not correspond to any of Rizzi's functional heads, then what are they? What is their identity? I will examine each of these heads in turns, starting with ni-.

2.10.5 Ni- as a copula

According to Mutonyi (2000), *ni-* is a copula. However, he does not explain how and why he arrives at this conclusion. He does not give any supporting evidence for the claim. It is possible that he assumes *ni-* is a copula because in other Bantu languages, *ni* is commonly used as a copula. In Kiswahili for instance, *ni* is associated with predicate nominals, predicate adjectives and possessives. This is illustrated in (74).

74(a) Juma ni m-kulima

1Juma cop 1-farmer

“Juma is a farmer”

(b) Juma ni m-jinga

1Juma cop 1-stupid

“Juma is stupid”

(c) Ji-na la-ngu ni Juma

5-name 5-my cop 1Juma

“My name is Juma”

According to Appleby (1961), Luyia also uses *ni* in similar contexts. Note that Appleby uses the term Luyia in the narrow sense to refer exclusively to central Luyia dialects. Lubukusu which is Luyia dialect in the broad sense, is a northern dialect and therefore it falls outside Appleby’s narrow Luyia. In contrast to Appleby’s Luyia, Lubukusu does not use *ni* in predicate contexts. Thus the Lubukusu sentences equivalent to the Kiswahili sentences in (74) systematically lack *ni*. A different form of the copula may optionally be used, but in general omitting the copula is preferred.

75(a) Wafula (a-li) o-mu-limi

1Wafula (1-cop) Pp-1-farmer

“Wafula is a farmer”

(b) Wafula (a-li) o-mu-silu

1Wafula (1-cop) Pp-1-stupid

“Wafula is stupid.”

It is clear that *ni* does not occur in the context illustrated in (75), and as far as I know, there is no other context in Lubukusu where *ni* occurs on its own as an independent word. But it can occur as a unit of a complex word. We have already seen that it occurs in the complex complementizers in relative clauses with relativized objects and in clefts with clefted objects. Unfortunately it is not unequivocally clear that the *ni-* in the complex complementizer in RCs and cleft constructions is a copula. It is therefore necessary to look more closely at the status of *ni-* and ask if there is any other evidence that show its status to be copula or something else. Let us start by examining contexts in which *ni-* occurs. Consider the following data.

76(a) Ní-sy-o

cop-7-prt

“It / it is”

(b) (Si-li)¹² si-tabu ní-sy-o

(7-be) 7-book cop-7-prt

“It is a book”

¹² The form of this sentence without the copula in parenthesis is the most optimal and is the preferred form.

(c) Si-no (si-li) si-tabu ní-sy-o

7-dem (7-be) 7-book cop-7-prt

“This is a book”

77(a) Nii-b-o

Cop-2-prt

“They are the ones”

(b) Nii-b-o (ni-b-o) ba-ba-ana

Cop-2-prt (cop-2-prt) Pp-2-child

“They are the ones who are children”

(c) Ba-no nii-b-o (ni-b-o) ba-ba-ana

2-dem cop-2-prt (cop-2-prt) Pp-2-child

“These are the ones who are children”

78(a) Nii-sy-o ní-sy-o ne-eny-a

Cop-7-prt cop-7-prt 1stSing-want-fv

“It is the one that I want”

(b) Si-no nii-sy-o ní-sy-o ne-eny-a

7-dem cop-7-prt cop-7-prt 1pers-want-fv

“This is the one that I want”

79(a) Nii-se

Cop-1stSing.

“It is me”

(b) Nii-fwe

Cop-1stPl

“It is us”

(c) Nii-nywe mu-mw-aa-p-a o-mw-aana

Cop-2ndPl wh-2-past-beat-fv aug-1-child

“It is you (Plural) who beat the child”

These data illustrate some of the contexts and functions of the ‘ni-agr-o’ word. In a context where it is neither preceded nor followed by any other word (as in 76a), the ‘ni-agr-o’ word is ambiguous. It can be interpreted as a pronoun or as a bigger unit translated as ‘it is’. In (76b&c), the ‘ni-agr-o’ word occurs after a DP, and it seems to be functioning as a marker of predication. In (77a, b & c), the ‘ni-agr-o’ word seems to be functioning as a DP (the equivalent of ‘the one(s)'). Notice that the *ni*- in the ‘ni-agr-o’ word in (77) has a low toned long vowel. In contrast, the *ni*- in the ‘ni-agr-o’ word in (76a-c) has a high toned short vowel. Sentences (78a & b) are interesting. They show that two ‘ni-agr-o’ words can be used side by side in a sentence. The usage of two ‘ni-agr-o’ words in a sentence is subject to one condition: the first ‘ni-agr-o’ word must be one whose *ni*- has a low toned long vowel, and the second ‘ni-agr-o’ word must be one whose *ni*- has a high toned short vowel. This condition suggests that the two ‘ni-agr-o’ words have different functions. The ‘ni-agr-o’ word whose *ni*- has a low toned long vowel is a DP (the one) while the ‘ni-agr-o’ word whose *ni*- has a high toned short vowel is a complementizer of sorts. Like the first ‘ni-agr-o’ word in (78a & b) the ‘ni-agr-o’ word in (79a-c) has a *ni*- whose vowel is long and low toned. However in (79a-c), the ‘ni-agr-o’ word is complete sentence.

At this point we need to ask whether the data in (76)-(79) proves to us that the *ni*- in the ‘ni-agr-o’ is a copula. On the surface, (76a), (77a-c), (78a) and (79a-c) seem to suggest that it is. In each of these sentences, the only available candidate for copula status is *ni*- . There are no other overt forms that can reasonably be claimed to be copula. But still, this does not show unequivocally that *ni*- is a copula. This is because Lubukusu allows omission of the copula in the present tense. We saw in (75) that the present tense copula can be omitted from sentences without affecting the grammaticality of those sentences. It is therefore possible that (76a), (77a-c), (78a) and (79a-c) each has a covert copular. Fortunately, we can determine the presence or absence of a covert copula by negating the sentence or putting it into past or future

tense. Negation of sentences such as (75) makes the copula obligatory. This is shown in (80).

80(a) Wafula se-a-li o-mu-limi ta

1Wafula neg-1-cop Pp-1-farmer neg

“Wafula is not a farmer”

(b) Wafula se-a-li o-mu-silu ta

1Wafula neg-1-cop Pp-1-stupid neg

“Wafula is not stupid.”

Similarly, past tense counterparts of the sentences in (75) require an obligatory copula. This is shown in (81).

81(a) Wafula a-a-ba o-mu-limi

1Wafula 1-pst-cop Pp-1-farmer

“Wafula was a farmer”

(b) Wafula a-a-ba o-mu-silu

1Wafula 1-pst-cop Pp-1-stupid

“Wafula was stupid.”

If it is true that there is a covert copula in (76a), (77a-c), (78a) and (79a-c) independent of the ‘ni-agr-o’ word, we should expect that copula to show up in the negative and past tense counterparts of these sentences. If on the other hand *ni-* is a copula, then we would expect it to bear the negative morpheme or the past tense morpheme in the negative and past tense counterparts of (76a), (77a-c), (78a) and (79a-c).

Consider the following negative counterparts of (76a-c), (77c), (78a) and (79c).

- 82(a) Se-si-li ní-sy-o ta
 Neg-7-be cop-7-pron neg
 “It is not it”
- (b) Se-si-li si-tabu ní-sy-o ta
 Neg-7-be 7-book cop-7-pron neg
 “It is not a book”
- (c) Si-no se-si-li si-tabu ní-sy-o ta
 7-dem neg-7-be 7-book cop-7-pron neg
 “This is not a book”
- (d) *Si-no si-tabu se-ní-sy-o ta
 7-dem 7-book neg-cop-7-pron neg
 “This is not a book”
- 83(a) Ba-no se-ba-li nii-b-o ba-ba-ana ta
 2-dem neg-2-be cop-2-pron Pp-2-child neg
 “These are not the ones who are children”
- (b) *Ba-no se-nii-b-o ba-ba-ana ta
 2-dem neg-cop-2-prt Pp-2-child neg
 “These are not the ones who are children”
- 84(a) Se-si-li nii-sy-o ní-sy-o ne-eny-a ta
 Neg-7-be cop-7-pron cop-7-pron 1stSg.-want-fv neg
 “It is not the one I want”
- (b) *Se-nii-sy-o ní-sy-o ne-eny-a ta
 Neg-cop-7-prt cop-7-pron 1stSg.-want-fv neg
 “It is not the one I want”
- 85(a) Se-mu-li nii-nywe mu-mw-aa-p-a o-mw-aana ta
 Neg-2ndPl-be cop-2ndPl wh-2-past-beat-fv Pp-1-child neg
 “You (Plural) are not the ones who beat the child”

- (b) *Se-nii-nywe mu-mw-aa-p-a o-mw-aana ta
 Neg-cop-2ndPl wh-2-past-beat-fv Pp-1-child neg
 “You (Plural) are not the ones who beat the child”

These sentences show that the ‘ni-agr-o’ word does not serve as a host to the negative prefix *se-*. Instead it is the added ‘agr-be’ copula that serves as host to the negative prefix. Similarly, a ‘ni-agr-o’ word does not serve as host to the past tense prefix. It is the added the ‘agr-be’ copula that serves as host to the past tense morpheme. This is illustrated in the following sentences.

- 86(a) Si-a-ba ní-sy-o
 7-pst-be cop-7-pron
 “It is was it”
- (b) Si-a-ba sii-tabu ní-sy-o
 7-pst-be 7-book cop-7-pron
 “It is was the book”
- (c) Si-no si-a-ba sii-tabu ní-sy-o
 7-dem 7-pst-be 7-book cop-7-pron
 “This was a book”
- (d) *Si-no sii-tabu a-ní-sy-o
 7-dem 7-book pst-cop-7-pron
 “This was a book”
- 87(a) Ba-no nii-b-o ba-ba-a-ba ba-ba-ana
 2-dem cop-2-pron wh-2-pst-be Pp-2-child
 “These were the ones who were children”

(b) *Ba-no a-nii-b-o ba-ba-a-ba ba-ba-ana

2-dem pst-cop-2-pron wh-2-pst-be Pp-2-child

“These were the ones who were children”

88(a) Si-a-ba nii-sy-o ní-sy-o né-é-ény-a

7-pst-be cop-7-pron cop-7-pron 1stSg.-pst-want-fv

“It was the one I wanted”

(b) *A-nii-sy-o ní-sy-o né-é-ény-a

Pst-cop-7-prt cop-7-pron 1stSg.-pst-want-fv

“It was the one I wanted”

89(a) Mu-a-ba nii-nywe mu-mw-aa-p-a o-mw-aana

2ndPl-pst-be cop-2ndPl wh-2-past-beat-fv Pp-1-child

“You (Plural) were the ones who beat the child”

(b) *A-nii-nywe mu-mw-aa-p-a o-mw-aana

Pst-cop-2pers.pl wh-2-past-beat-fv Pp-1-child

“You (Plural) were the ones who beat the child”

It is clear from these data that the ‘ni-agr-o’ word may not host the negative morpheme and past tense morpheme whether it occurs alone or in a two ‘ni-agr-o’ sequence. This strongly suggests the *ni-* in the ‘ni-agr-o’ word is not a copula of the usual type. The normal copula in Lubukusu has the structure agr-copula. As shown in (82)-(85) and (86)-(89), the copula usually precedes the ‘ni-agr-o’ word. The copular obligatorily shows up in negated sentences (82-85) and in past tense sentences (86-89). But in the present tense, it is almost always dropped (75-79). I will assume that in the present tense, the normal copula is present even though it is not overtly realized. In this sense the copula is covert in the present tense.

If *ni-* in the ‘ni-agr-o’ is not a copula of the usual type, then what is it? In asking this question we are not ruling out the possibility that *ni-* was a copula at

some point in the historical development of Lubukusu. Such a possibility exists, and one can argue that the reason why *ni-* does not serve as host to the negative morpheme and the past tense morpheme is that it no longer functions as a copula, having undergone some historical change. In fact, in some languages, the copula need not undergo a historical change in order to take on an additional non-traditional function. For instance Chinese uses *shi* ‘be’ as a focusing adverb to mark a focused constituent in clefts (Huang 1982). This is true of Malayalam as well. In this language a copula can function as a focus marker in clefts (Jayaseelan 2001:64). But the situation in Lubukusu is different. *Ni-* is longer a copula. It may have been a copula in earlier stages of historical development, but now it is not.

The one thing that is clear from the data in (76-79), (82-85) and (86-89) is that the ‘ni-agr-o’ word is in some way associated with presence of the copula. It seems that the ‘ni-agr-o’ word almost always occurs whenever there is a copula in the sentence and whenever a predication relationship is established in a sentence. This suggests that a selection relationship exists between the copula and the ‘ni-agr-o’ word. More precisely, the copula selects the ‘ni-agr-o’ word. It is reasonable to assume that the function of *ni-* of the ‘ni-agr-o’ word is to express the relation between the copula and other constituents in the sentence, a predication relation of sorts. As already pointed out, the fact that *ni-* is invariant suggests that it is a functional head. I suggest that *ni-* is a predication head (henceforth Pred) which heads the maximal projection, PredP. It is possible that this PredP may be related in some way to Bowers’ (1993) PredP even though they differ from each other in terms of where in the clause they occur: my PredP occurs in the left periphery, while Bower’s PredP occurs in the inflection (=IP) field. I have not pursued in this work the possibility that these two PredPs are related.

I assume that a predication relation exists not only in sentences such as those in (76-79), (82-85) and (86-89), but also in clefts and RCs. Similarly in languages

such as Chinese and Malayalam, it is not accidental that a copula is used to mark focused constituents in clefts. Most likely, the copula in clefts in these languages expresses a predication relation as well.

2.10.6 The particle -O

The final component of the complex complementizer is the particle -O. As shown in table 7 (above) and table 8 (below), this particle is invariant (with the exception of class 1 where it is realized as -e), suggesting that it is a functional head. The realization of the particle in class 1 as -e may be due to a historical change. This section is concerned not with explaining the realization of O- as -e, but with determining its status and function.

Ashton (1944) noted the existence of this particle in Kiswahili and called it the ‘O of reference.’ Polome (1967) who also worked on Kiswahili refers to this -O as a referential particle. The striking similarity between these two terms suggests that Ashton and Polome shared similar views on the status and function of -O. They seem to share the view that -O has the function of reference hence Polome’s term ‘referential particle’ and Ashton’s term ‘O of reference’. O of reference in Kiswahili is exemplified in 90(a) and (b). -O of reference is underlined in each case.

90(a) Wa-toto wa-na-O-cheza ni wa-vivu

2-children 2-pres-RM-play are 2-lazy

“The children who are playing are lazy.”

(b) Wa-toto amba-O wa-na-cheza ni wa-vivu

2-children who-RM 2-pres-play are 2-lazy

“The children who are playing are lazy.”

For the sake of uniformity, I follow Ashton (1944) in referring to the particle -O as the -O of reference. This is not the first time the term ‘O of reference’ is used to refer to the particle -O in Lubukusu: it was used earlier in Austen’s (1974) work.

A logical question to ask at this point is whether the -O of reference in Lubukusu occurs anywhere else besides the complex complementizer. The answer to this question is yes. O of reference in Lubukusu occurs not just in the complex complementizer; it occurs in demonstratives as well. This is not surprising at all because there is a cross-linguistic tendency for demonstratives and relative pronouns to be homophonous. For instance, in Nweh, the form of RM is identical to demonstratives (Nkemnji 1995).

Table 8 on page 98 illustrates the occurrence of the -O of reference in demonstratives and in the complex complementizer. Notice that the -O of reference does not occur in all demonstratives. Only ‘this’ and the far demonstrative bear the -O of reference. The near demonstrative doesn’t.

The fact that both demonstratives and the complex complementizer (=ni-agr-o) contain the -O of reference suggests that they have certain syntactic and perhaps semantic properties in common. There is no doubt that demonstratives are semantically pointing (deictic) expressions. They can point in a spatial orientation and pick out a referent in the physical world. But they can have a pointing function in a purely syntactic fashion as well. When used in a sentence, they point and pick out a DP they are associated with. It is perhaps in this sense that demonstratives are similar to the complex complementizer. It is possible that in both demonstratives and the complex complementizer, the syntactic function of pointing is accomplished by the O of reference.

But a more plausible explanation is that -O in demonstratives and in the complex complementizer is a pronominal head similar to Pron of the resumptive comitative construction (see section 2.8 for examples and discussion).

Table 8: O of reference in demonstratives and complex complementizer

Noun Class	This	That (near)	That (Far)	CplxComp
1	(o)yuno	oyu	oyo	ni-y-e
2	(a)bano	aba	abo	ni-b-o
3	(o)kuno	aku	okwo	ni-kw-o
4	(e)kino	eki	ekyo	ni-ky-o
5	(e)lino	eli	elyo	ni-ly-o
6	(a)kano	aka	ako	ni-k-o
7	(e)sino	esi	esyo	ni-sy-o
8	(e)bino	ebi	ebyo	ni-by-o
9	(e)yino	eyi	eyo	ni-y-o
10	(e)chino	echi	echo	ni-ch-o
11	(o)luno	olu	olwo	ni-lw-o
12	(a)khano	akha	akho	ni-kh-o
14	(o)buno	obu	obwo	ni-bw-o
15	(o)khuno	okhu	okhwo	ni-khw-o
16	ano	aa	ao	ni-o
16a	ano	aa	eyo	ni-o
17	khuno	okhu	okhwo	ni-khw-o
18	muno	omu	omwo	ni-mw-o
20	kuno	oku	okwo	ni-kw-o
23	eno	eyi	eyo	ni-y-o

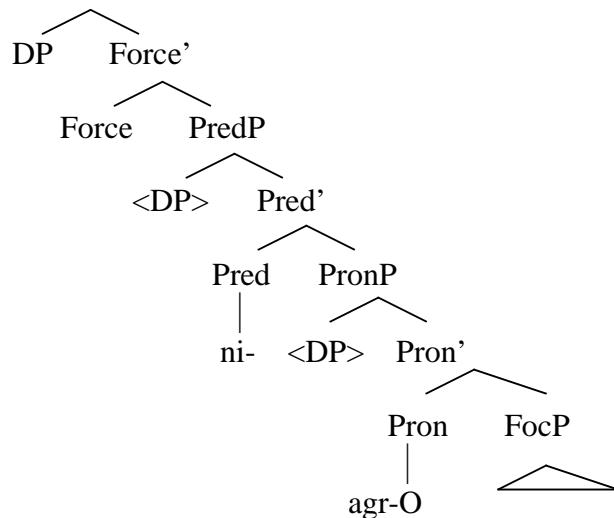
This makes perfect sense because demonstratives and relative operators are basically pronouns. It is therefore not accidental that both the complex complementizer and the demonstrative bear the O of reference: they both have a pronominal quality to them. I propose that O is the part of the complex complementizer (and

demonstrative) that bears this pronominal function. In the structure of the complex complementizer then, O is a Pron head just like O in demonstratives.

To summarize, we have determined that the complex complementizer (the ni-agr-o word) in Lubukusu consists two functional heads: the Pred head, ni, and the Pron head –O. In reality, the ni-agr-o word contains no element that can plausibly be taken to be a complementizer in the traditional sense. Nonetheless, I will continue referring it as the complex complementizer.

Due to the fact that the Pred head ni- and the Pron head –O are left periphery heads, and due to the fact that ForceP is and must be retained as the highest functional projection of the left periphery, I propose that the projections headed by Pred and Pron are located between ForceP and FocusP. This is illustrated in following phrase marker.

91. ForceP



One of the advantages of this structure is that it allows us to account for agreement facts within the complex complementizer in a straight forward way: the agreement prefix which is attached to the Pron head, O- is the realization of the agree relation that is established between the relativized DP and the Pron head. When this agree

relation is established, the relativized DP moves to Spec PronP. Later in the derivation the relativized DP moves to Spec PredP and Spec ForceP.

The analysis of the O of reference as a Pron head which I have proposed here stands in contrast with the o-epenthesis approach. For Keach (1985) and Spence (1997), the O of reference is epenthetic and is empty of meaning and function. However this account does not explain why O rather than any other vowel was chosen as the epenthetic vowel. One would expect the least marked vowel to be chosen as the epenthetic vowel. However there is no evidence in Lubukusu showing that O is the least marked vowel. Worse still, there is no evidence that Lubukusu has vowel epenthesis at all. My analysis does not face any of these problems. The O of reference has a function: it is a Pron head. It has a feature which attracts a DP with a matching feature to its Spec position. Whenever there is O in a clause, movement to Spec PronP must take place.

2.10.7 The Complex Complementizer in other Bantu languages

Complex complementizers are also attested in Kiswahili, Chichewa, Haya, Nkore-Kiga, Runyoro, Luganda, Sesotho, Bemba, Tsonga, and Lingala. This is illustrated in the following data.

92 (a) Kiswahili

Ki-tabu **amba-ch-o** mw-alimu a-li-nunu-a ki-me-pote-a
7-book pred-7-C 1-teacher 1-pst-buy-fv 7-asp-loose-fv

“The book that the teacher bought is lost”

(b) Haya (Duranti & Byarushengo 1977)

Enyam’ [éyó Kató y-a-shál-a]

9Meat 9REL Kato he-P₁-cut

“The meat that Kato cut”

(c) Bemba (Givón 1972b)

ici-tabo **icyó** úmwana a-á-mwééné

7-book 7REL 1child 1SM-pst-see

“The book that the child saw”

92' (a) Chichewa (Mchombo 2004)

Anyaní **a-méné** á-kú-b-á míkanda

2-baboons 2SM-rel 2-SM-pres-steal-fv 4-beads

a-ku-dz-éts-á chisokonezo

2SM-pres-come-cause-fv 7- confusion

“The baboons that are stealing beads are bringing confusion”

(b) Luganda (Ashton et al 1954)

Ekikopo **ky-e** n-guze kya-tise

7-cup 7which I-buy 7-break

“The cup which I’ve bought is broken”

(c) Lingala (Henderson 2005)

mukanda **muye** Poso a-tind-aki

letter_i RM_i Poso 3S-send-PAST

“the letter that Poso sent”

(d) Nkore-Kiga (Taylor 1985)

Akacumu **aku** w-aa-kozes a-ri aha meeza

9Pen 9which you-TP-use it-be on table

“The pen you used is on the table”

(e) Runyoro

Omwojo a-ka-som-a e-ki-tabo **eki** o-mw-isiki ya-guz-ir-e

1Boy 1-pst-read Pp-7-book 7which Pp-1-girl 1-buy-asp-fv

“The boy read the book that the girl bought”

(f) Sesotho (Demuth and Harford 1999)

Setulo **seo** basadi ba-se-rek-ile-**ng** kajeno

7chair 7REL women 2AGR-7OBJ-buy-PERF-RL today

“The chair which the women bought today”

(g) Tsonga (Kula, 2004)

Buku **leyi** munhua yi hlay-a-ka

9book 9REL 1person 1SM 9OM read-FV-REL

“The book that the person is reading”

As shown in the data, the structure of the complex complementizer is not identical in all the languages. In languages such as Kiswahili, Haya and Bemba, the complementizer has three elements just like the Lubukusu complex complementizer: an invariant first part, an agreement affix and the O of reference. But in languages such as Chichewa, Luganda, Lingala, Nkore-Kiga, Runyoro, Sesotho and Tsonga, the complex complementizer has only 2 elements. I assume that the ‘missing’ constituent of the complex complementizer in these languages is covert.

Notice that in addition to the two-constituent complex complementizer in Sesotho and Tsonga, the verb of the relative clause in these languages bears an affix which in the literature is usually glossed as REL. As far as I know, nobody has discussed the syntax of this affix, so it is unclear what its function is. Henderson (2005) and Kula (2004) provide data containing this affix, but except for glossing it as REL, they say nothing more about it. I suggest that the function of this suffix is similar to verb-final REL in languages such as Zulu, Xhosa and Swati which was discussed in section 2.4: to mark the verb as relative. This verb-final REL is generated as head of a projection located between IP and vP which I dubbed RelP.

2.10.8 The Position of the complex complementizer

Within the group of Bantu languages that use the complex complementizer in relative clause formation, there are languages that allow a full NP subject to precede the complex complementizer in object relatives and those that don't. Lubukusu and Kiswahili among others belong to the latter group. As shown in (93b) and (94b) placing the subject before the complex complementizer leads to ungrammaticality in both Lubukusu and Kiswahili.

93(a) Ku-mu-saala ni-kw-o papa a-a-byaal-a kwa-a-cho-il-e (Lubukusu)

Pp-3-tree pred-3-pron 1father 1-pst-plant-fv 3-pst-grow-perf-fv

“The tree which father planted has grown”

(b) *Ku-mu-saala papa ni-kw-o a-a-byaal-a kwa-a-cho-il-e

Pp-3-tree 1father pred-3-pron 1-pst-plant-fv 3-pst-grow-perf-fv

“The tree which father planted has grown”

94(a) Barua amba-y-o Juma a-li-andik-a i-me-pote-a (Kiswahili)

9letter pred-9-pron 1Juma 1-pst-write-fv 9-perf-lose-fv

“The letter that Juma wrote is lost.”

(b) *Barua Juma amba-y-o a-li-andik-a i-me-pote-a

9letter 1Juma pred-9-pron 1-pst-write-fv 9-perf-lose-fv

“The letter that Juma wrote is lost”

Languages that allow a full-NP subject to precede the complex complementizer include Runyoro, Haya and Luganda. As shown in the following data, a full-NP subject precedes the complex complementizer optionally in Runyoro and Haya, but obligatorily in Luganda.

95. Runyoro

- (a) O-mw-oyo a-ka-som-a e-ki-tabo o-mw-isiki e-ki-ya-guz-ir-e
Pp-1-boy 1-pst-read Pp-7-book Pp-1-girl REL-7-1-buy-asp-fv
“The boy read the book which the girl bought”
- (b) O-mw-oyo a-ka-som-a e-ki-tabo e-ki o-mw-isiki ya-guz-ir-e
Pp-1-boy 1-pst-read-fv Pp-7-book REL-7 Pp-1-girl 1-buy-asp-fv
“The boy read the book which the girl bought”

96. Haya (Duranti 1977)

- (a) emótok' éy' ómwáána y – a – yogy – á ø yaŋge
car REL child he – P₁ – wash – fv cop mine
“the car that the child has washed is mine”
- (b) emótok' ómwáán' éyó y – a – yogy – á ø yaŋge
car child REL he – P₁ – wash – fv cop mine
“the car that the child has washed is mine”

97. Luganda (Ashton et. al 1954)

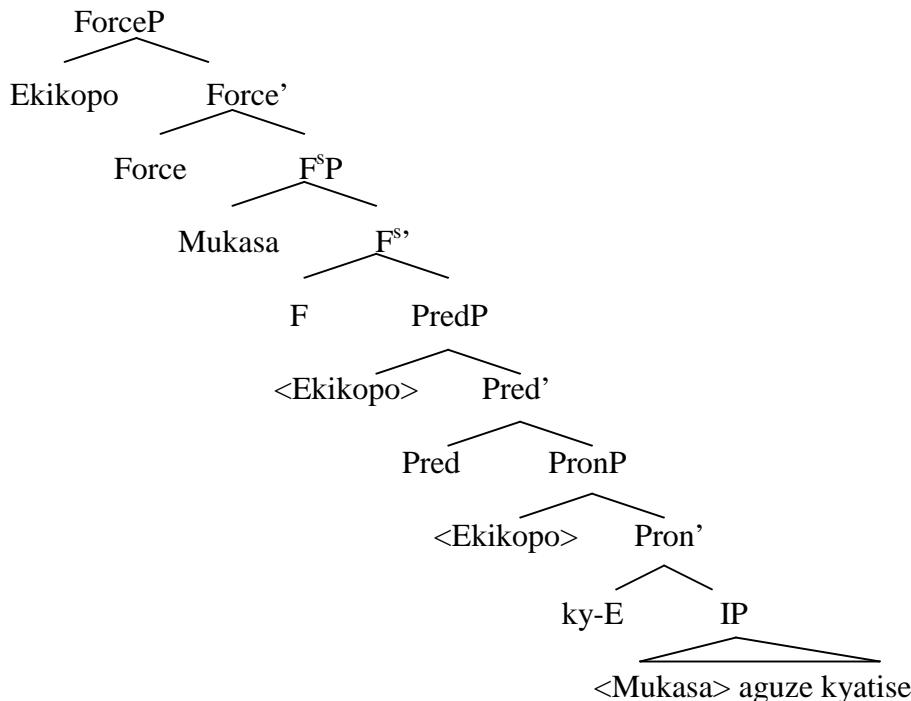
- (a) Eki-kopo Mukasa ky'-a-guz-e ky-a-tis-e
7-Cup 1Mukasa REL-1-buy-asp 7-pst-break-asp
“The cup which Mukasa has bought is broken”
- (b) *Eki-kopo kye Mukasa a-guz-e ky-a-tis-e
7-Cup REL 1Mukasa 1-buy-asp 7-pst-break-asp
“The cup which Mukasa has bought is broken”

Duranti (1977) analyses this phenomenon in Haya as relative pronoun attraction to the verb. But an interesting question to ask is: why do Luganda, Haya and Runyoro allow the subject to precede the complex complementizer but not Lubukusu and Kiswahili? My answer to this question is that Luganda, Haya and Runyoro have an additional functional projection, F^sP, located above PredP. This projection is absent

in Lubukusu and Kiswahili. If we assume that the head of this projection, F^s , has a feature that can only be checked by the subject, we can straightforwardly account for the order subject – complex complementizer in Luganda, Haya and Runyoro. In Haya and Runyoro where the subject can occur either before or after the complex complementizer, I suggest that subject feature in F^s is still checked by the subject even though subject movement to Spec F^sP doesn't take place. In other words, an Agree relation between F^s and the subject is established, but for reasons that are still unclear, the subject does not move to Spec F^sP . In contrast, the subject moves obligatorily to Spec F^sP in Luganda after an Agree relation is established between F^s and the subject. This is illustrated in the following partial derivation of a Luganda RC.

98. Eki-kopo Mukasa ky'-a-guz-e ky-a-tis-e
 7-Cup 1Mukasa REL-1-buy-asp 7-pst-break-asp

“The cup which Mukasa has bought is broken”

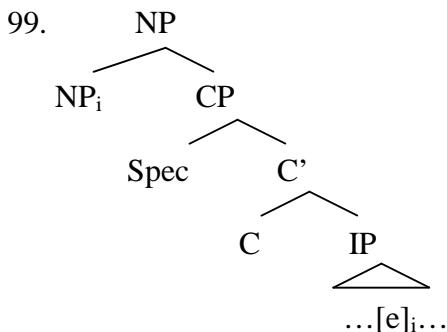


As shown in this derivation, the relativized object NP moves to Spec PronP before moving to Spec ForceP to check the relative feature in Force.

To summarize, we have seen that languages such as Lubukusu, Kiswahili, Luganda, Haya and Runyoro use both the complex complementizer strategy of relativization and the RM strategy, but languages such as Chishona, Xhosa, Swati and Zulu use only the RM strategy. It should be noted that the use of the RM strategy is rather limited in the former group; the complex complementizer strategy tends to be used in more contexts. For instance in Lubukusu, Luganda and Haya the RM strategy is only used in subject relativization. In Kiswahili, the complex complementizer strategy (the AMBA strategy) can be used in all relativization contexts, but the RM strategy is limited to fewer contexts. For an outline and discussion of these contexts, see Keach (1985), Spence (1997), Ngonyani 1999 and Buell (2002).

2.11 The structure of the relative clause in Lubukusu

According to Chomsky (1977), the relative clause is an adjunct of the NP and has the following structure.



Under Chomsky's proposal, the head of the relative clause is base generated outside the relative clause. In contrast, the operator is generated inside the relative clause and moves to Spec CP. The operator is coindexed with the RC head NP.

Although the structure in (99) is accurate in assigning adjunct status to the relative clause, it is not adequate to account for the other relevant facts. For instance it fails to account for facts relating to idiom chunks in English (Vergnaud 1974, 1985; Nkemnji 1995). It is inadequate for Lubukusu as well. First, although the relative clause and other nominal modifiers are adjuncts, they occur in a well defined order. This suggests that the structure of the NP in Lubukusu is more complex than (99) suggests. Secondly, the structure in (99) has no straight forward way of accounting for agreement facts within the Lubukusu NP, and it does not straightforwardly account for the fact that the demonstrative always occurs as the final constituent of the NP after the relative clause. This is illustrated in the following data.

100(a) O-mw-aana o-w-a-kw-a o-yo

Pp-1-child RM-1-pst-fall-fv 1-that

“That child who fell”

(b) *O-mw-aana o-yo o-w-a-kw-a

Pp-1-child 1-that RM-1-pst-fall-fv

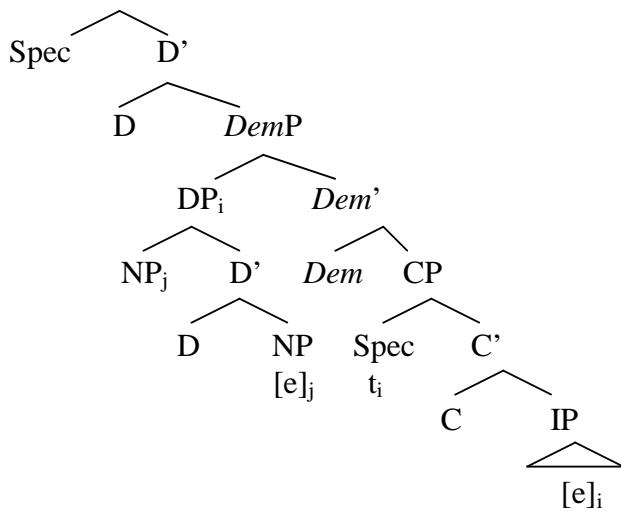
“That child who fell”

In Nweh the demonstrative also occurs after other nominal modifiers with the exception the relative clause (Nkemnji 1995). To account for facts such as these, Nkemnji adopts and adapts the relative-clause structure proposed by Kayne (1994). For Kayne (1994), the relative clause has the following structure.

101. $[_{DP} D^0 CP]$

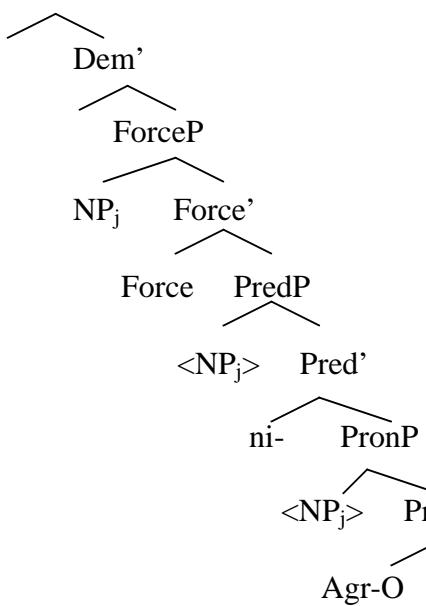
Building upon Kayne’s structure, Nkemnji proposes (102) to be the correct structure of the relative clause.

102. DP

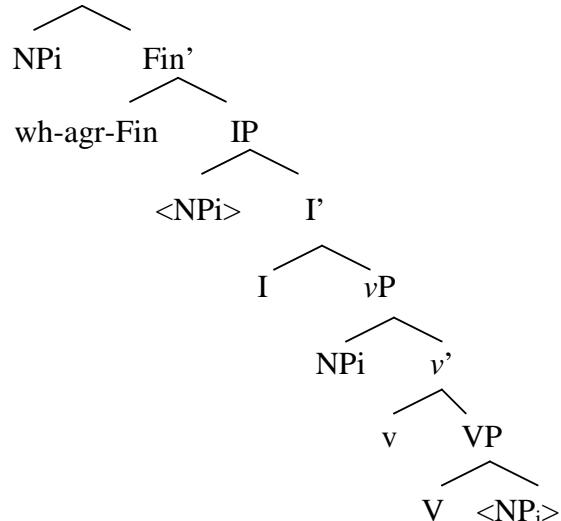


Although this structure allows for additional projections over and above those provided by Kayne's structure, we need to modify it in a number of ways before it can adequately account for the Lubukusu data. In particular, we need a more articulated structure of the complementizer system in order to account for the complex nature of the complementizer in Lubukusu. I suggest a structure along the following lines. Note: DemP (=demonstrative phrase) is not part of the RC; it dominates the RC.

103. DemP



FinP



Notice that this structure does not give us the correct word order in Lubukusu NPs that contain a relative clause and a demonstrative. The demonstrative in such NPs strictly occurs after the RC. Indeed no nominal modifier can occur after the demonstrative. This is illustrated in the following data.

104. The demonstrative and other modifiers

(a) Noun > Adjective > Demonstrative

O-mw-aana o-mu-kesi o-y-o

Pp-1-child Pp-1clever that-1-pron

“That clever child”

(b) Noun > Demonstrative > Adjective

*O-mw-aana o-y-o o-mu-kesi

Pp-1-child that-1-pron Pp-1clever

Okay if intended meaning is “That child is clever.”

(c) Noun > Ordinal number/PP > Demonstrative

O-mw-aana o-we khuu-raang-a o-y-o

Pp-1-child 1-asso inf-begin-fv that-a-pron

“That first child”

(d) Noun > Demonstrative > Ordinal number/PP

*O-mw-aana o-y-o o-we khuu-raang-a

Pp-1-child that-1-pron 1-asso inf-begin-fv

Okay if intended meaning is “That child is the first one.”

(e) Noun > PP > Demonstrative

O-mw-aana o-we lii-khendekha o-y-o

Pp-1-child 1-asso 5-envy that-1-pron

“That child of envy” (= that envious child)

(f) Noun > Demonstrative > PP

*O-mw-aana o-y-o o-we lii-khendekha
Pp-1-child that-1-pron 1-asso 5-envy

Okay if intended meaning is “that child is of envy (= that child is envious)”

(g) Noun > Quantifier > Demonstrative

Ba-ba-ana ba-kali a-b-o
Pp-2-child 2-many that-2-pron

“Those many children”

(h) Noun > Demonstrative > Quantifier

*Ba-ba-ana a-b-o ba-kali
Pp-2-child that-2-pron 2-many

Okay if intended meaning is “Those children are many.”

(k) Noun > Demonstrative > What

*Mu-saala o-kw-o si(ina)?
3-tree that-3-pron what

“Which that tree / which tree?”

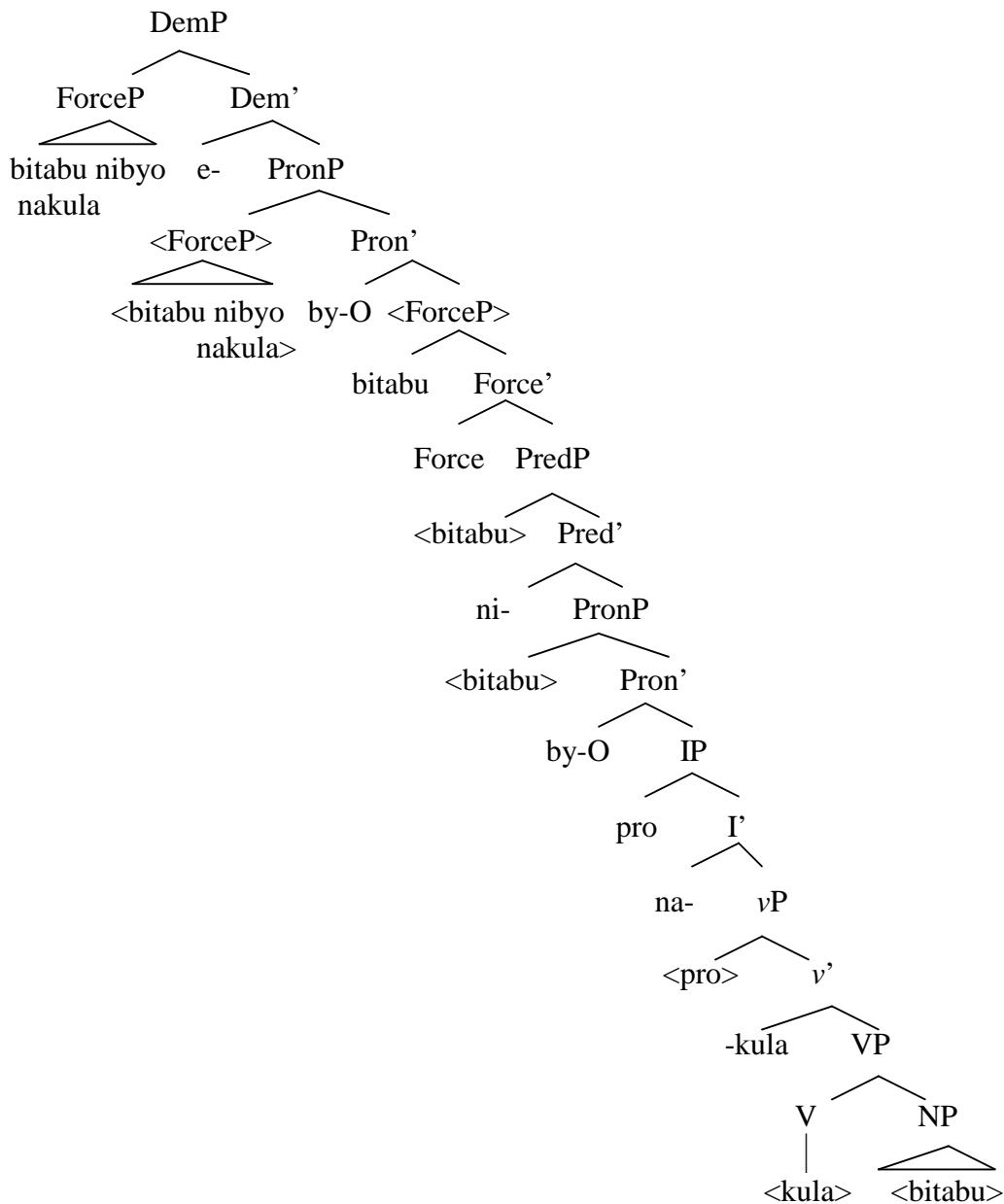
(l) Noun > what > that

Mu-saala si(ina) o-kw-o?
3-tree what that-3-pron

“Which tree is that?” (It does not mean ‘which that tree / which tree?’)

To derive the phrase final position for the demonstrative in NPs that contain a demonstrative and RC, I assume that the entire RC moves to Spec PronP (Pron that is associated with the demonstrative). From there it moves to Spec DemP. This is illustrated in the following derivation.

105. Bi-tabu ni-by-o na-a-kul-a e-by-o
 8-book pred-8-pron 1-pst-buy-fv dem-8-pron
 Those books that I bought



You will notice that I have adopted a movement account of relativization, but I haven't provided any supporting evidence. Before providing and discussing evidence that supports a movement account of relativization, let me first describe briefly a fact

that is often used against it: resumptive pronouns. The use of the resumptive pronouns in Bantu is quite common. In Chichewa for instance, Mchombo 2004:44 observes that the relative clauses “routinely exploits the resumptive pronoun strategy through the presence of the OM.” He argues that the use of resumptive pronouns in relative clauses undermines the movement approach to relative clauses which has standardly been justified by subcategorization requirements of the verb within the relative clause. Contrary to expectations, the verb in the relative clause usually occurs without its NP complement. The fact that the relative pronoun (in some theories) or the head noun (in other theories) which occur in the complementizer field has verb-complement features is taken by movement theories to be evidence that movement has indeed taken place. According to Mchombo (2004), this argument is undermined in Chichewa because resumptive pronouns satisfy the subcategorization requirements of the RC verb. While Mchombo’s argument may be true for Chichewa, it does not hold for Lubukusu. As shown in (31h) repeated here as (106), the object marker (OM) is incompatible with relativization in non-island contexts.

106. *Ku-mu-saala ni-kw-o papa a-a-ku-byaal-a kwa-a-cho-il-e
Pp-3-tree pred-3-pron 1father 1-pst-O3-plant-fv 3-pst-grow-perf-fv
“The tree which father planted has grown”

The logical explanation for the incompatibility of OM with relativization is that OM is not needed because the verb of the relative clause already has complement (in the RC-head which has moved to the left periphery). You can’t have an OM in an RC such as (106) because the overt NP is present but has been moved to the head position of the RC.

A movement account of relativization is also supported by bound anaphora facts. In Lubukusu, coindexing a pronoun with the relativized NP gives rise to a Condition C violation. This is illustrated in the following sentences, 107(b) being the reconstructed counterpart of 107(a).

107(a) *O-mw-aana w-o o-mu-limi_i ni-y-e pro_i a-a-bon-a a-a-ba a-chehk-a
Pp-1-child 1-assoc Pp-1-farmer pred-1-pron pro 1-pst-see-fv 1-pst-be 1-laugh-fv
“The farmer’s child that he saw was laughing”

(b) *O-mw-aana w-o o-mu-limi_i ni-y-e
Pp-1-child 1-assoc Pp-1-farmer pred-1-pron
pro_i a-a-bon-a <o-mw-aana w-o o-mu-limi_i> a-a-ba a-chehk-a
pro 1-pst-see-fv Pp-1-child 1-assoc Pp-1-farmer 1-pst-be 1-laugh-fv
“The farmer’s child that he saw was laughing”

Thus a pronoun in the RC cannot be coindexed with the relativized NP. This is unexpected if no movement is involved (for instance if it is assumed that the head of the RC is base generated outside the RC). But for a movement account of relativization, the violation of Condition C which we see in (107) is expected: the R-expression must be free.

Additional support for a movement account of relativization is provided by idiom chunk facts. As illustrated by the following data, it is possible to relativize part of an idiom chunk in Lubukusu. Note that this is not true for all idiom chunks.

108(a) khuu-nyw-a e-raba
inf-drink-fv 9-tobacco/cigarette
“to drink a cigarette” (=to smoke a cigarette)

(b) E-raba ni-y-o Lukorito a-a-nyw-a ya-a-m-a Kimilili.

9-cigarette pred-9-pron 1Lukorito 1-pst-drink 9-pst-come from-fv Kimilili

“The cigarette which Lukorito smoked came from Kimilili”

109(a) kuu-ly-a chi-taabu

inf-eat-fv 10-trouble

“to eat troubles” (=to suffer / face troubles)

(b) Chi-taabu ni-ch-o Wekesa a-a-ly-a cha-a-b-a chii-ngali

10-trouble pred-10-pron 1Wekesa 1-pst-eat-fv 10-pst-be-fv 10-many

“The troubles that Wekesa encountered were numerous.”

110(a) khu-khuu-p-a chi-piicha

inf-inf-hit-fv 10-picture

“to hit pictures (=to take pictures)”

(b) Chi-piicha ni-ch-o Wekesa a-a-p-a chi-li muu-nju

10-picture pred-10-pron 1Wekesa 1-pst-hit-fv 10-be 18-house

“The pictures that Wekesa took are in the house”

Thus idiomatic expressions which are generated as a unit are split up by relativization. This is good evidence that the syntactic process of relativization does indeed move the RC head from a clause-internal position to the left periphery.

2.12 Summary

This chapter examined relativization and the structure of the RC, particularly the structure of the left periphery in Lubukusu and several other Bantu languages. We established that relativization of subjects in Lubukusu differs from relativization of non-subjects. While the former triggers wh-agreement, the latter does not. I accounted for this difference in terms of where in the left periphery relative features are located. Relative features that are located Fin, are subject features and they

trigger wh-agreement; but relative features that are located in Pron are non-subject features and they do not trigger wh-agreement. We also argued in this chapter for the need to add two functional projections, namely PredP and PronP to Rizzi's 1997 structure of the left periphery. The need for these functional projections arise from the complex nature of the relative complementizer in Lubukusu and the fact that this complementizer occurs in question clefts and declarative clefts as well. Other relativization facts that were discussed in this chapter include the incompatibility of object prefixes with relativization, subject-verb inversion in some Bantu languages, subject-complementizer inversion in some Bantu languages, unavailability of preposition stranding and the structure and derivation of the relative clause. But one issue which is relevant to relativization and the structure of the RC which this chapter didn't discuss is whether or not it is possible to extract phrases or other elements from RCs. This issue, among others, is discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 3

Clefting in Lubukusu

3.1 Introduction

Speakers of Lubukusu regularly use clefting to ask questions. This may be due to the fact that cleft questions are more or less semantically equivalent to wh- in-situ questions. The semantic equivalence of wh- in-situ questions to their cleft counterparts is not just an idiosyncratic property of Lubukusu; it has also been observed in Kikuyu (Bergvall 1983:246), Dzamba, Likila and Lingala (Bokamba 1976) and Kiswahili which, like Lubukusu, are Bantu languages. It is possible that this is a general property of all Bantu languages.

This chapter is dedicated to the cleft construction, not because speakers of Lubukusu use it more frequently, but because of questions that it raises. What is its structure? Is clefting subject to island constraints? Can all maximal projections in an IP be clefted? These questions are addressed in this chapter. I will show that clefts in Lubukusu are bi-clausal and that clefting is subject to island constraints. I will also show that only elements or constituents that have interpretable phi-features can be clefted. But before we start examining the cleft construction in Lubukusu, few brief comments about movement in wh- in-situ languages are in order.

It seems that all wh-in-situ languages allow for some form of overt wh-movement. Japanese which is a typical wh-in-situ language allows for scrambling of wh- phrases (Oba 2001, Saito 1989, 1992). In fact Takahashi (1993) claims that some wh- constructions in Japanese involve true (non-scrambling) wh-movement. However this claim is controversial and it is no surprise that it is countered in Nishiyama et al (1995). Lubukusu stands in contrast to Japanese with regards to scrambling: Lubukusu lacks scrambling.

Another type of overt wh-movement that in-situ languages allow – which I introduced in the opening paragraph – is clefting. Like Lubukusu, and indeed Bantu generally, Japanese allows for wh-movement through clefting.

However, it should be borne in mind that the wh-movement that in-situ languages allow is in general not the same type attested in English-type languages. There can be parallels between overt movement in in-situ languages and overt wh-movement in English-type languages, but the movement types are basically different, and they are triggered by different features. Hopefully, this chapter will highlight the major syntactic properties of clefts and make it easy to see how clefting differs from overt wh-movement in English-type languages. We start our task – the task of elucidating the cleft construction - by examining the simple cleft in Lubukusu.

3.2 Simple cleft constructions

We saw in chapter 2 that object-clefting differs somewhat from subject clefting both in question clefts and non-question clefts. Subject clefting triggers wh-agreement, but non-subject clefting does not. Another difference is that the complex complementizer is optional in subject clefting, but obligatory in object clefting. The following data illustrates these differences.

1(a) Lw-a-ba luu-saala ni-lw-o Wamalwa a-a-fun-a

11-pst-be 11-stick pred-11-pron 1Wamalwa 1-pst-break-fv

“It was a stick that Wamalwa broke.”

(b) *Luu-saala ni-lw-o Wamalwa a-a-fun-a (ok as Rel cl: ‘the stick that...’)

11-stick pred-11-pron 1Wamalwa 1-pst-break-fv

“It was a stick that Wamalwa broke.”

- (c) *Luu-saala Wamalwa a-a-fun-a
 11-stick 1Wamalwa 1-pst-break-fv
 “It was a stick that Wamalwa broke.”
- (d) *Lw-a-ba luu-saala Wamalwa a-a-fun-a
 11-pst-be 11-stick 1Wamalwa 1-pst-break-fv
 “It was a stick that Wamalwa broke”
2. (a) Si-a-ba siina ni-sy-o Wamalwa a-a-fun-a?
 7-pst-be what pred-7-pron 1Wamalwa 1-pst-break-fv
 “What was it that Wamalwa broke?”
- (b) Siina ni-sy-o Wamalwa a-a-fun-a?
 What pred-7-pron 1Wamalwa 1-pst-break-fv
 “What was it that that Wamalwa broke?”
- (c) *Siina Wamalwa a-a-fun-a?
 What 1Wamalwa 1-pst-break-fv
 “What was it that Wamalwa broke?”
- (d) *Si-a-ba siina Wamalwa a-a-fun-a?
 7-pst-be what 1Wamalwa 1-pst-break-fv
 “What was it that Wamalwa broke?”
- 3(a) Ba-a-ba ba-ba-ana ni-b-o ba-ba-a-fun-a luu-saala
 2-pst-be Pp-2-child pred-2-pron wh-2-pst-break-fv 11-stick
 “It was children who broke the stick.”
- (b) Ba-ba-ana ni-b-o ba-ba-a-fun-a luu-saala
 Pp-2-child pred-2-pron wh-2-pst-break-fv 11-stick
 “It was children who broke the stick.”
- (c) Ba-ba-ana ba-ba-a-fun-a luu-saala
 Pp-2-child wh-2-pst-break-fv 11-stick
 “It was children who broke the stick.”

(d) Ba-a-ba ba-ba-ana ba-ba-a-fun-a luu-saala

2-pst-be Pp-2-child wh-2-pst-break-fv 11-stick

“It was children who broke the stick.”

(e) *Ba-a-ba ba-ba-ana ba-a-fun-a luu-saala

2-pst-be Pp-2-child 2-pst-break-fv 11-stick

“It was children who broke the stick.”

4(a) Ba-a-ba naanu ni-b-o ba-ba-a-fun-a luu-saala?

2-pst-be who pred-2-pron wh-2-pst-break-fv 11-stick

“Who were they that broke the stick?”

(b) Naanu ni-b-o ba-ba-a-fun-a luu-saala?

Who pred-2-pron wh-2-pst-break-fv 11-stick

“Who were they that broke the stick?”

(c) Naanu ba-ba-a-fun-a luu-saala?

Who wh-2-pst-break-fv 11-stick

“Who were they that broke the stick?”

(d) Ba-a-ba naanu ba-ba-a-fun-a luu-saala?

2-pst-be who wh-2-pst-break-fv 11-stick

“Who were they that broke the stick?”

(e) *Ba-a-ba naanu ba-a-fun-a luu-saala?

2-pst-be who 2-pst-break-fv 11-stick

“Who were they that broke the stick?”

As shown in these data, clefting of the object in declaratives is similar to object clefting in questions. In both cases clefting does not trigger wh-agreement. Instead, the verb bears the regular third person subject agreement (1a, 2a&b). In addition, the complex complementizer is obligatory both in declarative object clefting (1c & d) and in question object clefting (2c & d). However, object clefting in declaratives is

not entirely identical to object clefting in questions. While it is possible to drop the copula in object clefting in questions (2b), copula drop in declarative object clefting is impossible (1b). This may be due to parsing factors. When the copula is dropped as in (1b), the sentence is bad as cleft construction. However it is good if it is interpreted as a relative clause (=the stick that Wamalwa broke ...). In this sense the copula is serving a disambiguation function. Copula drop in declarative object clefting (1b) forces a relative clause interpretation, but the presence of the copula ensures that the sentence is interpreted as cleft construction. In contrast, there are no competing interpretations associated with copula drop in question object clefting (2b).

In contrast to object clefting, clefting of the subject triggers wh-agreement. This is true for declarative clefts (3a-d) and question clefts (4a-d). Notice that clefting of subjects is incompatible with regular subject-verb agreement. Thus (3e) and (4e) whose verbs bear regular agreement rather than wh-agreement are bad. Notice also that clefting of the subject in declaratives and questions does not require the obligatory presence of the complex complementizer. As shown in (3c&d), the declarative cleft construction is okay without the complementizer. This is true also for the question cleft (4c&d). In chapter 2, I proposed that the complex complementizer is associated with relative features in Pron, and that wh-agreement is associated with relative features in Fin. This seems to be true for clefting as well. It is reasonable to assume that when the complex complementizer is absent in a cleft construction (as in the case of subject clefting), the clefted constituent is in Spec FinP, and that when the complex complementizer is present (as in the case of non-subject clefting), the clefted constituent is in Spec ForceP, having moved through Spec PronP.

Notice also that clefting of the subject does not require the obligatory presence of the copula. Copula drop in the declarative cleft has no effect on

grammaticality (3b&c). Similarly copula drop in the question cleft does not lead to ungrammaticality (4b&c). I will show in sections 3.3 and 3.4 that all cases of copula drop have a covert copula.

The data in (1)-(4) also illustrate the fact that Lubukusu allows for clefting of DPs – both non-wh-DPs and wh-DPs. However the data in (1)-(4) is far from complete. For one, it is necessary to ask if indirect object DPs and verbal nominals can be clefted. It is also necessary to ask whether projections such as VP, PP and Adverbs can be clefted. The following section addresses these issues.

3.3 What can be clefted in Lubukusu

The following data shows that verbal nominals (5&6) and direct and indirect objects (7) can undergo clefting.

5. Verbal nominal clefting: the *li*-verbal nominal

(a) Lii-keenda ly-ewe ly-a-uky-a baa-sooreri

5-walking 5-poss 5-pst-surprise-fv 2-boy

“His/her walking surprised boys.”

(b) (Li-li) lii-keenda ly-ewe ni-ly-o li-ly-a-uky-a baa-sooreri

(5-be) 5-walking 5-poss pred-5-pron wh-5-pst-surprise-fv 2-boy

“It is his/her walking that surprised boys.”

6. Verbal nominal clefting: the *khu*- (infinitive) verbal nominal

(a) Khuu-keenda khw-ewe khw-a-uky-a baa-sooreri

15-walking 15-poss 15-pst-surprise-fv 2-boy

“His/her walking surprised boys.”

(b) (Khu-li) khuu-keenda khw-ewe ni-khw-o khu-khw-a-uky-a baa-sooreri

(15-be) 15-walking 15-poss pred-15-pron wh-15-pst-surprise-fv 2-boy

“It is his/her walking that surprised boys.”

7. Direct and indirect object clefting

(a) Nangila a-a-tekh-el-a Wekesa ka-ma-kaanda

1Nangila 1-pst-cook-appl-fv 1Wekesa Pp-6-beans

“Nangila cooked beans for Wekesa”

(b) A-ba Wekesa ni-y-e Nangila a-a-tekh-el-a ka-ma-kaanda

1-be 1Wekesa pred-1-pron 1Nangila 1-pst-cook-appl-fv Pp-6-beans

“It was Wekesa that Nangila cooked beans for.”

(c) Ka-ba ka-ma-kaanda ni-k-o Nangila a-a-tekh-el-a Wekesa

6-be Pp-6-beans pred-6-pron 1Nangila 1-pst-cook-appl-fv 1Wekesa

“It was beans that Nangila cooked for Wekesa.”

(d) Naanu ni-y-e Nangila a-a-tekh-el-a ka-ma-kaanda?

Who pred-1-pron 1Nangila 1-pst-cook-appl-fv Pp-6-beans

“Who did Nangila cook beans for?”

(e) Siina ni-sy-o Nangila a-a-tekh-el-a Wafula?

What pred-1-pron 1Nangila 1-pst-cook-appl-fv 1Wafula

“What did Nangila cook for Wekesa?”

As shown in (7b&d), Lubukusu allows for clefting of the beneficiary (=indirect object). This contrasts with Chichewa, which does not allow for wh-extraction of the beneficiary NP (Bresnan & Moshi (1990), Alsina & Mchombo (1990), (1993), Mchombo (2004)). On the basis of impossibility for wh-extraction and other tests (word order, passivizability, cliticization and reciprocalization) Chichewa has been classified as an asymmetric double object language. Although Lubukusu differs from Chichewa in allowing for wh-extraction of the beneficiary NP it is probably premature to conclude that Lubukusu is a symmetric double object language. It is possible the other tests (word order, passivizability, cliticization and reciprocalization) would yield results that do not support this conclusion. Since it is

beyond the scope of this dissertation to resolve this issue, I will leave it for future research.

Returning to the issue of constituents that can be clefted, we have seen that Lubukusu allows for the clefting of verbal nominals, direct objects and indirect objects. However, it does not allow for VP clefting. This is illustrated in the following data.

8. VP clefting

(a) Naliaka a-a-kul-a ka-ma-tuunda

1Naliaka 1-pst-buy-fv Pp-5-fruit

“Naliaka bought fruits.”

(b) *A-ba a-a-kul-a ka-ma-tuunda ni-k-o Naliaka a-a-khol-a

1-be 1-pst-buy-fv Pp-5-fruit pred-5-pron 1Naliaka 1-pst-do-fv

“It was buy fruits that Naliaka did”

(c) *A-a-kul-a ka-ma-tuunda ni-k-o Naliaka a-a-khol-a

1-pst-buy-fv Pp-5-fruit pred-5-pron 1Naliaka 1-pst-do-fv

“It was buy fruits that Naliaka did”

(d) *Khu-li khu-kul-a ni-khw-o Naliaka a-a-kul-a ka-ma-tuunda

15-be 15-buy-fv pred-15-pron 1Naliaka 1-pst-buy-fv Pp-5-fruit

“It is buying that Naliaka bought fruits”

Although Lubukusu does not allow VP clefting, it does allow clefting of infinitival IPs. This is illustrated in the following sentences.

9(a) Naliaka a-a-sim-a khu-ly-a ka-ma-tuunda

1Naliaka 1-pst-like-fv inf-eat-fv Pp-5-fruit

“Naliaka likes to eat fruits / Naliaka likes eating fruits.”

(b) Khu-li khu-ly-a ka-ma-tuunda ni-khw-o Naliaka a-a-sim-a.

15-be 15-eat Pp-5-fruit pred-15-pron 1Naliaka 1-pst-like-fv

“It is eating fruits that Naliaka likes.”

On first impression, it seems that (9b) involves VP clefting. But on careful examination, it becomes clear that it involves infinitival-IP clefting. In other words the clefted constituent in (9b) is not a VP but a non-finite IP. Non-finite IP clefting is quite common in Bantu languages. For instance in Kiswahili, the following sentences are grammatical.

10(a) Hamisi a-na-pend-a ku-chez-a.

1Hamisi 1-prs-like-fv inf-play-fv

“Hamisi likes to play.”

(b) Ni ku-chez-a ndi-k-o Hamisi a-na-pend-a.

be inf-play-fv prd-15-pron 1Hamisi 1-prs-like-fv

“It is playing that Hamisi likes.”

Similar facts hold in Kisi. In this language, verbs in VP-like constituents can be clefted only if they are non-finite (Childs 2003). It seems reasonable to conclude that non-finite IP clefting is common, but that VP clefting is rare. The only language that allows VP clefting that I am aware of is Irish (see McCloskey (1996)).

Let us now turn to PP clefting in Lubukusu. As shown in the following data, PP clefting is possible in those cases where the preposition is prefixed to the noun (11). But in cases where an independent non-nominal preposition is used, PP clefting is ruled out (12).

11. PP clefting: nominal PP

- (a) O-mu-khaana a-a-chukh-a ka-ma-lwa muu-nyuungu
Pp-1-girl 1-pst-pour-fv Pp-5-beer in-pot
“The girl poured beer in a/the pot.”
- (b) Mu-li muu-nyuungu ni-mw-o o-mu-khaana a-a-chukh-a ka-ma-lwa
18-be in-pot pred-18-pron Pp-1-girl 1-pst-pour-fv Pp-5-beer
“It is in the pot that the girl poured beer.”
- (c) (Mu-li) muu-siina ni-mw-o o-mu-khaana a-a-chukh-a ka-ma-lwa?
18-be 18-what pred-18-pron Pp-1-girl 1-pst-pour-fv Pp-5-beer
“Into what did the girl pour beer?”

12. PP-clefting: non-nominal PP

- (a) Wekesa a-a-lomalom-a ne Nekesa.
1Wekesa 1-pst-speak-fv with 1Nekesa
“Wekesa spoke with Nekesa.”
- (b) *A-li ne Nekesa ni-y-e Wekesa a-a-lomalom-a.
1-be with 1Nekesa pred-1-pron 1Wekesa 1-pst-speak-fv
“It is with Nekesa that Wekesa spoke.”
- (c) *A-li Nekesa ni-y-e Wekesa a-a-lomalom-a ne.
1-be 1Nekesa pred-1-pron 1Wekesa 1-pst-speak-fv with
“It is Nekesa that Wekesa spoke with.”
- (d) A-li Nekesa ni-y-e Wekesa a-a-lomalom-a naye¹³.
1-be 1Nekesa pred-1-pron 1Wekesa 1-pst-speak-fv with-him/her
“It is Nekesa that Wekesa spoke with.”

¹³ *Naye* is shortened form of *ne naye* (=with him/her).

- (e) *(A-li) naanu ni-y-e Wekesa a-a-lomalom-a ne?
 (1-be) 1Nekesa pred-1-pron 1Wekesa 1-pst-speak-fv with
 “Who did Wekesa speak with?”
- (f) (A-li) naanu ni-y-e Wekesa a-a-lomalom-a naye?
 (1-be) who pred-1-pron 1Wekesa 1-pst-speak-fv with-him/her
 “Who is it that Wekesa spoke with?”
- (g) *(A-li) ne naanu ni-y-e Wekesa a-a-lomalom-a?
 (1-be) with who pred-1-pron 1Wekesa 1-pst-speak-fv
 “With whom did Wekesa speak?”

Thus clefting PPs headed by an independent preposition that has no nominal features is prohibited. This is true for declarative clefts (12b&c) as well as interrogative clefts (12e&g). Notice that preposition stranding is disallowed (12c&e). However the effects of proposition stranding are ameliorated by the addition of resumptive pronouns. This is true for relative clauses (see chapter 2) and cleft constructions (12). As shown in (12d&f), the addition of resumptive pronouns dramatically improves grammaticality of the otherwise ungrammatical sentences.

In contrast to the impossibility of PP clefting in (12), PPs headed by a certain class of independent prepositions can be clefted. Consider the following data.

13. PP clefting: independent nominal prepositions

- (a) Wekesa a-a-r-a sii-tabu asi we ee-n-debe.
 1Wekesa 1-pst-put-fv 7-book under of Pp-9-chair
 “Wekesa put a/the book under the chair.”
- (b) A-li asi we ee-n-debe ni-o-o Wekesa a-a-r-a sii-tabu.
 16-be under of Pp-9-chair pred-16-pron 1Wekesa 1-pst-put-fv 7-book
 “It is under the chair that Wekesa put a/the book.”

- (c) (A-li) waae ni-o-o Wekesa a-a-r-a sii-tabu?
 16-be where pred-16-pron 1Wekesa 1-pst-put-fv 7-book
 “Where is it that Wekesa put a/the book?”

Prepositions such as *asi* (=under) differ from propositions such as *ne* (=with) in being nominal. While *asi* refers to a place, (and can actually be used as a DP in some cases), *ne* cannot. *Ne* is non-nominal, and has a lot more in common with conjunctions than with nouns. It seems then that PP clefting is possible only for PPs headed by nominal prepositions, but not PPs headed by non-nominal prepositions.

Adverbials also divide up into two groups: those that can be clefted and those that can't. While place and time adverbials can be clefted, manner adverbials cannot. This is illustrated in the following data.

14. Adverb clefting: Place adverbials

- (a) Wafula a-a-kon-a mu-mu-siru
 1Wafula 1-pst-sleep-fv in-18-forest
 “Wafula slept in the forest”
- (b) Mu-li mu-mu-siru ni-mw-o Wafula a-a-kon-a.
 18-be in-18-forest pred-18-pron 1Wafula 1-pst-sleep-fv
 “It is in the forest that Wafula slept.”

- (c) Waae ni-o Wafula a-a-kon-a?
 Where pred-pron 1Wafula 1-pst-sleep-fv
 “Where is it that Wafula slept?”

15. Adverb clefting: Time adverbials

- (a) Wafula a-kha-kon-e kumuchuli.
 1Wafula 1-prs-sleep-fv tomorrow
 “Wafula will sleep tomorrow.”

- (b) Ku-li kumuchuli ni-kw-o Wafula a-kha-kon-e.
 3-be tomorrow pred-3-pron 1Wafula 1-pst-sleep-fv

“It is tomorrow that Wafula will sleep.”

- (c) Liina ni-lw-o Wafula a-kha-kon-e?
 When pred-11-pron 1Wafula 1-pst-sleep-fv
 “When is it that Wafula will sleep?”

16. Adverb clefting: manner adverbials

- (a) Wafula a-a-nyw-a ka-ma-lwa bwaangu.
 1Wafula 1-pst-drink-fv Pp-6-beer quickly
 “Wafula drank beer quickly.”

- (b) *Bu-li bwaangu ni-bw-o Wafula a-a-nyw-a ka-ma-lwa.
 14-be quickly pred-14-pron 1Wafula 1-pst-drink-fv Pp-6-beer
 “It is quickly that Wafula drank beer.”

- (c) Wafula a-a-nyw-a ka-ma-lwa a-rie(ena)?
 1Wafula 1-pst-drink-fv Pp-6-beer 1-how
 “How did Wafula drink beer?”

- (d) *a-rie(ena) ni-o Wafula a-a-nyw-a ka-ma-lwa?
 1-how pred-pron 1Wafula 1-pst-drink-fv Pp-6-beer
 “How is it that Wafula drank beer?”

- (e) *Bu-rie(ena) ni-bw-o Wafula a-a-nyw-a ka-ma-lwa?
 14-how pred-14-pron 1Wafula 1-pst-drink-fv Pp-6-beer
 “How did Wafula drink beer?”

The ungrammaticality of (16b, d & e) strongly suggests that manner adverbs and manner wh-phrases lack phi features which the complementizer in the cleft construction requires. The assumption that Pron in the cleft construction has phi-features which must be checked is supported by the presence – indeed the

obligatoriness of agreement on the Pron head (i.e. -o). Clearly, manner adverbs and the manner wh-adjunct lack phi-features (see chapter 5 for a detailed discussion of wh-adjuncts).

So far we have illustrated the cleft construction in Lubukusu and shown which phrases can or cannot undergo clefting. But there is a closely related construction that we have not talked about. As shown in (14), this construction has the skeletal structure ‘X is the one that’ Notice that the word that translates for ‘is the one’ is almost identical to the complex complementizer. Like the complex complementizer, it has the ni- head, agreement and a head similar to the Pron head. Inspite of this similarity I assume that the form ‘is the one’ is not a complementizer. It is a complex pronominal of sorts that has the structure be-agr-pron/one.

17 (a) Wekesa nii-y-e ni-y-e Nangila a-a-tekh-el-a ka-ma-kaanda

1Wekesa be-1-one pred-1-pron 1Nangila 1-pst-cook-appl-fv Pp-6-beans

“Wekesa is the one who Nangila cooked beans for.”

(b) Ka-ma-kaanda nii-k-o ni-k-o Nangila a-a-tekh-el-a Wekesa

Pp-6-beans be-6-one pred-6-pron 1Nangila 1-pst-cook-appl-fv 1Wekesa

“Beans are the ones that Nangila cooked for Wekesa.”

(c) Siina nii-sy-o ni-sy-o Nangila a-a-tekh-el-a Wekesa?

What be-7-one pred-7-pron 1Nangila 1-pst-cook-appl-fv 1Wekesa

“What is it that Nangila cooked for Wekesa?”

Although this construction does not fit the traditional definition of a cleft (as a construction of the type ‘It is X that ...’), it has syntactic and semantic properties that are similar to those of clefts. For one, each of the traditional clefts which were examined above, has a counterpart of the type ‘X is the one that...’ It is significant that these two constructions are synonymous. Thus a sentence y, of the type ‘It is X

that' and its counterpart z, of the type 'X is the one that' have exactly the same meaning. Secondly, these two constructions are subject to similar constraints. For instance neither a VP nor an adverb can be clefted both in the 'It is X that' construction (as shown in 8 and 16) and in the 'X is the one that' construction. That X can neither be a VP nor an adverb in the 'X is the one that' construction is illustrated in the following data.

18(a) Naliaka a-a-kul-a ka-ma-tuunda

1Naliaka 1-pst-buy-fv Pp-5-fruit

"Naliaka bought fruits."

(b) *A-a-kul-a ka-ma-tuunda niisyo ni-sy-o Naliaka a-a-khol-a

1-pst-buy-fv Pp-5-fruit ones pred-7-pron 1Naliaka 1-pst-do-fv

"It was buy fruits that Naliaka did"

19(a) Wafula a-a-nyw-a ka-ma-lwa bwaangu.

1Wafula 1-pst-drink-fv Pp-6-beer quickly

"Wafula drank beer quickly."

(b) *Bwaangu nii-bw-o ni-bw-o Wafula a-a-nyw-a ka-ma-lwa.

Quickly be-14-one pred-14-pron 1Wafula 1-pst-drink-fv Pp-6-beer

"It is quickly that Wafula drank beer."

(c) *Bu-rie(ena) nii-bw-o ni-bw-o Wafula a-a-nyw-a ka-ma-lwa?

14-how be-14-one pred-14-pron 1Wafula 1-pst-drink-fv Pp-6-beer

"How did Wafula drink beer?"

Because of this similarity, I will assume that the 'X is the one' construction is also a type of cleft. Like in the 'It is X that' construction, VP clefting and adverb clefting is blocked because VPs and adverbs lack phi features.

A question that arises is whether there are any other phrasal categories in Lubukusu that cannot be clefted. The answer to this question is yes. As shown in the following data, the complement of a copula cannot be clefted.

20(a) Si-tabu e-sy-o (si-li) sy-a lu-kano si(ina)?

7-book dem-7-pron (7-be) 7-of 11-type what

“What type is that book?” (Literally: ‘That book is of what kind?’)

(b) *Lu-kano si(ina) ni-lw-o si-tabu e-sy-o (si-li) sy-a?

11-type what pred-11-pron 7-book dem-7-pron (7-be) 7-of

“What type is that book?”

(c) *Sy-a lu-kano si(ina) ni-sy-o si-tabu e-sy-o si-li?

7-of 11-type what pred-7-pron 7-book dem-7-pron 7-be

“What type is that book?”

21(a) Tafauti e-ya Kimilili ne Kamusinga (e-li) siina?

9difference 9-of Kimilili and Kamusinga (9-be) what

“What is the difference between Kimilili and Kamusinga?”

(b) *(E-li) siina ni-y-o tafauti e-ya Kimilili ne Kamusinga?

(9-be) what pred-9-pron 9difference 9-of Kimilili and Kamusinga

“What is the difference between Kimilili and Kamusinga?”

(c) *(E-li) siina tafauti e-ya Kimilili ne Kamusinga?

(9-be) what 9difference 9-of Kimilili and Kamusinga

“What is the difference between Kimilili and Kamusinga?”

Clefting of the complement of the copula is also blocked in simple copula sentences in Lubukusu and in languages such as Kiswahili as well. This is illustrated in the following data.

22(a) Wekesa a-a-b-a mw-aalimu (Lubukusu)

1Wekesa 1-pst-be-fv 1-teacher

“Wekesa was a teacher”

(b) Wekesa nii-y-e o-w-a-b-a mw-aalimu

1Wekesa be-1-one wh-1-pst-be-fv 1-teacher

“Wekesa is the one who was the teacher”

(c) *A-ba mw-aalimu ni-y-e Wekesa a-a-ba

1-be 1-teacher pred-1-pron 1Wekesa 1-pst-be

“It was a teacher that Wekesa was”

(d) *mw-aalimu ni-y-e Wekesa a-a-ba

1-teacher pred-1-pron 1Wekesa 1-pst-be

“It was a teacher that Wekesa was”

23(a) Ewe (o-li) mw-alimu

you 2nd-be 1-teacher (2nd =second person)

“You are a teacher”

(b) Ewe nii-w-e mw-alimu

you pred-2nd-pron 1-teacher

“It is you who is the teacher / YOU are the teacher”

(c) *mw-aalimu nii-y-e ewe

1-teacher pred-3rd-pron you (3rd =3rd person)

“It is a teacher who you are”

24(a) Ewe naanu?

you who

“Who are you?”

(b) Ewe nii-y-e naanu?

you pred-3rd-pron who

“Who are YOU?”

- (c) *Naanu nii-y-e ewe o-li?
 Who pred-3rd-pron you 2nd-be

“Who are you?”

- (d) *Naanu nii-y-e ewe?

Who pred-3rd-pron you

“Who are you?”

25. (a) Juma ni mw-alimu (Kiswahili)

1Juma be 1-teacher

“Juma is a teacher”

- (b) Juma ndi-y-e mw-alimu

1Juma pred-3rd-pron 1-teacher

“It is Juma who is the teacher”

- (c) *Mw-alimu ndi-y-e Juma

1-teacher pred-3rd-pron 1Juma

“It is a teacher that Juma is”

26(a) Juma ni nani? (Kiswahili)

1Juma be who

“Who is Juma?”

- (b) *Nani ndi-y-e Juma ni?

Who pred-3rd-pron 1Juma be

“Who is Juma?”

- (c) *Nani ndi-y-e Juma?

Who pred-3rd-prn 1Juma

“Who is Juma?”

The question is why? Why is clefting impossible in copula constructions in Lubukusu and Kiswahili (perhaps Bantu generally)? One possible explanation is that

in this copula construction we are dealing with VP clefting – considering the fact that copula complements describe the subject since they are predicative. If it is true that we indeed are dealing VP clefting, then the impossibility of clefting in copula constructions follows right away: VP clefting in Lubukusu is ruled out. However, it is not entirely clear that we are doing VP clefting in copula constructions. As shown in (22)-(26), only the complement of the copula is being clefted. The copula which is part of the VP is not being clefted along with its complement.

A more promising explanation for why it is impossible to cleft the complement of the copula is a PF interface requirement similar to the PF condition which we used to rule out preposition stranding (see chapter 2 for discussion). Abels' 2003 phase theory can also account for this phenomenon. It seems that the copula in Lubukusu and Kiswahili behave the same way as prepositions: they cannot be stranded. Therefore they must always be followed by a phonetically real element. Clefting of the copula complement in (22c&d), (23c), (24c&d), (25c&d) and (26b, c & d) violates this condition: the copula, whether, phonetically realized or not, is stranded when its complement is clefted. In contrast, it is perfect to cleft the subject as shown in (22b), (23b), (24b) and (25b). This is because subject clefting does not lead to copula stranding.

Alternatively, copula stranding can be ruled out by Abels' phase based theory of preposition stranding (see chapter 2). Under this theory, we can say that a copula, just like a preposition, cannot be stranded in Lubukusu because the copula phrase is a phase. This being the case, the complement of a phase head may not be moved from the phase through Spec copulaP.

Notice that although both the PF-condition-on-copula-stranding account and Abels' phase theory can account for the ungrammaticality of (20c) repeated here as (27c) and (21b&c) repeated here as (28b&c), neither can account for the ungrammaticality of (20b) which is repeated here as (27b).

27(a) Si-tabu e-sy-o (si-li) sy-a lu-kano si(ina)?

7-book dem-7-pron (7-be) 7-of 11-type what

“What type is that book?” (Literally: ‘That book is of what kind?’)

(b) *Lu-kano si(ina) ni-lw-o si-tabu e-sy-o si-li sy-a?

11-type what pred-11-pron 7-book dem-7-pron (7-be) 7-of

“What type is that book?”

(c) *Sy-a lu-kano si(ina) ni-sy-o si-tabu e-sy-o si-li?

7-of 11-type what pred-7-pron 7-book dem-7-prn 7-be

“What type is that book?”

28(a) Tafauti e-ya Kimilili ne Kamusinga (e-li) siina?

9difference 9-of Kimilili and Kamusinga (9-be) what

“What is the difference between Kimilili and Kamusinga?”

(b) *(E-li) siina ni-y-o tafauti e-ya Kimilili ne Kamusinga?

(9-be) what pred-9-pron 9difference 9-of Kimilili and Kamusinga

“What is the difference between Kimilili and Kamusinga?”

(c) *(E-li) siina tafauti e-ya Kimilili ne Kamusinga?

(9-be) what 9difference 9-of Kimilili and Kamusinga

“What is the difference between Kimilili and Kamusinga?”

In (27b), the copula is not stranded: it is followed by a preposition. In the absence of copula stranding, we expect it to be grammatical, but it is not. This strongly suggests that the reason for the ungrammaticality of (27b) is not copula stranding. The real reason for the ungrammaticality of this sentence is preposition stranding: Lubukusu does not allow preposition stranding (see chapter 2).

A reasonable question to ask is whether copula stranding and preposition stranding are independent from each other or whether both of them are alternative realizations of a more general condition. Preliminary evidence seems to favor the

latter. There seems to be a correlation between preposition stranding and copula stranding. Languages like Lubukusu and Kiswahili which disallow preposition stranding also disallow copula stranding. We therefore expect that languages such as English, which allow preposition stranding also allow copula stranding. Is this borne out?

First, observe that the following English sentences, which correspond to the Lubukusu 24c&d and the Kiswahili 26b&c, are good.

29(a) Who are you?

(b) Who is John?

Unfortunately these sentences do not tell us unequivocally whether or not English allows copula stranding. The reason is that (29a&b) are not true cases of copula standing. In both cases, subject-auxiliary inversion has taken place so that the sentences now end with the subject rather than the copula.

But we can show that English allows copula stranding by use of sentences that involve topicalization and embedding. Consider the following sentences.

30(a) There he was

(b) Here I am

31(a) A boy, you are

(b) A bully, he is

32(a) I know who you are

(b) I know who John is

Clearly, copula stranding is not a problem in English. This suggests that PP is not a phase in English (on Abels theory) or that the PF interface condition that requires prepositions and the copula to be followed by overt phonetic elements does not hold in English. It also suggests that preposition stranding and copula stranding are

correlated. It is reasonable to assume that both are realizations of a more general condition (perhaps a condition that requires a function word to be followed by a phonetically real element). Languages differ as to whether or not this condition is operative. On Abels' theory, languages differ as to whether projections headed by function words are phases or not.

3.4 The structure of the cleft

The Lubukusu cleft construction superficially appears to be more different from the English cleft than it actually is. For instance the clefted DP in a Lubukusu subject cleft such as (33) is apparently not preceded by the copula. Moreover the pronoun 'it' is also not realized. In the corresponding English cleft, the clefted DP is obligatorily preceded by 'it is'.

33. Ba-ba-ana ni-b-o ba-ba-a-khina-a
Pp-2-child pred-2-pron wh-2-pst-dance-fv
"It is children who danced."

However, there is evidence which suggests that the Lubukusu cleft in (33) has a covert pronoun 'it' and covert copula. First of all, in (33) the clefted DP can optionally be preceded by an agreeing copula. This is shown in (34).

34. (Ba-li) ba-ba-ana ni-b-o ba-ba-a-khina-a
(2-be) Pp-2-child pred-2-pron wh-2-pst-dance-fv
"It is children who danced."

Secondly the agreeing copula becomes obligatory when the sentence is negated. This is illustrated in (35). Also see chapter 2 – for additional data and discussion.

35(a) Se-ba-li ba-ba-ana ni-b-o ba-ba-a-khina-a ta
Neg-2-be Pp-2-child pred-2-pron wh-2-pst-dance-fv neg

“It is not children who danced.”

(b) *Se ba-ba-ana ni-b-o ba-ba-a-khina-a ta
Neg Pp-2-child pred-2-pron wh-2-pst-dance-fv neg

“It is not children who danced.”

(c) *Ba-ba-ana ni-b-o se-ba-ba-a-khina-a ta
Pp-2-child pred-2-pron neg-wh-2-pst-dance-fv neg

“It is not children who danced.”

The fact that the agreeing copula can optionally occur in cleft constructions such as (33) and (34), and the fact that the agreeing copula is obligatory when the cleft construction is negated strongly suggests that a copula, overt or covert, is always present in Lubukusu clefts just like it is in English clefts.

It is also significant to note that not all clefts in Lubukusu can occur without an agreeing copula. In other words, some clefts obligatorily require an overt agreeing copula. More precisely, only subject clefts can occur without an agreeing copula. You will recall from our discussion in chapter 2 that subject relativization and clefting trigger wh-agreement (this is illustrated in (33)-(35) as well). One can therefore argue that copula drop in subject-clefts is licensed by wh-agreement. However, this is beside the point. The point I am trying to make here is that only subject clefts allow copula drop. Object clefts, PP clefts and others require the obligatory presence of the copula (see 7 and 11 above). In this sense, Lubukusu clefts are not as different from English clefts as they appear to be, at least in terms of the presence or absence of the copula. I take the presence of the agreeing copula (overt or covert) in Lubukusu clefts as support for a bi-clausal analysis of clefts. This

is similar to English clefts which have also been analyzed as bi-clausal (Akmajian (1970), Chomsky (1977), Williams (1980), Browning (1987)).

Although clefts in Lubukusu and English show a lot of similarities, they are not completely identical. Firstly, the position occupied by a clefted wh-phrase in Lubukusu is different from the position occupied by a clefted wh-phrase in a comparable English sentence. As shown in the following sentences, the clefted wh-phrase occupies the post-copula position (an in-situ-like position) while its English counterpart occupies the familiar sentence initial position (an overt wh-movement position).

36(a) (si-li) siina ni-sy-o Wekesa a-a-kul-a?

(7-be) what pred-7-pron 1Wekesa 1-pst-buy-fv

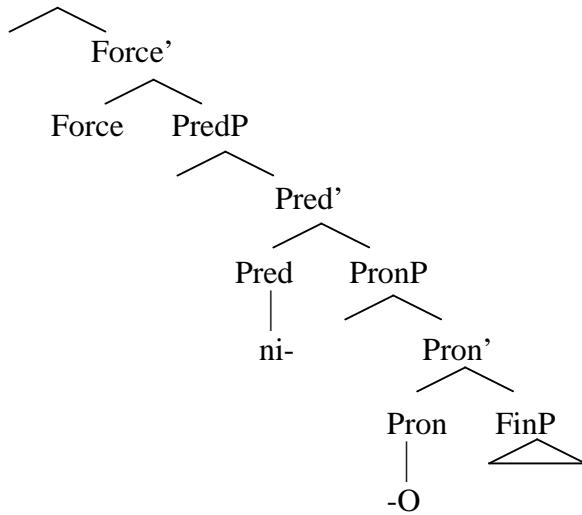
“What is it that Wekesa bought?”

(b) What is it that Wekesa bought?

(c) *It is what that Wekesa bought?

Secondly, the complementizer in Lubukusu clefts is complex in contrast to the English cleft complementizer which is simple. In chapter 2 we discussed the structure of the complex complementizer and concluded that it has the following structure.

(37) ForceP



Since the O Pron head has uninterpretable phi features, it looks down the tree for a goal. When it finds the appropriate one, it enters into an agree relation with it in the manner of Chomsky (2000). After an agree relation is established, the goal DP moves to Spec PronP.

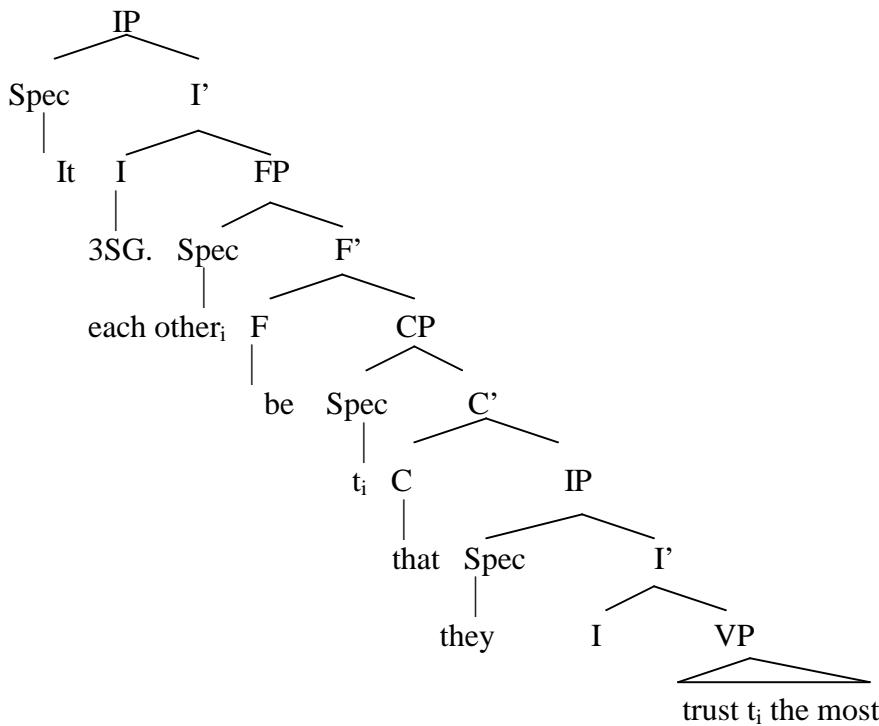
Our analysis of the complex complementizer as a Pred projection, differs from Mchombo's (2004) analysis of a similar word in Chichewa. For Mchombo, the word 'agr-méné', which is the Chichewa equivalent of Lubukusu 'ni-agr-O', is a topic marker.

What makes the PredP analysis of 'ni-agr-O' in Lubukusu particularly attractive is the nature of relationship that holds between the clefted phrase and the embedded clause. It seems that a predication relationship holds between the clefted phrase (alternately referred as the focused phrase in the literature) and the embedded clause. It is instructive that the complex complementizer, 'ni-agr-O', is found not only in cleft constructions but also in related constructions such as cleft wh-questions and the relative clause. This is not surprising considering the close relationship that holds between clefts and relative clauses which Georgopoulos (1991) and Williams (1980) among others have observed. Williams (1980) is direct in stating his position on the relationship between clefts and relative clauses. He observes that the clefted

clause in a cleft construction has exactly the same form as a restrictive relative clause and hence can be interpreted as a predicate, the clefted phrase being its subject. In a way our PredP projection is a restatement of William's insight about the relationship between the clefted phrase and the predicate (the embedded clause). A subject-predicate relationship exists between these constituents not only in clefts but also in the relative clause.

Notice that the the complex complementizer, 'ni-agr-O', has two heads. As shown in (37), 'ni-' is a pred head while -O is a Pron head. This structure is necessary for Lubukusu and similar languages because the complementizer in these languages is clearly complex. Earlier analyses of the cleft construction such as Chomsky (1977) do not allow for complementizer complexity. For Chomsky (1977), clefts have the structure "It-is-S" and are derived by topicalization. Since S does not allow for a two-head or multiple-head structure for the complementizer, Chomsky's analysis is not adequate for the Lubukusu cleft. Our structure in (36) is a lot more similar in complexity to Kiss' (1999) structure. For Kiss (1999), the cleft construction is the realization of a focus projection. The following tree which is reproduced from Kiss 1999 illustrates.

38. Kiss' (1999) structure for 'It is each other that they trust.'



This structure differs from ours only in the labels: Kiss' CP vs our ForceP; and Kiss' FP vs our PredP. Our labels, particularly PredP, are neutral and can generalize across different construction types. This is important because it allows us to capture cross-

construction similarities, particularly the fact that the complex complementizer

occurs in cleft wh-questions and relative clauses in addition to declarative clefts.

Kiss' FP label lacks this advantage. But one of Kiss's most significant contributions from our stand point is the assumption that the copula originates in Focus and moves to I in the higher clause. Clearly, we need this two-position-analysis for the copula.

Such an analysis affords us a straight forward way of characterizing relations that are associated with the cleft construction. As observed by Svenonius (1998), a

predication relation and a complement relation hold in the cleft construction. A

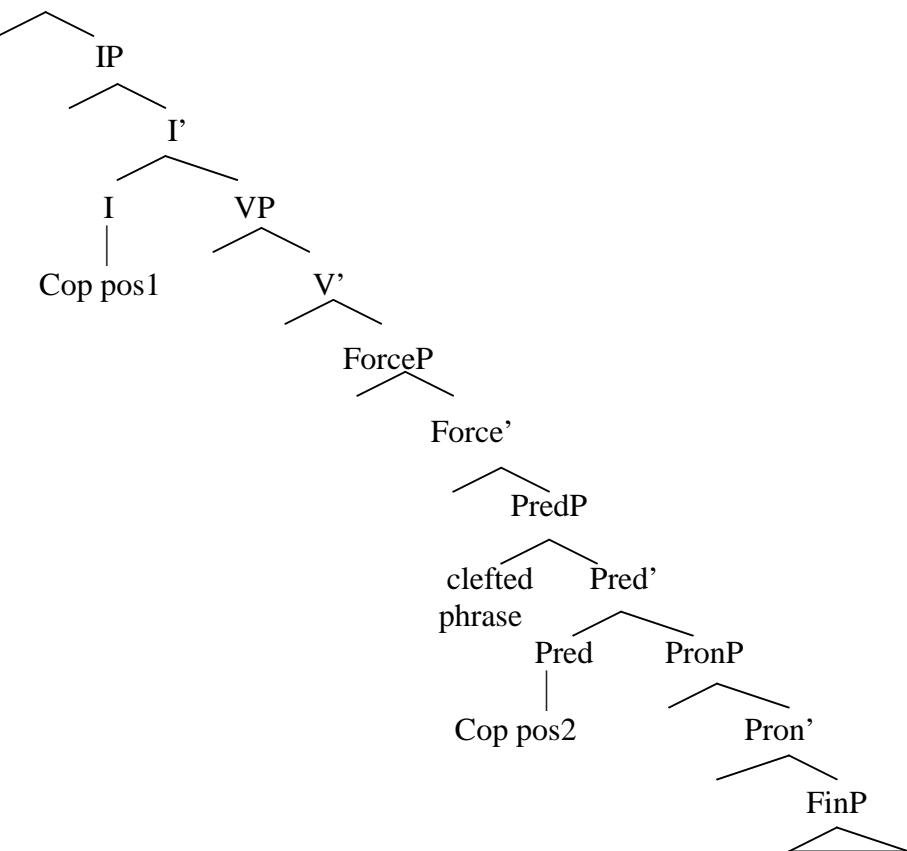
predication relation holds between what he calls focus (=the clefted phrase) and the

CP: the relative clause-like CP is predicated of the clefted phrase. In addition to

predication, a complement relation also exists: the clefted phrase together with the

CP appear as complement of the copula. To capture these two relations, I have adopted Kiss' idea that there are two positions for the copula: Focus where it is generated and I in the cleft clause (the copula clause) where it moves (in Kiss' analysis). But in contrast to Kiss, I assume that there is no copula movement from Focus to I. Rather the lower position hosts the element that expresses the predication relation. It is only appropriate that the element in this lower position be labeled Pred. As we have already mentioned, Pred in Lubukusu is realized as ni-. The higher copula position in I hosts the copula that is associated with the complementation relation. This copula takes the clefted phrase together with the CP as complement. The two copula positions envisioned for the cleft construction are illustrated in the following sketch.

39. CP



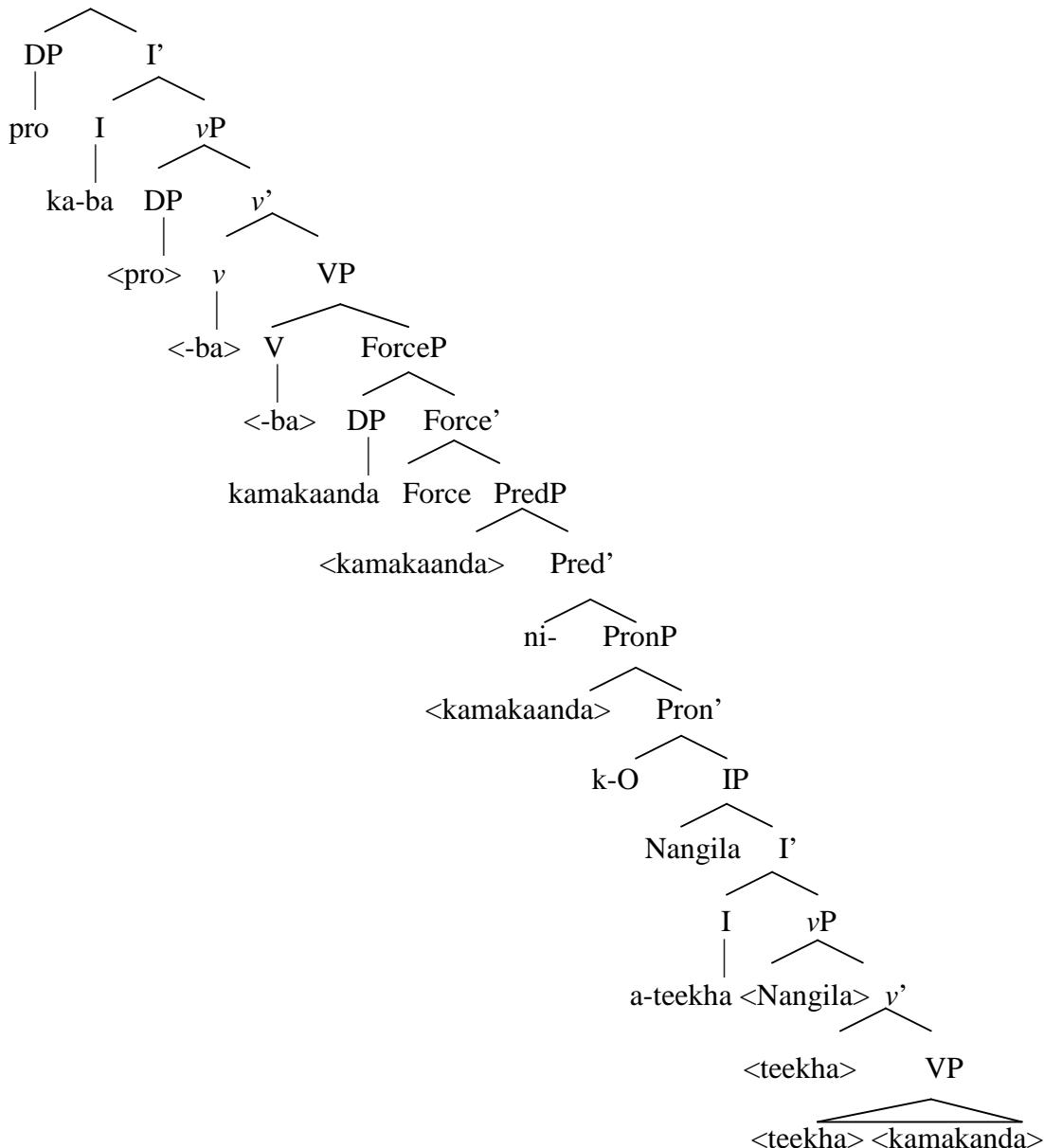
Since clefting and relativization in Lubukusu have a lot in common, I assume that a clefted DP, just like a relativized DP originates in the lower IP. Derivation of a cleft sentence such (40) is illustrated in (41).

40. Ka-ba ka-ma-kaanda ni-k-o Nangila a-a-tekha.

- 6-be Pp-6-beans pred-6-pron 1Nangila 1-pst-cook

“It was beans that Nangila cooked.”

41. IP



Under this analysis, the clefted phrase first moves to Spec PronP, then it moves to Spec PredP, and finally it moves to Spec ForceP.

An alternative to this analysis is to assume that the clefted phrase is base generated in Spec PredP. Under this alternative analysis, a null operator moves from an IP-internal position into the complementizer field in the manner of Browning (1987). Several pieces of evidence seem to support this analysis. First the Pred head ni- lacks agreement. We would expect this head to bear agreement – assuming Collins (2003) agreement parameter. Secondly Lubukusu clefts do not show weak cross over effects (42). Moreover, it is impossible to cleft certain idiom chunks: the idiomatic meaning disappears when a DP contained in an idiom is clefted (43).

42. Weak cross over

- (a) Naanu_i ni-y-e maayi wewe_{j/i} a-a-siim-a?
Who pred-1-pron 1mother his/her 1-prs-love-fv
“Who_{j/i} does his/her_i mother love?”

- (b) Naanu_i ni-y-e maayi wewe_{j/i} a-a-par-a a-li Wafula a-a-siim-a?
Who pred-1-pron 1mother his/her 1-prs-think-fv 1-be 1Wafula 1-pst-love-fv
“Who_{j/i} does his/her_i mother think that Wafula loves?”

43. Idiom chunks

- i. khu-khuu-p-a sibi

inf-inf-hit-fv trouble

Literal: “to hit trouble” (= to suffer)

- (a) Ba-ba-ana a-b-o ba-a-p-a sii-bi
Pp-2-child dem-2-pron 2-pst-hit-fv 7-trouble
“Those children suffered”

(b) *Si-li sii-bi ni-sy-o ba-ba-ana a-b-o ba-a-p-a
7-be 7-trouble pred-7-pron Pp-2-child dem-2-pron 2-pst-hit-fv
“It is trouble that those children hit”

ii. khuu-ly-a chi-taabu

inf-eat-fv 8-trouble

Literal: “to eat trouble” (to suffer)

(a) Wafula a-a-ly-a chi-taabu chi-ngali po
1Wafula 1-pst-eat-fv 8-trouble 8-many very

“Wafula suffered a lot”

(b) *Chi-li chi-taabu chi-ngali po ni-ch-o Wafula a-a-ly-a
10-be 10-trouble 10-many very pred-10-pron 1Wafula 1-pst-eat-fv
“It is very many troubles that Wafula ate.”

iii. khu-r-a lii-baale e-mumilo

inf-put-fv 5-stone 20-throat

Literal: “to put a stone in one’s throat” (=to not eat or drink)

(a) n-da-r-a lii-baale e-mumilo
1stpsg-fut-put-fv 5-stone 20-throat

“I will not eat/drink”

(b) *li-li lii-baale ni-ly-o n-da-r-a e-mumilo
5-be 5-stone pred-5-pron 1stpsg-fut-put-fv 20-throat

“It is a stone that I will put in the throat.”

iv. khu-khw-ar-a chii-njekho

inf-inf-break-fv 10-laughter

Literal: “to break laughter” (=to laugh loudly)

(a) Nanjekho a-a-ar-a chi-njekho
1Nanjekho 1-pst-break-fv 10-laughter
“Nanjekho laughed loudly”

- (b) *Chi-li chi-njekho ni-ch-o Nanjekho a-a-ar-a
 10-be 10-laughter pred-10-pron 1Nanjekho 1-pst-break-fv
 “It is laughter that Nanjekho broke.”

v. khu-khuu-p-a e-peyi

inf-inf-hit-fv 9-price

Literal: “to hit the price” (=to bargain)

- (a) maayi a-a-p-a e-peyi
 1mother 1-pst-hit-fv 9-price
 “Mother bargained”
- (b) *e-li e-peyi ni-y-o maayi a-a-p-a
 9-be 9-price pred-9-pron 1mother 1-pst-hit-fv
 “It is the price that mother hit”

Adesola (2005) has used facts such as these to argue that in Yoruba, the wh-phrases in clefts are base generated in the left periphery. This is fine except that there is another set of facts that seem to undermine this analysis. For one this analysis has no straight forward way accounting for agreement that we see in the complex complementizer. As illustrated in (40) repeated here as (44a) and in the question cleft (44b), the Pron head -O always agrees with clefted phrase.

- 44(a) Ka-ba ka-ma-kaanda ni-k-o Nangila a-a-tekha.
 6-be Pp-6-beans pred-6-pron 1Nangila 1-pst-cook
 “It was beans that Nangila cooked.”
- (b) Siina ni-sy-o Nangila a-a-tekha?
 What pred-7-pron 1Nangila 1-pst-cook
 “What is it that Nangila cooked?”

If we adopt the analysis that base generates the clefted phrase in the left periphery, we have to assume that agreement which the Pron head -O bears is triggered by the null operator, specifically when it moves from an IP-internal position to the left periphery. But to be able to trigger agreement, the null operator must of necessity have noun class features, more like pro. This is fine, but we have to wonder whether both declarative clefts (44a) and interrogative clefts (44b) involve the same type of null operator.

Another problem with the analysis that generates the clefted phrase in the left periphery is that condition C shows reconstruction effects in Lubukusu. Consider the following data.

45.	*a-li	o-mw-aana	w-a	Wekesa _i	ni-y-e	pro _i	a-a-bon-a
	1-be	Pp-1-child	1-asso	1Wekesa	pred-1-pron	pro	1-pst-see-fv
“It is Wekesa’s child that he saw”							

There is no reason why (45) should show condition C reconstruction effects if indeed the clefted phrase is base generated in the left periphery. It is safe at this point to conclude that the available evidence does not unequivocally support base generating the clefted phrase in the left periphery. In spite of the fact that there seems to be some evidence that supports base generating the clefted phrase in the left periphery and the associated null operator movement, I argue that full DP movement from an IP-internal position is the correct analysis of clefts. This, as I have already pointed out is supported by the fact that sentences such as (45) show condition C reconstruction effects. But the question is what to do with facts that seem to support the rival account. Specifically, if the clefted DP is base generated in an IP-internal position before subsequently being moved to the left periphery, why don’t Lubukusu clefts (42) show WCO effects? Secondly, why do idiom chunks lose their idiomatic

meaning when part of the chunk is clefted? In response to the first question, it seems that lack of WCO effects in clefts is not idiosyncratic to Lubukusu: clefts in languages such as English also don't show WCO effects generally (Lasnik & Stowell 1991, Postal 1993) – although see Postal for exceptions. Absence of WCO effects in English clefts is illustrated by the following sentence which is taken from Postal 1993: 542.

46. It was Jack_i that I thought she described his_i wife to t_i

Lasnik & Stowell (1991) and Postal (1993) have argued that it is not construction type that determines the presence or absence of WCO effects but the type of moved constituent: only movement of true quantifiers give rise to WCO effects. A true quantifier is defined as “a phrase containing an element that semantically quantifies over a set with \geq members” (Postal 1993:540). Although wh-phrases are true quantifiers by this definition, they do not give rise to WCO effects in Lubukusu question clefts as we saw in (42). An easy way out of this problem is to assume that wh-phrases in Lubukusu clefts are not true quantifiers. This is an easy solution, but it is difficult to see how and why phrases that are generally agreed to belong to the class of true quantifiers lose their membership to that class all of sudden. This easy solution is no more than a convenient stipulation and must be rejected. Postal's (1993) solution to a similar problem in French seems to be a much better solution. Postal observes that in French, typical WCO constructions such as restrictive relative clauses and question clauses do not give rise to WCO effects – just like in Lubukusu cleft questions. Postal proposes to account for lack of WCO effects in these contructions by use of the independently motivated resumptive pronoun principle. This principle states that extractions that are linked to resumptive pronouns do not induce WCO effects. I assume this principle is at work in Lubukusu clefts as well.

This, as will be shown in section 3.4 in this chapter, is in part supported by the fact that Lubukusu uses the resumptive pronoun strategy as a last resort strategy to ameliorate the effects of wh-movement out of island domains. In contrast to cleft-constructions (which have the resumptive pronoun strategy available to them), in-situ constructions, (see (47)), induce a WCO effect. This is not surprising considering the fact that the resumptive strategy is never ever available to in-situ constructions in Lubukusu.

47(a) Maayi wewe_{j/*i} a-a-siim-a naanu_i?

1mother his/her 1-prs-love-fv who

“Who_{j/*i} does his/her_i mother love?”

(b) Maayi wewe_{j/*i} a-a-par-a a-li Wafula a-a-siim-a naanu_i?

1mother his/her 1-prs-think-fv 1-be 1Wafula 1-pst-love-fv who

“Who_{j/*i} does his/her_i mother think that Wafula loves?”

Alternatively, we can say that Agree or feature movement, but not overt movement is constrained by WCO. More about feature movement will be presented in the next chapter.

As far as the second question is concerned, it seems that idiom chunks lose their idiomatic meaning under clefting not because of the dislocation of part of the idiom but for semantic reasons. Apparently, it is impossible to focus idiom chunks. If it were true that dislocating a part of the idiom chunk always results in the loss of the idiomatic meaning, then we should expect this to happen whenever a part of the idiom is moved. But as we saw in chapter 2, relativizing DPs internal to the idiom chunk doesn't always lead to the loss of idiomatic meaning. This fact is also illustrated by the following data.

- 48(a) chi-taabu ni-ch-o Wafula a-a-ly-a cha-ba chi-ngali po
 10-trouble pred-10-pron 1Wafula 1-pst-eat-fv 10-be 10-many very
 “The troubles that Wafula faced were immense.”
- (b) chi-njekho ni-ch-o Nanjekho a-a-ar-a cha-a-sindu-sy-a ba-ba-ana
 10-laughter pred-10-pron 1Nanjekho 1-pst-break-fv 10-pst-frighten-cs-fv Pp-2-child
 “The laughter that Nanjekho broke frightened the children.”

This is not to say that all idiom chunks can be relativized with the same result. As shown in the following data, some idiom chunks cannot be relativized.

- 49(a) *sii-bi ni-sy-o ba-ba-ana ba-a-p-a sy-a-mb-uk-y-a
 7-trouble pred-7-pron Pp-2-child 2-pst-hit-fv 7-pst-1st-surprise-cause-fv
 “The trouble that children hit surprised me”
- (b) *e-peyi ni-y-o maayi a-a-p-a y-a-b-a e-ngali
 9-price pred-9-pron 1mother 1-pst-hit-fv 9-pst-be-fv 9-much
 “The price that mother hit was high”

It is clear, then, that some idiom chunks can be relativized, and that others can neither be relativized nor clefted. I take this as evidence suggesting that factors beyond syntax (perhaps semantic and pragmatic) are involved in determining whether dislocation of idiom chunks takes place or not. We cannot therefore take the idiom chunk facts as full proof evidence that the clefted phrase is base generated in the left periphery. Until other evidence to the contrary is found, I will continue assuming that the clefted phrase is base generated in an IP-internal position. It arrives in its left periphery position through a movement operation (as illustrated in (41), which is a case of object clefting).

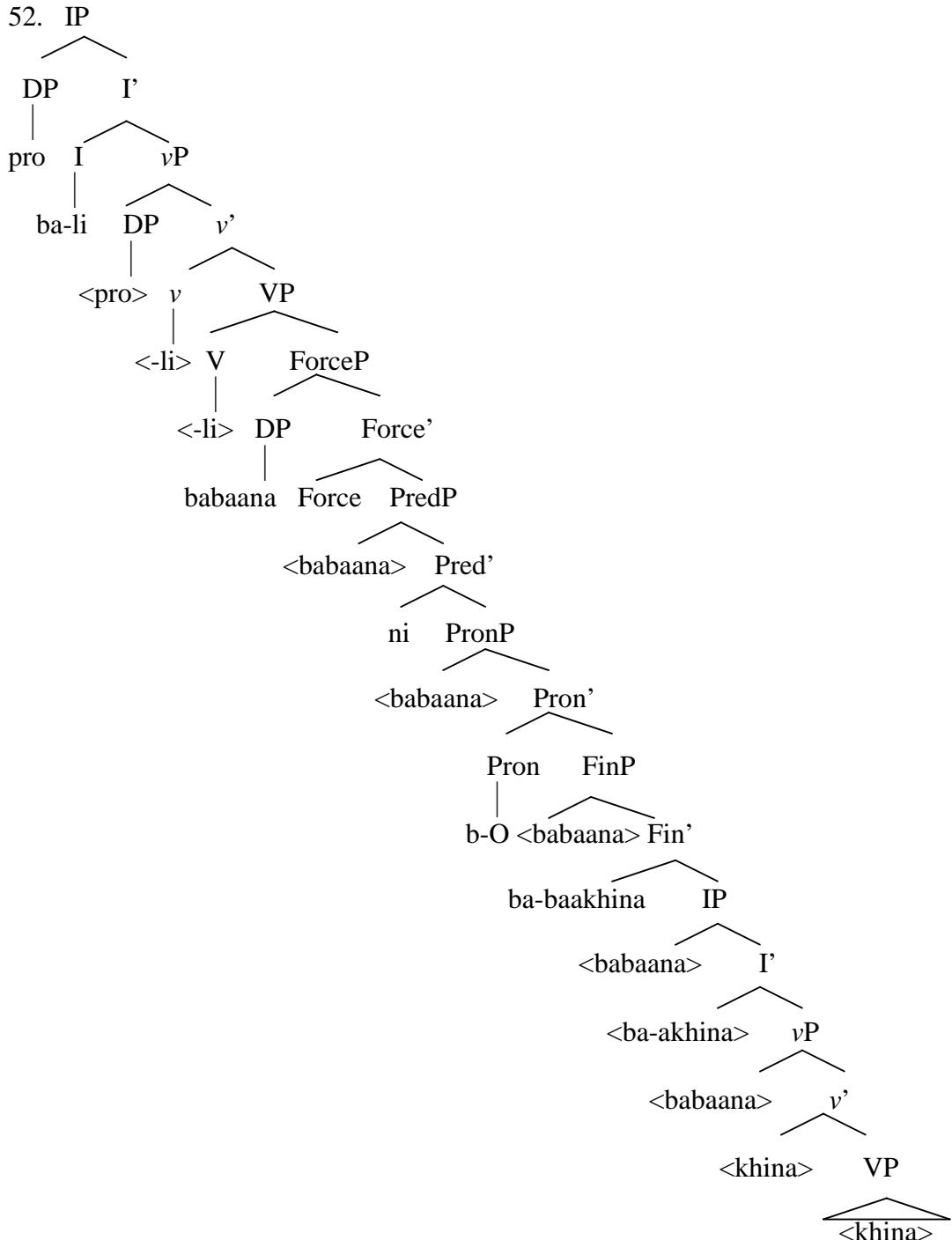
Next let us consider the derivation of subject clefts. We have already seen that subject clefting in Lubukusu triggers wh-agreement. This was illustrated in (3a) which I am repeating here for convenience as (50) and also in (3b-d) and (4a-d).

50. Ba-a-ba ba-ba-ana ni-b-o ba-ba-a-fun-a luu-saala
2-pst-be Pp-2-child pred-2-pron wh-2-pst-break-fv 11-stick

“It was children who broke the stick”

Thus subject clefting contrasts with non-subject clefting in that the latter does not trigger wh-agreement. This suggests that derivation of subject clefts differs in some way from the derivation of non-subject clefts (such as object clefts). As with relativization of subjects (see chapter 2), it seems subject clefting involves movement of the subject to Spec FinP. Fin, which has a wh-feature enters into an agree relation with the subject, and then the subject moves to Spec of Fin (to check the wh-feature of Fin). This is illustrated in (52) which is the derivation of (34) repeated here as (51).

51. (Ba-li) ba-ba-ana ni-b-o ba-ba-a-khina-a
 (2-be) Pp-2-child pred-2-pron wh-2-pst-dance-fv (“It is chidren who danced”)



Thus it is the presence of a wh-feature in Fin that accounts for the contrast between subject clefting and non-subject clefting: in subject clefting the wh- on Fin triggers wh-agreement and forces the subject to move to Spec of Fin, but in non-subject clefting, Fin does not have a wh-feature. Consequently, there is no agreement (in non-subject clefting) and there is no movement of the clefted phrase to Spec of Fin.

3.5 Clefting and Island constraints

A question that arises is whether locality conditions hold for Lubukusu cleft constructions or not. The answer to this question is important not only for cross-linguistic comparative purposes but for intra-language comparison, particularly with wh-in-situ (which will be discussed in chapter 4). I will show in this section that island constraints hold in Lubukusu cleft constructions. In particular, domains such as the Complex NP (CNP), the relative clause, the Wh- Island and the Adjunct Clause are islands.

3.5.1 Wh-clefting in bridge verb constructions

Non-subject argument wh-phrases and referential wh-adjuncts as well as regular DPs can be clefted in bridge-verb constructions in Lubukusu. This is shown in the following data.

- 53(a) Siina ni-sy-o ba-ba-ana ba-a-lom-a ba-li Wekesa a-a-rem-a?
What pred-7-pron Pp-2-child 2-pst-say-fv 2-sub 1Wekesa 1-pst-cut-fv
“What did the children say Wekesa cut?”

(b) Naanu ni-y-e Waanjala a-a-lom-a a-li Wekesa

Who pred-1-pron 1Waanjala 1-pst-say-fv 1-sub 1Wekesa

a-a-rem-er-a ku-mu-saala?

1-pst-cut-appl-fv Pp-3-tree

“Who did Waanjala say Wekesa cut the tree for?”

54(a) Liina ni-lw-o Waanjala a-a-lom-a a-li Wekesa

When pred-11-pron 1Waanjala 1-pst-say-fv 1-sub 1Wekesa

a-a-rem-a ku-mu-saala?

1-pst-cut-fv Pp-3-tree

(i) “What is the time x, s.t Waanjala said at x that Wekesa cut the tree?”

(ii) “What is the time x, s.t Waanjala said Wekesa cut the tree at x?”

(b) Waae(na) ni-o ba-ba-ana ba-a-lom-a ba-li Wekesa a-a-rem-a ku-mu-saala?

Where pred-pron Pp-2-child 2-pst-say-fv 2-pron 1Wekesa 1-pst-cut-fv Pp-3-tree

“Where did the children say Wekesa cut the tree?”

55. Ku-li ku-mu-saala ni-kw-o Wafula a-a-lom-a a-li Nekesa a-a-rem-a

3-be Pp-3-tree pred-3-pron 1Wafula 1-pst-say-fv 1-sub 1Nekesa 1-pst-cut-fv

“It is a tree that Wafula said Nekesa cut”

Clefting of wh-subjects and non-wh-subjects in bridge verb constructions is also possible, but it differs from simple subject clefting. Thus while subject clefting in regular simple sentences triggers wh-agreement, subject clefting in bridge verb constructions does not. Indeed wh-agreement is incompatible with subject clefting in bridge verb constructions. This is illustrated in the following sentences.

56(a) Naanu ni-y-e ba-ba-ana ba-a-lom-a ba-li a-a-rem-a ku-mu-saala?

Who pred-1-pron Pp-2-child 2-pst-say-fv 2-sub 1-pst-cut-fv Pp-3-tree

“Who is it that the children said cut the tree?”

(b) *Naanu ni-y-e ba-ba-ana ba-a-lom-a ba-li o-w-a-rem-a ku-mu-saala?

Who pred-1-pron Pp-2-child 2-pst-say-fv 2-sub wh-1-pst-cut-fv Pp-3-tree

“Who is it that the children said cut the tree?”

57(a) ba-li ba-ba-ana ni-b-o Nekesa a-a-lom-a a-li ba-a-rem-a ku-mu-saala

2-be Pp-2-child pred-2-pron 1Nekesa 1-pst-say-fv 1-sub 2-pst-cut-fv Pp-3-tree

“It is children that Nekesa said cut the tree”

(b) *ba-li ba-ba-ana ni-b-o Nekesa a-a-lom-a a-li ba-ba-a-rem-a ku-mu-saala

1-be Pp-2-child pred-2-pron 1Nekesa 1-pst-say-fv 1-sub wh-2-pst-cut-fv Pp-3-tree

“It is children that Nekesa said cut the tree”

Notice that the embedded-clause-verb in both the ungrammatical (56b) and (57b), bears wh-agreement morphology. In contrast, the embedded-clause-verb in the grammatical (56a) and (57a) has no wh-agreement. Why should this be? Why is wh-agreement disallowed? What rules out (56b) and (57b)? At a superficial level, it seems that (56b) and (57b) have a that-trace effect. But if this were the real reason why these sentences are bad, then we should also expect (56a) and (57a) to be bad considering the fact that the apparent complementizer ‘a-li’ is followed by a trace in (56a) and (57a) just like in (56b) and (57b). I argue that the real reason why (56b) and (57b) are ungrammatical has to do with the subcategorization requirements of the apparent complementizer ‘a-li’. But before explaining how sentence (56b) and (57b) fail to meet subcategorization requirements for ‘a-li’, let us examine ‘a-li’, in particular its status and basic syntax.

3.5.2 -li: complementizer or something else?

The sentences in (53)-(57) seem to suggest that ‘a-li’ is a complementizer. As shown in these sentences, ‘a-li’ introduces the embedded clause. The problem with analyzing ‘a-li’ as the complementizer that introduces the embedded clause is

agreement morphology. As shown in (53)-(57), ‘a-li’ agrees with the subject of the main clause rather than the subject of the embedded clause. This is surprising. One would have expected ‘a-li’ to agree with the subject of the embedded clause or the moved DP, but it doesn’t. This unexpected and surprising behavior of ‘a-li’ seems to suggest that it is not a complementizer as we earlier thought. Indeed there is more evidence that undermines analyzing ‘a-li’ as complementizer. Consider the following data.

58(a) Wekesa a-a-lom-il-e a-li si(ina)?

1Wekesa 1-pst-say-perf-fv 1-sub what

“What did Wekesa say?”

(b) Ba-ba-ana ba-a-lom-il-e ba-li si(ina)?

Pp-2-child 2-pst-say-psf-fv 2-sub what

“What did the children say?”

59(a) Lom-a o-li n-dala

Say-fv 2ndSg-sub 9-one

“Say one” (Imperative directed to one person)

(b) Loma mu-li n-dala

Say 2ndpl-sub 9-one

“Say one” (Imperative directed to more than one person)

In these four sentences, that is 58a&b and 59a&b, -li is used even though no clausal embedding is involved. This strongly suggests that it is not a complementizer in the traditional sense. If it is not a complementizer, then what is it? One possible answer is that it is a simple subordinator in the sense of Bhatt and Yoon (1991). According to Bhatt and Yoon, simple subordinators are different from type markers (force heads in Rizzi’s 1997 system). Their function is to “make a clause available for (categorial) selection independently of its force” (Rizzi 1997:328 Fn.6). The problem with

analyzing -li is a simple subordinator is that it doesn't seem to generalize to (58a&b) and (59a&b). In these sentences it is very clear that no clausal subordination is involved. But we can make the concept of simple subordination work if we redefine what a subordinator is. Suppose we redefine a subordinator as a lexical category whose function is to express the idea that its complement (a PredP, IP, wh-phrase or quotative phrase) is closely related to the subject of the main clause. Under this conception, a subordinator has a more general function and it is not limited to clausal embedding. This new conception of subordinator captures two important facts: (1) that the Lubukusu -li is associated with the main clause and (2) that Lubukusu -li is also associated with the embedded clause.

-li is associated with the main clause in the sense that it agrees with the subject of the main clause and that it can only occur with sensory-emotive verbs (for instance bona 'see', lola 'look/see' ulila 'hear'), cognitive-type verbs – both transitive and intransitive (for instance paara 'think', kanakana 'think', subila 'believe', roora 'dream'), knowledge-type verbs (for instance manya 'know'), wish-type verbs (for instance ikoomba 'wish', enya 'want') and say-type verbs (for instance loma 'say', reeba 'ask', boola 'tell'). As shown in the following sentences, -li never occurs with action-type transitive verbs such as kula 'buy' and non-cognitive intransitive verbs (although it can occur with cognitive intransitive verbs).

60(a) *Wekesa a-a-kul-a a-li ...

1Wekesa 1-pst-buy-fv 1-sub

"Wekesa bought that"

(b) *Wekesa a-a-rem-a a-li ...

1Wekesea 1-pst-cut-fv 1-sub

"Wekesa cut that"

61(a) *Ba-ba-ana ba-a-kon-a ba-li ...

Pp-2-child 2-pst-sleep-fv 2-sub

“Children slept that ...”

(b) *Ba-ba-ana ba-a-tim-a ba-li ...

Pp-2-child 2-pst-run-fv 2-sub

“Children ran that...”

62(a) Wanjala a-a-roor-ir-e a-li ...

1Wanjala 1-pst-dream-perf-fv 1-sub

“Wanjala dreamt that ...”

(b) Ba-ba-ana ba-a-roor-ir-e ba-li

Pp-2-child 2-pst-dream-perf-fv 2-sub

“The children dreamt that ...”

With regards to the association with the embedded clause, -li can only occur with certain types of complements. It can be followed by a wh-phrase (see 58a&b), a quotative phrase (see 59a&b), PredP (=relative clause and cleft – see 63 & 64) and an IP (see 65). In contrast –li is incompatible with PPs and adverbs (see 66).

63(a) Baa-somi ba-a-lom-a ba-li lii-kela ni-ly-o ba-a-khol-a ly-a-b-a lii-lume
2-student 2-pst-say-fv 2-sub 5-exam pred-5-pron 2-pst-do-fv 5-pst-be-fv 5-hard
“Students said that the exam they took was hard”

(b) Wekesa a-a-lom-il-e a-li ba-ba-ana ba-ba-a-kw-a ba-kha-ch-e Kimilili

1Wekesa 1-pst-say-perf-fv 1-sub Pp-2-child wh-2-pst-fall-fv 2-fut-go-fv Kimilili

“Wekesa said children who fell/failed will go to Kimilili”

64(a) Baa-somi ba-a-lom-a ba-li ly-a-b-a lii-kela ni-ly-o li-ly-a-b-a lii-lume

2-student 2-pst-say-fv 2-sub 5-pst-fv 5-exam pred-5-pron wh-5-pst-be-fv 5-hard

“Students said it was the exam that was hard”

(b) Wekesa a-a-lom-il-e a-li naanu ni-b-o ba-kha-ch-e Kimilili?

1Wekesa 1-pst-say-perf-fv 1-sub who pred-2-pron 2-fut-go-fv Kimilili

“Who did Wekesa say will go to Kimilili?”

65(a) Baa-somi ba-a-lom-a ba-li lii-kela ly-a-b-a lii-lume

2-student 2-pst-say-fv 2-sub 5-exam 5-pst-be-fv 5-hard

“Students said the exam was hard”

(b) Wekesa a-a-lom-il-e a-li ba-ba-ana ba-kha-ch-e Kimilili

1Wekesa 1-pst-say-perf-fv 1-sub Pp-2-child 2-fut-go-fv Kimilili

“Wekesa said children will go to Kimilili”

66(a) *Wekesa a-a-roor-a a-li bwaangu

1Wekesa 1-pst-dream-fv 1-sub quickly

“Wekesa dreamt that quickly”

(b) *Wekesa a-a-roor-a a-li khu-sooko

1Wekesa 1-pst-dream-fv 1-sub on-market

“Wekesa dreamt that on the market”

The conclusion that we can draw from the facts that we have examined up to this point is that -li, which I assume is a simple subordinator, is a head that not only selects other categories, but it can also serve as complement to other heads.

Specifically, -li is selected by certain types of verbs as already discussed. But to meet its own subcategorization requirements, -li selects either a wh-phrase, a quotative phrase, a PredP or an IP. We therefore expect that sentences in which the subcategorization requirements of -li are not met to be ungrammatical. We saw this to be true in (66a&b). The ungrammaticality of (56b) and (57b) repeated here as (67a&b), which we left unexplained, is also due to a subcategorization problem.

67(a) *Naanu_i ni-y-e ba-ba-ana ba-a-lom-a ba-li

Who pred-1-pron Pp-2-child 2-pst-say-fv 2-sub

t_i o-w-a-rem-a_j [IPt_i t_j ku-mu-saala]?

wh-1-pst-cut-fv Pp-3-tree

“Who is it that the children said cut the tree?”

(b) *ba-li ba-ba-ana ni-b-o Nekesa a-a-lom-a a-li ba-ba-a-rem-a ku-mu-saala

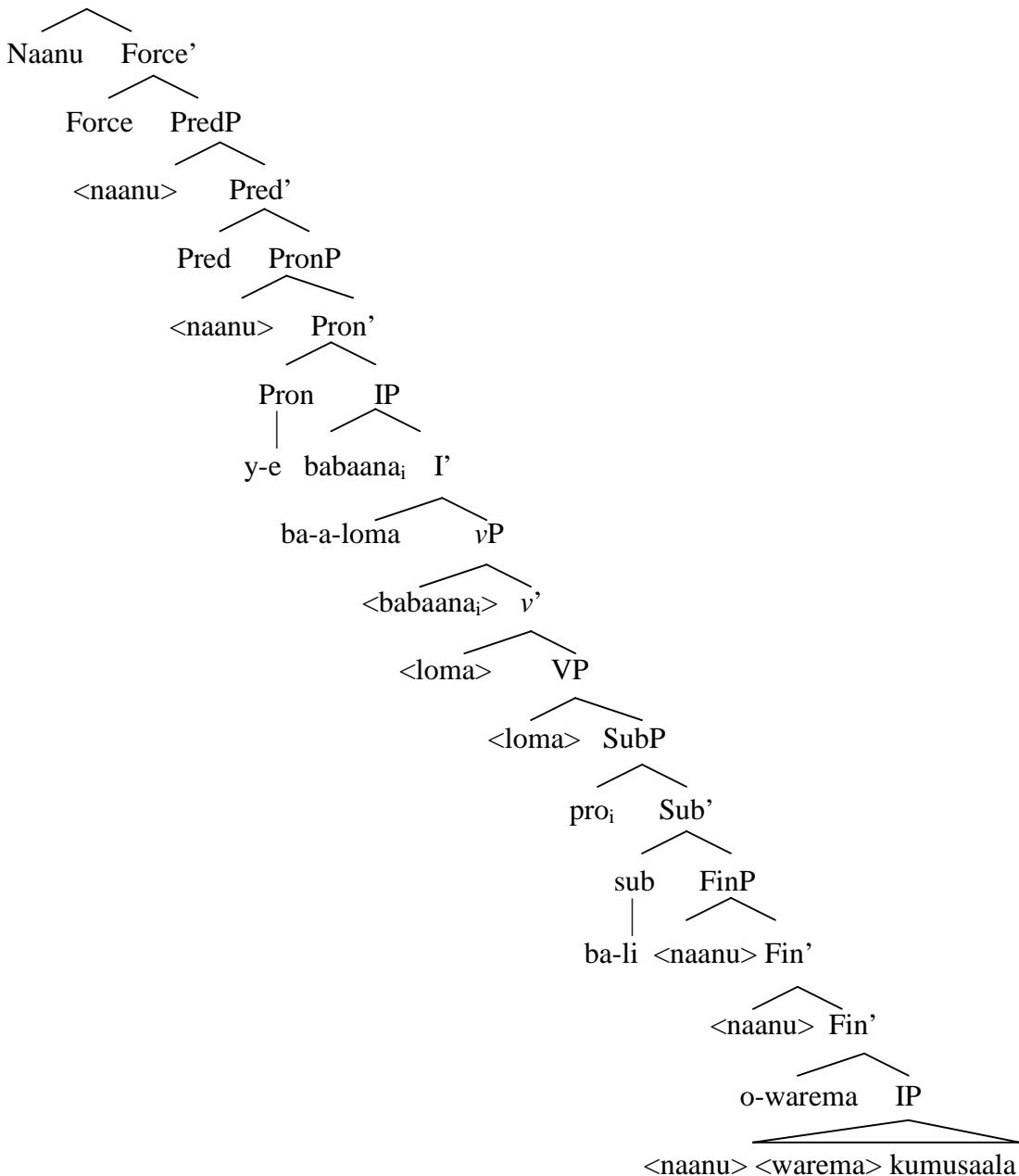
1-be Pp-2-child pred-2-pron 1Nekesa 1-pst-say-fv 1-sub wh-2-pst-cut-fv Pp-3-tree

“It is children that Nekesa said cut the tree”

Clearly, the constituent following -li in (67a&b) is neither PredP, IP, wh-phrase nor quotative phrase. It is not PredP as evidenced by the absence of the complex complementizer. Rather this constituent is FinP. The reason why 67(a)&(b) are ungrammatical is that the subcategorization requirements for -li are not met: FinP is not an acceptable complement for -li¹⁴. The derivation of ungrammatical (67a) is illustrated in the following tree.

¹⁴ An alternative to this solution is to say that there can be no resumptive pronoun in Spec FinP; it can only be in Spec IP.

68. ForceP



The ungrammatical (67b) has a similar derivation. Both 67(a) & (b) are ungrammatical because the constituent following -li is FinP, a constituent which -li does not subcategorize for. Therefore in both sentences, the subcategorization requirements for -li are not met.

My analysis, if correct, predicts that if we upgrade FinP in (67a&b) to PredP status (either by adding the complex complementizer or using the pseudo clefting strategy), then the ungrammaticality should disappear. As shown in the following sentences, this prediction is borne out.

69(a) ba-ba-ana ba-a-lom-a ba-li o-w-a-rem-a ku-mu-saala a-a-ba naanu?

Pp-2-child 2-pst-say-fv 2-sub wh-1-pst-cut-fv Pp-3-tree 1-pst-be who
“The children said the person who cut the tree was who?”

(b) ba-ba-ana ba-a-lom-a ba-li o-w-a-rem-a ku-mu-saala a-a-ba Nekesa

Pp-2-child 2-pst-say-fv 2-sub wh-1-pst-cut-fv Pp-3-tree 1-pst-be 1Nekesa
“The children said the person who cut the tree was Nekesa”

70(a) naanu ni-y-e ba-ba-ana ba-a-lom-a ba-li nii-y-e

who pred-1-pron Pp-2-child 2-pst-say-fv 2-sub pred-1-pron
o-w-a-rem-a ku-mu-saala?
wh-1-pst-cut-fv Pp-3-tree

“Who is it that the children said cut the tree?”

(b) ba-li ba-ba-ana ni-b-o Nekesa a-a-lom-a a-li nii-b-o

2-be Pp-2-child pred-2-pron 1Nekesa 1-pst-say-fv 1-sub pred-2-pron
ba-ba-a-rem-a ku-mu-saala
wh-2-pst-cut-fv Pp-3-tree

“It is children that Nekesa said cut the tree”

71(a) ba-ba-ana ba-a-lom-a ba-li naanu ni-y-e o-w-a-rem-a ku-mu-saala?

Pp-2-child 2-pst-say-fv 2-sub who pred-1-pron wh-1-pst-cut-fv Pp-3-tree
“Who did the children say cut the tree?”

(b) ba-ba-ana ba-a-lom-a ba-li Nekesa ni-y-e o-w-a-rem-a ku-mu-saala

Pp-2-child 2-pst-say-fv 2-sub 1Nekesa pred-1-pron wh-1-pst-cut-fv Pp-3-tree
“It is children that Nekesa said cut the tree”

In 69(a) & (b), we have used the pseudo clefting strategy to upgrade the post -li constituent (which in 67(a) & (b) is FinP) to PredP status. In 70(a) & (b) the inserted word ‘nii-ye’ which is similar to the complex complementizer seems to be functioning as a resumptive pronoun of sorts. The presence of this word – but specifically the functional head ‘nii-’, changes the status of the complement of -li from FinP to a constituent that seems to be PredP. In 71(a) & (b), we have used the partial movement strategy. 71(a) is a partial wh-movement question, while 71(b) is declarative cleft. Again the complement of -li in these sentences is PredP as evidenced by the presence of the complex complementizer.

3.5.3 Partial movement

Let us now turn to partial wh-movement which is illustrated in 71(a). The main issue here is to show how this construction is derived. Following Sabel (1996) I assume that partial wh-movement is motivated by a strong [+focus] feature or a different feature altogether, though crucially not a wh-feature. According to Sabel the features [+wh] and [+focus] which trigger wh-movement are parametrized. In partial wh-movement languages such as German and Kikuyu (and also Lubukusu), the focus feature that is contained both in the embedded C and the matrix C is strong. This forces overt movement of the wh-phrase to Spec of C of the embedded clause. Since Sabel’s analysis does not involve LF movement (he rejects it), he assumes that the focus feature of the matrix C is checked by a phonetically null wh-expletive located in Spec of C of the matrix clause.

In contrast to the strong [+focus] feature in partial wh-movement languages, the [+focus] feature in non-partial wh-movement languages such as English and Duala is always weak. Wh-movement in these languages is triggered not by the focus feature, but by the strong [+wh-] feature. Since C of the embedded clause

lacks a strong [+wh-] feature, Spec of C of the embedded clause cannot be host to a moved wh-phrase. There cannot therefore be partial movement in these languages.

Let us retrace our steps back to partial wh-movement languages. I have not explained how Sabel deals with the wh- feature in these languages. By his analysis, the wh-feature in these languages is weak and cannot therefore trigger overt wh-movement. He assumes that this weak wh- feature is interpretable and does not need to be checked through LF movement.

Sabel's analysis which rejects LF movement of the wh-phrase (or feature movement in the sense of Pesetsky (2000), or Agree in the sense of Chomsky 2000) predicts that the Lubukusu partial wh-movement construction will fail to show an intervention effect. Pending further illustration and discussion in chapter 4, I only mention here that in Lubukusu, negating sentences that have an in-situ wh-phrase is ruled out (see chapter 4 for illustration and discussion of the intervention effect). As shown in the following data, the prediction of Sabel's theory, namely that negating partial movement sentences will yield grammatical sentences, is not borne out.

72(a) *Wafula se-a-a-lom-a a-li naanu ni-y-e o-w-a-rem-a ku-mu-saala ta?
1Wafula neg-1-pst-say-fv 1-sub who pred-1-pron wh-1-pst-cut-fv Pp-3-tree neg
“Who didn't Wafula say cut the tree?”

(b) *Wafula se-a-a-lom-a a-li siina ni-sy-o Nekesa a-a-rem-a ta?
1Wafula neg-1-pst-say-fv 1-sub what pred-7-pron 1Nekesa 1-pst-cut-fv neg
“What didn't Wafula say Nekesa cut?”

However, it is acceptable to negate the embedded clause (73) and sentences in which the wh-phrase is in Spec of pred of the main clause (74).

- 73(a) Wafula a-a-lom-a a-li naanu ni-y-e o-o-kha-a-rem-a ku-mu-saala ta?
 1Wafula 1-pst-say-fv 1-sub who pred-1-pron wh-1-neg-pst-cut-fv Pp-3-tree neg
 “Who didn’t Wafula say cut the tree?”
- (b) Wafula a-a-lom-a a-li siina ni-sy-o Nekesa a-kha-a-rem-a ta?
 1Wafula 1-pst-say-fv 1-sub what pred-7-pron 1Nekesa 1-neg-pst-cut-fv neg
 “What did Wafula say Nekesa didn’t cut?”
- 74(a) Naanu ni-y-e Wafula a-kha-a-lom-a a-li a-a-rem-a ku-mu-saala ta?
 who pred-1-pron 1Wafula 1-neg-pst-say-fv 1-sub 1-pst-cut-fv Pp-3-tree neg
 “Who didn’t Wafula say cut the tree?”
- (b) siina ni-sy-o Wafula a-kha-a-lom-a a-li Nekesa a-a-rem-a ta?
 What pred-7-pron 1Wafula 1-neg-pst-say-fv 1-sub 1Nekesa 1-pst-cut-fv neg
 “What didn’t Wafula say Nekesa cut?”

The intervention effect in (72) is unexpected on Sabel’s theory. Moreover, Sabel’s theory has no straight forward way of explaining why 72(a) & (b) but not 73(a) & (b) and 74(a) & (b) show an intervention effect. But a feature movement account of wh-in-situ which I have adopted accounts for this straightforwardly: in 72(a) & (b), feature movement is blocked by negation. But in 73(a) & (b), negation does not intervene between the wh-phrase and the attracting head, the main clause Pred. Hence feature movement is not blocked and the sentences, that is, 73(a) & (b), are predicted to be grammatical. Similarly, sentences 74(a) & (b) are predicted to be grammatical because they don’t involve any feature movement: they are derived by overt cleft licensed wh- movement. Overt phrasal movement (such clefting) is not subject to an intervention effect. This discussion leads us to conclude that a theory of partial movement which includes feature movement or Agree or even the old fashioned LF movement does a far much better job at deriving partial movement constructions than Sabel’s LF-movement-deficient theory.

3.5.4 Wh-clefting in Island domains

It has long been observed in the literature (see Ross (1967), Chomsky 1977, Huang (1982), Rizzi (1990, 1992), Manzini (1992, 1998), Postal (1998), Cinque (1990), and Oba (2001) among others) that wh-movement out of constituents designated as islands is blocked. One would therefore expect Lubukusu clefts to show island effects. In reality, however, the situation is somewhat mixed. In some cases, clefting from an island domain is blocked, but in others it only gives a weak effect. We will see this in the data that will be presented momentarily. Lubukusu also differs from overt wh-movement languages such as English in terms of the argument-adjunct asymmetry. In English, wh-movement shows an argument-adjunct asymmetry (Huang 1982, Lasnik & Saito 1992 and Rizzi 1994 among others). In contrast, clefting in Lubukusu doesn't show a clear argument-adjunct asymmetry. As shown in the following data, wh-arguments as well as certain wh-adjuncts behave in more or less the same way under clefting from the CNPC, the relative clause, wh-island and the adjunct island. In the data, a single question-mark (?) indicates that the island effect is weak and the sentence is mostly acceptable. Two question-marks (??) indicate that the sentence is marginal or borderline.

75. CNPC in object position

(a) Nekesa a-a-nyol-a chi-lomo mbo Wekesa a-a-kul-a ku-mu-kuunda
1Nekesa 1-pst-receive-fv 10-report that 1Wekesa 1-pst-buy-fv Pp-3-farm
“Nekesa received information that Wekesa bought a farm”

(b)?Siina ni-sy-o Nekesa a-a-nyol-a chi-lomo mbo
What pred-7-pron 1Nekesa 1-pst-receive-fv 10-report that
Wekesa a-a-(si)-kul-a?
1Wekesa 1-pst-7-buy-fv
“What is it that Nekesa received information that Wekesa bought (it)?”

- (c) ?Naanu ni-y-e Nekesa a-a-nyol-a chi-lomo mbo
 Who pred-1-pron 1Nekesa 1-pst-receive-fv 10-report that
 a-a-kul-a siitabu?
 1-pst-steal-fv 7book
 “Who is it that Nekesa received information that (he) stole a book?”
- (d) ?Waae(na) ni-o Nekesa a-a-nyol-a chi-lomo
 Where pred-16pron 1Nekesa 1-pst-receive-fv 10-report
 mbo Wekesa a-a-kul-a-(o) sii-tabu?
 that 1Wekesa 1-pst-buy-fv-16 7-book
 “Where is it that Nekesa received information that Wafula stole the book t?”
- (e) ?Liina ni-lw-o Nekesa a-a-nyol-a chi-lomo mbo
 when pred-11-pron 1Nekesa 1-pst-receive-fv 10-report that
 Wekesa a-a-kul-a siitabu?
 1Wekesa 1-pst-buy-fv book
 (i) “When_i is it that Nekesa received information t_i that Wafula stole the book?”
 (ii) “*When_i is it that Nekesa received information that Wafula stole the book t_i? ”
 (Note: the Lubukusu sentence is bad on this meaning: it cannot have this meaning)
- (f) Siina ni-sy-o sikila Nekesa ne-a-a-nyol-a chi-lomo mbo Wekesa
 what pred-7-pron reason 1Nekesa 1-pst-receive-fv 10-report that 1Wekesa
 a-a-kul-a ku-mu-kuunda
 1-pst-buy-fv Pp-3-farm
 (i) “Why did Nekesa receive information that Wekesa bought a farm?” (main
 clause)
 (ii) “*what is the reason x s.t. Nekesa received information that Wekesa bought a
 farm because of x?”

76. CNPC in subject position

(a) chi-lomo mbo Nekesa a-a-kul-a ku-mu-ruundu cha-a-chun-i-a

10-word that 1Nekesa 1-pst-buy-fv Pp-3-gun 10-pst-hurt-cause-fv

Nafula ku-mw-oyo

1Nafula Pp-3-heart

“Report/Information that Nekesa bought a gun hurt Nafula.”

(b) ?Naanu ni-y-e chi-lomo mbo a-a-kul-a sitabu cha-a-chun-i-a

Who pred-1-pron 10-report that 1-pst-buy-fv book 10-pst-hurt-cause-fv

Nafula kumwoyo?

Nafula heart

“Who is that the report/Information that he bought the book hurt Nafula.”

(c) *Siina ni-sy-o chi-lomo mbo Wafula a-a-kul-a

What pred-7-pron 10-report that 1Wafula 1-pst-buy-fv

cha-a-chun-i-a Nafula kumwoyo?

10-pst-hurt-cause-fv Nafula heart

“What is it that the report that Wafula stole hurt Nafula?”

(d) ?Siina ni-sy-o chi-lomo mbo Wafula a-a-si-kul-a

What pred-7-pron 10-report that 1Wafula 1-pst-7-buy-fv

cha-a-chun-i-a Nafula kumwoyo?

10-pst-hurt-cause-fv Nafula heart

“What is it that the report that Wafula stole hurt Nafula?”

(e) *Waae(na) ni-o chi-lomo mbo Wafula a-a-kul-a sitabu

where pred-pron16 10-report that 1Wafula 1-pst-buy-fv book

cha-a-chun-i-a Nafula kumwoyo?

10-pst-hurt-cause-fv Nafula heart

“Where is it that the report that Wafula bought the book hurt Nafula?”

(f) ?Waae(na) ni-o chi-lomo mbo Wafula a-a-kul-a-o sitabu
where pred-pron16 10-report that 1Wafula 1-pst-buy-fv-16 book
cha-a-chun-i-a Nafula kumwoyo?

10-pst-hurt-cause-fv Nafula heart

“Where is it that the report that Wafula bought the book hurt Nafula?”

(g) ?Liina ni-lw-o chi-lomo mbo Wafula a-a-kul-a sitabu
When pred-11-pron 10-report that 1Wafula 1-pst-buy-fv book
cha-a-chun-i-a Nafula kumwoyo?

10-pst-hurt-cause-fv Nafula heart

(i) “When_i is it that the report that Wafula bought the book hurt Nafula t_i? ”

(ii) *When_i is it that the report that Wafula bought the book t_i hurt Nafula? ”

(h) Siina ni-sy-o sikila chi-lomo mbo Nekesa a-a-kul-a

Reason pred-7-pron reason 10-word that 1Nekesa 1-pst-buy-fv

ku-mu-ruundu cha-a-chun-i-a Nafula ku-mw-oyo?

Pp-3-gun 10-pst-hurt-cause-fv 1Nafula pprf-3-heart

“Why did report/information that Nekesa bought a gun hurt Nafula?” (Only main clause reading; embedded clause reading is bad)

77. Wh-Island

(a) Wafula e-e-ny-a khu-many-a niba-mbo Nekesa a-kha-kul-e sitabu
1Wafula 1-prs-want-fv inf- know-fv whether-that 1Nekesa 1-fut-buy-fv book
“Wafula wants to know whether Nekesa will buy a book”

(b) ?Naanu ni-y-e Wafula e-e-ny-a khu-many-a nibambo a-kha-kul-e sitabu
Who pred-1-pron 1Wafula 1-prs-want-fv inf- know-fv whether 1-fut-buy-fv book
“Who is it that Wafula wants to know whether t s/he will buy the book?”

- (c) *Siina ni-sy-o Wafula e-ny-a khu-many-a nibambo
 what pred-7-pron 1Wafula 1prs-want-fv inf- know-fv whether
 Nafula a-kha-kul-e?
 1Nafula 1-fut-buy-fv
 “What is that Wafula wants to know whether Nafula will buy?”
- (d) ?Siina ni-sy-o Wafula e-ny-a khu-many-a
 what pred-7-pron 1Wafula 1prs-want-fv inf- know-fv
 nibambo Nafula a-kha-si-kul-e?
 whether 1Nafula 1-fut-7-buy-fv
 “What is that Wafula wants to know whether Nafula will buy it?”
- (e) ??Waae(na) ni-o Wafula e-ny-a khu-many-a
 Where pred-16pron 1Wafula 1prs-want-fv inf- know-fv
 nibambo Nafula a-kha-kul-e sitabu t?
 whether Nafula 1-fut-buy-fv book
 “What is the place x s.t. Wafula wants to know whether Nafula bought the book
 at x?”
- (f) ?Waae(na) ni-o Wafula e-ny-a khu-many-a
 Where pred-16pron 1Wafula 1prs-want-fv inf- know-fv
 nibambo Nafula a-kha-kul-e-o sitabu t?
 whether Nafula 1-fut-buy-fv-16 book
 “What is the place x s.t. Wafula wants to know whether Nafula bought the book
 at x?”
- (g) ?Liina ni-lw-o Wafula e-ny-a khu-many-a
 When pred-11-pron 1Wafula 1prs-want-fv inf- know-fv
 nibambo Nafula a-kha-kul-e sitabu t?
 whether Nafula 1-buy-fv book
 (i) “When_i is it that Wafula wants to know t_i whether Nafula bought the book?”

(ii) “*When_i is it that Wafula wants to know whether Nafula bought the book t_i? ”

78. (a) Wafula a-many-il-e [nga Nekesa ne-o-o-ombakh-a enju]

1Wafula 1-know-perf-fv how 1Nekesa prt-1-pst-build-fv house

“Wafula knows how Nekesa built the house”

(b) ?Naanu ni-y-e Wafula a-many-il-e [nga t o-o-ombakh-a enju]?

Who pred-1-pron 1Wafula 1-know-perf-fv [how t 1-pst-build-fv house]

“Who is it that Wafula knows how t s/he built the house?”

(c) ??Siina ni-sy-o Wafula a-many-il-e [nga Nafula o-o-ombakh-a t]?

What pred-7-pron 1Wafula 1-know- asp-fv [how 1Nafula 1-pst-build-fv t]

“What is it that Wafula knows how Nafula built?”

(d) ?Siina ni-sy-o Wafula a-many-il-e [nga Nafula a-a-sy-ombakh-a t]?

What pred-7-pron 1Wafula 1-know- asp-fv [how 1Nafula 1-pst-7-build-fv t]

“What is it that Wafula knows how Nafula built it?”

(e) *Waae(na) ni-o Wafula a-many-il-e [nga Nafula o-o-ombakh-a enju t]?

Where pred-16pron 1Wafula 1-know-perf-fv how 1Nafula 1-pst-build-fv house

“Where is it that Wafula knows how Nafula built the house?”

(f) ?Waae(na) ni-o Wafula a-many-il-e [nga Nafula o-o-ombakh-a-o enju t]?

Where pred-16pron 1Wafula 1-know-perf-fv how 1Nafula 1-pst-build-fv-16 house

“Where is it that Wafula knows how Nafula built the house there?”

(g) *Liina ni-lw-o Wafula a-many-il-e [nga Nafula o-o-ombakh-a enju t]?

When pred-11-pron 1Wafula 1-know-perf-fv how 1Nafula 1-pst-build-fv house

“When_i is it that Wafula knows how Nafula built the house t_i? ”

(h) Siina ni-sy-o sikila Wafula na-a-many-il-e

What pred-7-pron reason 1Wafula prt-1-know-perf-fv

[nga Nekesa o-ombakh-a enju]?

how 1Nekesa prt-1-build-fv house

“Why does Wafula know how Nekesa built the house” (only main clause construal; embedded clause construal is bad).

79. Adjunct Island

(a) Nasike a-a-rekukh-a paata ya Wanjala khu-khuup-a Nanjala

1Nasike 1-pst-leave-fv after of 1Wanjala inf-beat-fv 1Nanjala

“Nasike left after Wanjala hit Nanjala”

(b) *Naanu ni-y-e Nasike a-a-rekukh-a paata ye t khu-khuup- a Nanjala

Who pred-1-pron 1Nasike 1-pst-leave-fv after of inf-beat-fv 1Nanjala

“Who is it that Nasike left after t hitting Nanjala?”

(c) *Naanu ni-y-e Nasike a-a-rekukh-a paata ya Wafula khu-khuu-p-a?

Who pred-7-pron 1Nasike 1-pst-leave-fv after of 1Wafula inf-inf-beat-fv

“Who is it that Nasike left after Wafula hit -?”

(d) ?Naanu ni-y-e Nasike a-a-rekukh-a paata ya Wafula khu-muu-p-a?

Who pred-7-pron 1Nasike 1-pst-leave-fv after of 1Wafula inf-1-beat-fv

“Who is it that Nasike left after Wafula hit him?”

(e) ??Waae(na) ni-o Nasike a-a-rekukh-a paata ya Wafula

Where pred-16pron 1Nasike 1-pst-leave-fv after of 1Wafula

khu-chukh-a ka-me-echi?

inf-pour-fv Pp-6-water

“What is the location x, s.t. Nasike left after Wafula poured water at x?”

(f) ?Waae(na) ni-o Nasike a-a-rekukh-a paata ya Wafula

Where pred-16pron 1Nasike 1-pst-leave-fv after of 1Wafula

khu-chukh-a-o ka-me-echi?

inf-pour-fv-6 Pp-6-water

“What the location x, s.t. Nasike left after Wafula poured water at x?”

(g) *Liina ni-lw-o Nasike a-a-rekukh-a paata ya

Where pred-11-pron 1Nasike 1-pst-leave-fv after of

Wafula khu-khuup-a Nanjala?

1Wafula inf-beat-fv 1Nanjala

“When is it that Nasike left after Wafula hit Nanjala -?”

(h) Siina ni-sy-o sikila Nasike ne-a-a-rekukh-a paata ya

What pred-7-pron reason 1Nasike 1-pst-leave-fv after of

Wanjala khu-khuup-a Nanjala?

1Wanjala inf-beat-fv 1Nanjala

“Why did Nasike leave after Wanjala hit Nanjala?” (Only main clause construal; embedded clause construal is impossible)

80. Relative Clause in subject position

(a) E-n-demu ni-y-o Nekesa a-a-p-a ya-a-lum-a o-mw-aana

Pp-9-snake pred-9-pron 1Nekesa 1-pst-hit-fv 9-pst-break-fv Pp-1-child

“The snake that Nekesa hit bit the child”

(b) ?Naanu_i ni-y-e e-n-demu ni-y-o t_i a-a-p-a ya-a-lum-a o-mw-aana?

who pred-1-pron Pp-9-snake pred-9-pron 1-pst-hit-fv 1-pst-break-fv Pp-9-chair

“Who_i is it that the snake that t_i he/she hit bit the child?”

(c) O-muu-ndu o-w-a-fun-a e-n-debe a-a-p-a Nekesa

Pp-1-person wh-1-pst-break-fv Pp-9-chair 1-pst-hit-fv 1Nekesa

“The person who broke the chair hit Nekesa”

- (d) *Siina ni-sy-o o-muu-ndu o-w-a-fun-a a-a-p-a Nekesa?
 What pred-7-pron Pp-1-person wh-1-pst-break-fv 1-pst-hit-fv 1Nekesa
 “What is it that the person who broke beat Nekesa?”
- (e) ?Siina ni-sy-o o-muu-ndu o-w-a-si-fun-a a-a-p-a Nekesa?
 What pred-7-pron Pp-1-person wh-1-pst-7-break-fv 1-pst-hit-fv 1Nekesa
 “What is it that the person who broke it beat Nekesa?”
- (f) *Waae(na) ni-o o-muu-ndu o-w-a-fun-il-a endebe
 Where pred-16pron Pp-1-person wh-1-pst-break-appl-fv chair
 a-a-p-a Nekesa?
 1-pst-beat-fv Nekesa
 “What is the place x s.t. the person who broke the chair at x beat Nekesa?”
- (g) ?Waae(na) ni-o o-muu-ndu o-w-a-fun-il-a-o
 Where pred-16pron Pp-1-person wh-1-pst-break-appl-fv-16
 endebe a-a-p-a Nekesa?
 chair 1-pst-beat-fv Nekesa
 “What is the place x s.t. the person who broke the chair at x beat Nekesa?”
- (h) Liina ni-lw-o o-muu-ndu o-w-a-fun-a endebe a-a-p-a Nekesa?
 When pred-11-pron Pp-1-person wh-1-pst-break-fv chair 1-pst-beat-fv Nekesa
 “When is it that the person who broke the chair beat Nekesa?” (only main clause
 contrual; embedded clause meaning is unavailable).
- (i) Siina ni-sy-o sikila o-muu-ndu ni-y-e Nekesa a-a-p-a
 What pred-7-pron reason Pp-1-person pred-1-pron 1Nekesa 1-pst-hit-fv
 a-a-fun-a e-n-debe?
 1-pst-break-fv Pp-9-chair
 “Why did the person who Nekesa hit break the chair?” (only main clause
 construal; embedded clause reading is unavailable).

81. Relative Clause in object position

- (a) Wafula a-kha-enj-a o-muu-ndu o-w-a-kul-a siitabu
1Wafula 1-prs-look.for-fv Pp-1-person wh-1-pst-buy-fv book
“Wafula is looking for the person who bought the book”
- (b) *Siina ni-sy-o Wafula a-kha-enj-a o-muu-ndu o-w-a-kul-a?
What pred-7-pron 1Wafula 1-prs-look.for-fv Pp-1-person wh-1-pst-buy-fv
“What is it that Wafula is looking for the person who bought?”
- (c) ?Siina ni-sy-o Wafula a-kha-enj-a o-muu-ndu o-w-a-si-kul-a?
What pred-7-pron 1Wafula 1-prs-look.for-fv Pp-1-person wh-1-pst-7-buy-fv
“What is it that Wafula is looking for the person who bought it?”
- (d) *Waae(na) ni-o Wafula a-kha-enj-a o-muu-ndu o-w-a-kul-a siitabu t?
Where pred-16pron 1Wafula 1-prs-look.for-fv Pp-1-person wh-1-pst-buy-fv book
“Where is it that Wafula is looking for who bought the book?”
- (e) ?Waae(na) ni-o Wafula a-kha-enj-a o-muu-ndu
Where pred-16pron 1Wafula 1-prs-look.for-fv Pp-1-person
o-w-a-kul-a-o siitabu t?
wh-1-pst-buy-fv-16 book
“Where is it that Wafula is looking for who bought the book at that place?”
- (f) *Liina ni-lw-o Wafula a-kha-enj-a o-muu-ndu o-w-a-kul-a siitabu t?
When pred-11-pron 1Wafula 1-prs-look.for-fv Pp-1-person wh-1-pst-buy-fv book
“When is it that Wafula is looking for who bought the book?”
- (g) Wafula a-kha-enj-a ki-mi-fuko ni-ky-o Nekesa a-a-kul-a
1Wafula 1-prs-look.for-fv Pp-4-bag pred-4-pron 1Nekesa 1-pst-buy-fv
“Wafula is looking for bags that Nekesa bought”
- (h) ?Naanu_i ni-y-e Wafula a-kha-enj-a ki-mi-fuko ni-ky-o t_i a-a-kul-a
who pred-1-pron 1Wafula 1-prs-look.for-fv Pp-4-bag pred-4-pron 1-pst-buy-fv
“Who is the person x s.t Wafula is looking for bags that x bought?”

- (i) Siina ni-sy-o sikila Wafula na-a-kha-enj-a
 what pred-7-pron reason 1Wafula prt-1-prs-look.for-fv
 ki-mi-fuko ni-ky-o Nekesa a-a-kul-a?
 Pp-4-bag pred-4-pron 1Nekesa 1-pst-buy-fv
 “Why is Wafula looking for bags that Nekesa bought?” (Only main clause meaning; embedded clause meaning is unavailable).

The island effects which are associated with wh-clefting and illustrated by the data in (75)-(81) are summarized in table 9 on page 178.

Based on the behavior of wh-phrases under clefting which is summarized in table 9, we can divide up wh-phrases into three: (i) the object wh-phrase and the place wh-phrase, (ii) ‘when’ and ‘why’, and (iii) the subject wh-phrase. Members of the first group – the object wh-phrase and the place wh-phrase do not cleft from islands unless the resumptive pro strategy is used. As shown in the data in (77)-(81), sentences in which the object wh-phrase and the place wh-phrase are clefted without the use of the resumptive pro strategy are either ungrammatical or borderline. But these sentences improve when the resumptive pro strategy (as indicated by the presence of object agreement and the locative suffix) is used. In contrast, the temporal wh-phrase ‘when’ may not be clefted from any of the islands. This is due to the fact that ‘when’ lacks an associated resumptive pro. Therefore the resumptive pro strategy cannot be used to license clefting of ‘when’ from islands. The strategy is simply not available to ‘when’.

The reason wh-phrase ‘why’ is an interesting case. Although the verb sometimes bears the ne-/na- particle which might be taken to be ‘why agreement’, ‘why’ does not undergo clefting from the embedded clause. The question is why not? Why doesn’t ‘why’ undergo clefting like other wh-phrases that trigger agreement?

Table 9: Summary of clefting from islands (Yes=clefting is ok; No=clefting is bad)

		Wh-clefting Without OP, locPrt	Wh-clefting With OP, locPrt
Object CNP (Non-RC)	Subject	Yes	
	Object	Yes	Yes
	Where	Yes	Yes
	When	No	
	Why	No	
Subject CNP (Non-RC)	Subject	Yes	
	Object	No	Yes
	Where	No	Yes
	When	No	
	Why	No	
Wh-Island	Subject	Yes	
	Object	No	Yes
	Where	No	Yes
	When	No	
	Why	No	
Adjunct Island	Subject	No/Yes	
	Object	No	Yes
	Where	No	Yes
	When	No	
	Why	No	
Object RC	Subject	Yes	
	Object	No	Yes
	Where	No	Yes
	When	No	
	Why	No	
Subject RC	Subject	Yes	
	Object	No	Yes
	Where	No	Yes
	When	No	
	Why	No	

I argue that the failure of ‘why’ to cleft from the embedded clause is rooted in the fact that ‘why’ is base generated in the left periphery (see chapter 5 for discussion).

If we assume that all islands are incompatible with the force of the why-construction, then everything falls in place: why cannot be clefted from the islands because it is not base generated there. If it is never generated in islands, then we cannot really talk about clefting of ‘why’ from islands.

Turning back to pro (as indicated by agreement) and its role in licensing clefting from islands, it is important to note that it is not just object pro and locative pro that is relevant. Subject pro is equally important. In (79b) which is repeated here as (82) we saw that clefting of the subject from an adjunct clause is impossible.

82. *Naanu ni-y-e Nasike a-a-rekukh-a paata ye t khu-khuup- a Nanjala
Who pred-1-pron 1Nasike 1-pst-leave-fv after of inf-beat-fv 1Nanjala
“Who is it that Nasike left after t hitting Nanjala?”

While this sentence clearly shows that a subject cannot be clefted from an adjunct clause, it is inaccurate to assume that this generalizes to all subjects of adjunct clauses. The reason why we shouldn’t do that is that the adjunct clause in (82) is infinitival, and the situation might be different for finite adjunct clauses. Indeed if our argument – that pro plays a central role in licensing clefting – is correct, then it should be possible to cleft subjects from finite adjunct clauses. As illustrated in the following data, this is exactly what happens.

- 83(a) Nasike a-a-rekukh-a Nangila na-a-kha-teekh-a ka-ma-kaanda
1Nasike 1-pst-leave-fv 1Nangila prt-1-pres-cook-fv Pp-5-bean
“Nasike left when Nangila was cooking beans”
- (b) Naanu ni-y-e Nasike a-a-rekukh-a na-a-kha-teekh-a ka-ma-kaanda?
Who pred-1-pron 1Nasike 1-pst-leave-fv prt-1-prs-cook-fv Pp-5-bean
“Who was it that Nasike left when he/she was cooking beans?”

Thus subject pro just like object pro and locative pro (= the locative particle) can license clefting. There are two questions that arise: (i) Is clefting licensed by pro only in Lubukusu? (ii) How does pro license clefting? In response to the first question, pro as a licensor of clefting is not a language specific property of Lubukusu. It seems to be a property of Bantu in general. For instance Clements (1984) and Bergvall (1983) noted this property in Kikuyu. The following example which is reproduced from Bergvall (1983:248) illustrates the role of object pro in overt (cleft) wh-movement from an island in Kikuyu.

84. Bergvall's (4)

(a) *Noo Kamau ɔ:nire mo:do orea ori:gire?

FP-who Kamau saw person dem hit

“Who did Kamau see the person who hit?”

(b) ?Noo Kamau ɔ:nire mo:do orea omori:gire?

FP-who Kamau saw person dem him-hit

“Who did Kamau see the person who hit him?”

The second question – how pro licenses clefting – is tricky, so I will offer a speculative answer that will need future research to refine. I speculate that the answer to this question has to do with the structure of wh-phrases in Lubukusu and other Bantu languages. It is conceivable that the structure of wh-phrases in these languages is always wh-word-DP (e.g. muundu siina ‘what person’). This seems to be true even in those cases where the wh-word appears alone. In such cases, the DP might just covert. If this is true, that is, if all wh-phrases in Lubukusu are D-linked, it can reasonably be argued that when the wh-word is clefted, the DP remains behind. This DP, which may show up as a resumptive pro, does not bind the clefted wh-word, but it becomes visible as if to announce that although the wh-word has been moved, the associated DP is still available to be used for interpretation purposes. In a nutshell that is my speculation. Resumptive pro is the realization of the DP that each

relevant wh-phrase is associated with. When the wh-word moves, the resumptive pro, and by extension DP becomes active and visible for interpretation. In this way it ameliorate island effects.

3.5.5 Movement of the RC head

Besides clefting the subject, object and ‘where’ from the RC, it is also generally possible to cleft the RC head. As shown in the following data, both subject RC heads and object RC heads can be clefted.

85(a) Naanu ni-y-e Wafula a-kha-enj-a o-w-a-kul-a sii-tabu?

Who pred-1-pron 1Wafula 1-prs-look.for-fv wh-1-pst-buy-fv 7-book

“Who is it that Wafula is looking for who bought the book?”

(b) Siina ni-sy-o Wafula a-kha-enj-a <siina> ni-sy-o

What pred-7-pron 1Wafula 1-prs-look.for-fv <what> pred-7-pron

Nekesa a-a-kul-a?

1Nekesa 1-pst-buy-fv

“What is the thing x s.t. that Wafula is looking for x which Nekesa bought?”

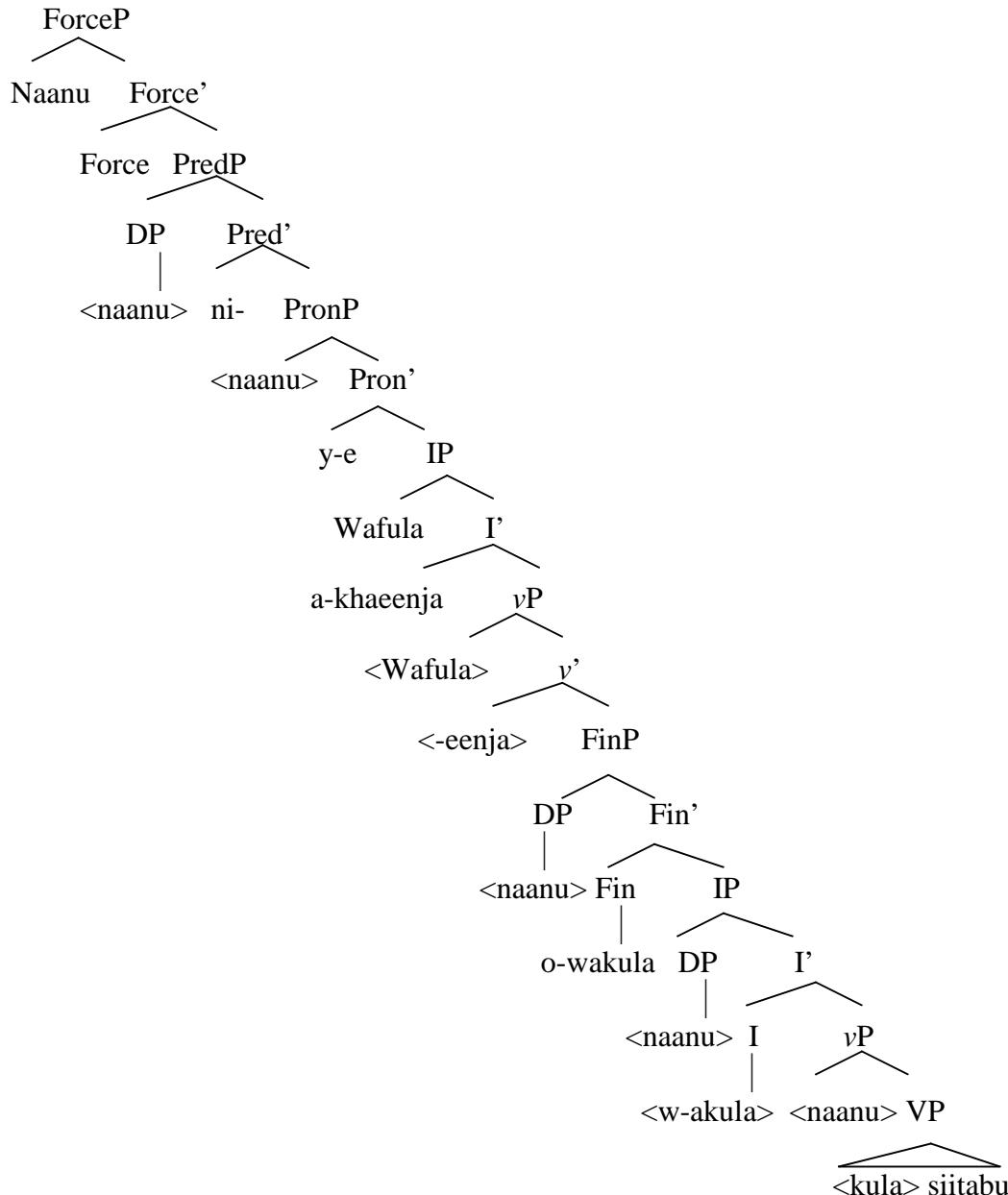
Sentences such as 85(a) & (b) were analyzed in pre-LCA theories as involving RC extraposition. But since extraposition is basically a rightward movement operation, it is incompatible with LCA based theories. For this reason, I do not adopt an extraposition analysis for these sentences. Instead, I assume following Kayne (1994) that 85(a) & (b) are cases of RC stranding. RC stranding results from moving the RC head from the left periphery of the lower clause to the left periphery of the matrix clause. Movement of the RC head in both 85(a) & (b) does not violate any locality conditions (such as subjacency). This is because the RC head moves successive cyclically in the spirit of Chomsky (1973, 1993 and others). The first movement operation places the RC head on the periphery of the RC, specifically Spec of Pred or Spec Fin in the case subject clefting. On the next movement cycle, the RC head

moves from Spec of the intermediate Pred/Fin to Spec of main clause Pred/Fin. As shown in the following abbreviated derivation, these two movement operations do not violate any locality conditions.

86. Naanu ni-y-e Wafula a-kha-eenj-a o-w-a-kul-a sii-tabu? (=84a)

What pred-1-pron 1Wafula 1-prs-look.for-fv wh-1-pst-buy-fv 7-book

“Who is it that Wafula is looking for who bought the book?”



It may seem that extraction of RC heads is unrestricted. However, this is not so. As shown in the following sentences, RC head extraction is blocked particularly if the RC is in subject position.

- 87(a) O-muu-ndu o-w-a-fun-a e-n-debe a-a-p-a Nekesa
Pp-1-person wh-1-pst-break-fv Pp-9-chair 1-pst-hit-fv 1Nekesa
“The person who broke the chair hit Nekesa”
- (b) *Naanu ni-y-e o-w-a-fun-a e-n-debe a-a-p-a Nekesa?
Who pred-1-pron wh-1-pst-break-fv Pp-9-chair 1-beat-fv Nekesa
“Who is it that broke the chair beat Nekesa?”

Thus it is impossible to question the RC head if the RC is in subject position and if the RC head is a subject (87b). How do we account for the ungrammaticality of this sentence? A possible answer to this question is that 87(b) violates the specificity condition. The Specificity Condition was first proposed by Fiengo and Higginbotham (1981) and was adopted by Huang (1982) in his discussion of domains that did not allow wh-in-situ in Chinese. Huang (1982) defines the specificity condition as follows.

(88) Specificity Condition

A constituent specified as [+specific] must not contain a variable.

The ungrammaticality of (87) is explained if we assume that subjects in Lubukusu are [+specific] when they are moved to the left periphery. If subjects are [+specific], then a wh-phrase may not be moved from it, because doing so (for example moving the RC head) leaves behind a variable in violation of the Specificity condition. An objection that may be raised against this analysis concerns the position of the RC head at the time it is moved. One can argue that at the time of extraction, the RC

head is not inside the RC (since it is in the left periphery) and by extension that the variable created by RC-head movement is not within the [+specific] subject.

Fortunately this objection can be successfully be rebutted. It is true that at the time of extraction, the RC head is in Spec of Pred or Spec of Fin. However this does not mean that it is not part of the subject; as shown in the following structural skeleton (for 87b), the head of the RC is still part of the subject.

89.*Naanu ni-y-e o-w-a-fun-a e-n-debe a-a-p-a Nekesa?

Who pred-1-pron wh-1-pst-break-fv Pp-9-chair 1- beat-fv Nekesa

ForceP

naanu Force'

Force PredP

<naanu> Pred'

ni- PronP

<naanu> Pron'

y-e IP

PredP I'

<naanu> a-a-pa vP

owafuna

eendebe

<PredP>

<naanu>

owafuna

eendebe>

<pa> VP

v' V

<pa> DP

Nekesa

Thus specificity as an explanation for the ungrammaticality is intact and is not derailed by the objection.

The specificity account makes a significant prediction, namely that moving the entire subject (PredP) to Spec of the higher Pred in sentences such as (89) will give us a grammatical sentences (because such movement does not leave a variable within the subject). As shown in the following sentence, this prediction is borne out. Notice that the verb *pa* (=hit) turns up with wh-agreement. This is expected because movement of the main clause wh-subject to the left periphery always triggers wh-agreement.

90. Naanu o-w-a-fun-a	e-n-debe	o-w-aa-p-a	Nekesa?
Who	wh-1-pst-break-fv	Pp-9-chair	wh-1-pst- beat-fv Nekesa
“Who was it that broke the chair and beat Nekesa?”			

Notice that this sentence differs from the ungrammatical (89) only minimally: the verb of the main clause in (90) bears wh-agreement while its counterpart in (89) does not. This is significant because it seems to suggest another reason (indeed the real reason) why (89) is ungrammatical. In other words (90) calls into question our explanation for the ungrammaticality of (89) as a violation of the specificity condition. Instead (90) seems to suggest that real reason the ungrammaticality concerns agreement and feature checking. To see how, consider again the derivation in (89). One of the problems that we have in this derivation is that only part of the subject (the RC head) moves from Spec IP to Spec PronP. This is not acceptable: usually it is the entire subject that moves to the left periphery. Another problem has to do with where in the left periphery the subject moves. As argued in chapter 2, wh-subjects always move to Spec Fin, but this step is missing in (89). This means the wh- feature in Fin remains unchecked. To check this feature, Fin needs to enter into an agree relation with the wh-subject, before the latter moves to Spec Fin. To indicate agreement between Fin and the wh-subject, the main clause verb must bear

wh-agreement morphology. But none of these properties are evident in (89). It therefore seems reasonable to conclude that (89) is ungrammatical not because of a violation of the specificity condition, but because the wh-feature in Fin is not checked (as evidenced by the absence of wh-agreement on the main clause verb ‘a-ap-a’ (=beat)).

A final aspect of RC heads that we need to examine relates to the non-availability of the embedded clause left periphery for the RC head. Consider the following sentences.

91(a) Wafula a-kha-enj-a o-mu-somi o-w-a-kul-a sii-tabu

1Wafula 1-prs-look.for-fv Pp-1-student wh-1-pst-buy-fv 7-book

“Wafula is looking for the student who bought the book”

(b) *Wafula a-kha-enj-a naanu o-w-a-kul-a sii-tabu?

1Wafula 1-prs-look.for-fv who wh-1-pst-buy-fv 7-book

“Who is it that Wafula is looking for who bought the book?”

(c) *Wafula a-kha-enj-a siina ni-sy-o Wekesa a-a-kul-a?

1Wafula 1-prs-look.for-fv what pred-7-pron 1Wekesa 1-pst-buy-fv

“What is Wafula is looking for that Wekesa bought?”

Sentences 91(b) & (c) show that the left periphery of the embedded clause cannot serve as the final landing site for the wh-phrase. We expected this to be possible considering the fact that Lubukusu allows partial wh-movement (see section 3.5.3), but it is not. Why then, is partial wh-movement not possible here? My answer to this question is sub-categorization. The main clause verb in 91(b) & (c), that is, *eenja* (=look for) is simply not the type of verb that allows partial movement. Only verbs that select the subordinator –li allow for partial movement. This class of verbs includes loma ‘say’, subila ‘believe’, and boola ‘tell’ among others.

3.5.6 CNPs Vs RCs

Although CNPs (non RC) and RCs exhibit a more or less similar behavior with respect to wh-clefting, they do differ in certain respects. For instance clefting the wh-object DP and ‘where’ from an RC (both subject and object RC) requires an OP in the case of the wh-object DP and a locative suffix in the case of ‘where’ (see (80)&(81)) for illustration). In contrast OP and the locative suffix are optional in the CNP (see (75) & (76)) for illustration. This difference may be small, but it does suggest that there exist structural differences between these two islands. It is conceivable for such differences to make it appear as if the non-RC-CNP and RC are different islands not to be considered sub-parts of the general classical class – the CNPC. What then are the structural differences? The non-RC-CNPC has a left periphery that is fairly simple in that it lacks a PredP projection. This is evidenced by the fact that the non-RC-CNP never uses the complex complementizer (= *ni-agr-o*). Either, the complementizer of the non-RC-CNP is the invariant mbo (as in (75) and (76) or it is the simple agreeing type (the simple subordinator) which is illustrated in the following sentences.

92(a) Wanjala a-li ne lii-suubila a-li Nekesa a-la-kul-a lii-toka

1Wanjala 1-have with 5-belief 1-sub 1Nekesa 1-fut-buy-fv 5-car

“Wanjala has a belief that Nekesa will buy a car”

(b) ?Siina ni-sy-o Wanjala a-li ne lii-suubila a-li Nekesa a-la-kul-a?

What pred-7-pron 1Wanjala 1-have with 5-belief 1-sub 1Nekesa 1-fut-buy-fv

“What is that Wanjala has a belief that Nekesa will buy?”

(c) ?Naanu ni-y-e Wanjala a-li ne lii-suubila a-li a-la-kul-a lii-toka?

Who pred-1-pron 1Wanjala 1-have with 5-belief 1-sub 1-fut-buy-fv 5-car

“Who is that Wanjala has a belief that t will buy a car?”

In contrast, RCs have a PredP in their left periphery. Clearly, the left periphery of the RC is complex – as evidenced by the presence of a Pred head and a Pron head. It seems the presence of these two projections constitutes a strong barrier to subjacency. If this is correct, then the only way clefting from the RC can be possible is if the resumptive pronoun strategy (=pro) is used.

3.6 Clefting of non-wh-phrases from islands

We noted in section 3.3 that wh-clefts and declarative (=non-question) clefts exhibit a more or less similar syntactic behavior, the only exception being that the former allow copula drop, while the latter do not. The aim of this section is to show that the similarity between wh-clefts and declarative clefts extends to islands as well. Indeed it is possible to predict based on the behavior of wh-clefts in islands whether or not clefting will be possible in comparable declarative clefts. We have seen in the illustration and discussion of clefting of wh-phrases from islands that in the majority of the cases clefting from the CNPC, the relative clause, the wh-island and the adjunct island is only possible if pro is used. As shown in the following data, this is true for declarative clefts as well. Notice also that declarative clefts do not show a clear argument-adjunct asymmetry just like wh-clefts.

93. CNPC in object position

- (a) Nekesa a-a-nyol-a chi-lomo mbo Wekesa a-a-kul-a chii-mbete
1Nekesa 1-pst-get-fv 10-word that 1Wekesa 1-pst-buy-fv 10-ring
“Nekesa got word/report that Wekesa bought rings”

- (b) Nekesa a-a-nyol-a chi-lomo mbo Wekesa nii-y-e ni-y-e
1Nekesa 1-pst-get-fv 10-word that 1Wekesa pred-1-pron pred-1-pron
o-w-a-kul-a chii-mbete
wh-1-pst-buy-fv 10-ring
“Nekesa got word/report that Wekesa is the one that bought rings”

(c) Nekesa a-a-nyol-a chi-lomo mbo chii-mbete nii-ch-o

1Nekesa 1-pst-get-fv 10-word that 10-ring pred-10-pron

ni-ch-o Wekesa a-a-kul-a

pred-10-pron 1Wekesa 1-pst-buy-fv

“Nekesa got word/report that rings are the ones that Wekesa bought”

(d) *Nekesa a-a-nyol-a chi-lomo mbo chii-mbete nii-ch-o

1Nekesa 1-pst-get-fv 10-word that 10-ring pred-10-pron

ni-ch-o Wekesa a-a-chi-kul-a

pred-10-pron 1Wekesa 1-pst-10-buy-fv

“Nekesa got word/report that rings are the ones that Wekesa bought”

(e) Wekesa nii-y-e ni-y-e Nekesa a-a-nyol-a chi-lomo

1Wekesa pred-1-pron pred-1-pron 1Nekesa 1-pst-get-fv 10-word

mbo a-a-kul-a chii-mbete

that 1-pst-buy-fv 10-ring

“It is Wekesa that Nekesa got word/report that he bought rings”

(f) Chii-mbete nii-ch-o ni-ch-o Nekesa a-a-nyol-a chi-lomo mbo

10-ring pred-10-pron pred-10-pron 1Nekesa 1-pst-get-fv 10-word that

Wekesa a-a-(chi)-kul-a

1Wekesa 1-pst-(10)-buy-fv

“It is rings that Nekesa got word/report that Wekesa bought (them)”

(g) Mwii-tuka nii-mw-o ni-mw-o Nekesa a-a-b-a ne lii-subila

18-shop pred-1-pron pred-1-pron 1Nekesa 1-pst-be-fv with 5-faith

a-li Wekesa a-a-kul-a-(mo) chii-mbete

1-sub 1Wekesa 1-pst-buy-fv-(loc) 10-ring

“It is in the shop that Nekesa had faith (=believed) Wekesa bought rings”

94. CNPC in subject position

- (a) Chi-lomo mbo Nekesa e-e-eb-a ka-ma-syeelo cha-a-chuun-i-a
10-word that 1Nekesa 1-pst-steal-fv Pp-6-hide 10-pst-hurt-caus-fv
Wekesa ku-mw-ooyo
1Wekesa Pp-3-heart
“Word/report that Nekesa stole hides hurt Wekesa”
- (b) ?Nekesa nii-y-e ni-y-e chi-lomo mbo e-e-eb-a
1Nekesa pred-1-pron pred-1-pron 10-word that 1-pst-steal-fv
ka-ma-syeelo cha-a-chuun-i-a Wekesa ku-mw-ooyo
Pp-6-hide 10-pst-hurt-caus-fv 1Wekesa Pp-3-heart
“It is Nekesa that word/report that she stole hides hurt Wekesa”
- (c) *Ka-ma-syeelo nii-k-o ni-k-o chi-lomo mbo Nekesa e-e-eb-a
Pp-5-hide pred-6-pron pred-3-pron 10-word that 1Nekesa 1-pst-steal-fv
cha-a-chuun-i-a Wekesa ku-mw-ooyo
10-pst-hurt-caus-fv 1Wekesa Pp-3-heart
“It is hides that word/report that Nekesa stole hurt Wekesa”
- (d) ?Ka-ma-syeelo nii-k-o ni-k-o chi-lomo mbo Nekesa a-a-ke-eb-a
Pp-5-hide pred-6-pron pred-3-pron 10-word that 1Nekesa 1-pst-6-steal-fv
cha-a-chuun-i-a Wekesa ku-mw-ooyo
10-pst-hurt-caus-fv 1Wekesa Pp-3-heart
“It is hides that word/report that Nekesa stole them hurt Wekesa”
- (e) *Khu-sooko nii-khw-o ni-khw-o chi-lomo mbo Nekesa e-e-eb-a
17-market pred-17-pron pred-17-pron 10-word that 1Nekesa 1-pst-steal-fv
ka-ma-syeelo cha-a-chun-i-a Wekesa ku-mw-ooyo
Pp-6-hide 10-pst-hurt-caus-fv 1Wekesa Pp-3-heart
“It is at the market that word/report that Nekesa stole hides hurt Wekesa”

(f) ?Khu-sooko nii-khw-o ni-khw-o chi-lomo mbo Nekesa e-e-eb-a-kho
15-market pred-15-pron pred-15-pron 10-word that 1Nekesa 1-pst-steal-fv-15
ka-ma-syeelo cha-a-chun-i-a Wekesa ku-mw-ooyo
Pp-6-hide 10-pst-hurt-caus-fv 1Wekesa Pp-3-heart
“It is at the market that word/report that Nekesa stole hides from there hurt
Wekesa”

95. RC in object position

- (a) Nekesa a-kha-eenj-a o-mu-somi ni-y-e Wekesa
1Nekesa 1-prs-look.for-fv Pp-1-student pred-1-pron 1Wekesa
a-a-kul-il-a sii-tabu
1-pst-buy-apl-fv 7-book
“Nekesa is looking for the student who Wekesa bought a book”
- (b) *Wekesa nii-y-e ni-y-e Nekesa a-kha-eenj-a o-mu-somi
1Wekesa pred-1-pron pred-1-pron 1Nekesa 1-prs-look.for-fv Pp-1-student
ni-y-e a-a-kul-il-a sii-tabu
pred-1-pron 1-pst-buy-apl-fv 7-book
“It is Wekesa who Nekesa is looking for the student who he bought a book”
- (c) *Wekesa nii-y-e ni-y-e Nekesa a-kha-eenj-a o-mu-somi
1Wekesa pred-1-pron pred-1-pron 1Nekesa 1-prs-look.for-fv Pp-1-student
ni-y-e a-a-mu-kul-il-a sii-tabu
pred-1-pron 1-pst-1-buy-apl-fv 7-book
“It is Wekesa who Nekesa is looking for the student who he bought him/her a
book”

- (d) *Sii-tabu nii-sy-o ni-sy-o Nekesa a-kha-eenj-a o-mu-somi
 7-book pred-7-pron pred-7-pron 1Nekesa 1-prs-look.for-fv Pp-1-student
 ni-y-e Wekesa a-a-(si)-kul-il-a
 pred-1-pron 1Wekesa 1-pst-(7)-buy-apl-fv
 “*It is a book that Nekesa is looking for the student who Wekesa bought (it)”
- (e) *Mwii-tuka- nii-mw-o ni-mw-o Nekesa a-kha-eenj-a o-mu-somi
 18-shop pred-18-pron pred-18-pron 1Nekesa 1-prs-look.for-fv Pp-1-student
 ni-y-e Wekesa a-a-kul-il-a-(mo) sii-tabu
 pred-1-pron 1Wekesa 1-pst-buy-apl-fv-(18) 7-book
 “*It is in the shop that Nekesa is looking for the student who Wekesa bought a book”
- (f) *Sii-tabu nii-sy-o ni-sy-o Nekesa a-kha-eenj-a
 7-book pred-7-pron pred-7-pron 1Nekesa 1-prs-look.for
 o-mu-somi o-w-a-kul-a
 Pp-1-student wh-1-pst-buy-fv
 “*It is a book that Nekesa is looking for the student who bought”
- (g) ?Sii-tabu nii-sy-o ni-sy-o Nekesa a-kha-eenj-a
 7-book pred-7-pron pred-7-pron 1Nekesa 1-prs-look.for
 o-mu-somi o-w-a-si-kul-a
 Pp-1-student wh-1-pst-7-buy-fv
 “?It is a book that Nekesa is looking for the student who bought it”
- (h) *Mwii-tuka nii-mw-o ni-mw-o Nekesa a-kha-eenj-a o-mu-somi
 18-shop pred-18-pron pred-18-pron 1Nekesa 1-prs-look.for Pp-1-student
 o-w-a-kul-a sii-tabu
 wh-1-pst-7-buy-fv 7-book
 “?It is in the shop that Nekesa is looking for the student who bought a book”

- (i) ?Mwii-tuka nii-mw-o ni-mw-o Nekesa a-kha-eenj-a
 18-shop pred-18-pron pred-18-pron 1Nekesa 1-prs-look.for
 o-mu-somi o-w-a-kul-a-mo sii-tabu
 Pp-1-student wh-1-pst-7-buy-fv-18 7-book
 “?It is in the shop that Nekesa is looking for the student who bought a book from there”

96. RC in subject position

- (a) Lii-syeelo ni-ly-o o-mu-limi a-a-kul-il-a ba-ba-ana lya-a-b-a lii-laayi
 5-hide pred-5-pron Pp-1-farmer 1-pst-buy-apl-fv Pp-2-child 5-pst-be-fv 5-good
 “The hide which the farmer bought children was good”
- (b) ?O-mu-limi nii-y-e ni-y-e lii-syeelo ni-ly-o
 Pp-1-farmer pred-1-pron pred-1-pron 5-hide pred-5-pron
 a-a-kul-il-a ba-ba-ana lya-a-b-a lii-laayi
 1-pst-buy-apl-fv Pp-2-child 5-pst-be-fv 5-good
 “It is the farmer who the hide which he bought children was good”
- (c) *ba-ba-ana nii-b-o ni-b-o lii-syeelo ni-ly-o o-mu-limi
 Pp-2-child pred-2-pron pred-2-pron 5-hide pred-5-pron Pp-1-farmer
 a-a-kul-il-a lya-a-b-a lii-laayi
 1-pst-buy-apl-fv 5-pst-be-fv 5-good
 “It is children who the hide which the farmer bought was good”
- (d) ?ba-ba-ana nii-b-o ni-b-o lii-syeelo ni-ly-o
 Pp-2-child pred-2-pron pred-2-pron 5-hide pred-5-pron
 o-mu-limi a-a-ba-kul-il-a lya-a-b-a lii-laayi
 Pp-1-farmer 1-pst-2-buy-apl-fv 5-pst-be-fv 5-good
 “It is children who the hide which the farmer bought them was good”

(e) *mwii-tuka nii-mw-o ni-mw-o lii-syeelo ni-ly-o o-mu-limi
18-shop pred-1-pron pred-1-pron 5-hide pred-5-pron Pp-1-farmer
a-a-kul-il-a ba-ba-ana lya-a-b-a lii-laayi
1-pst-buy-apl-fv Pp-2-child 5-pst-be-fv 5-good

“It is in the shop that the hide which the farmer bought the hide for children was good”

(f) ?mwii-tuka nii-mw-o ni-mw-o lii-syeelo ni-ly-o o-mu-limi
18-shop pred-18-pron pred-18-pron 5-hide pred-5-pron Pp-1-farmer
a-a-kul-il-a-mo ba-ba-ana lya-a-b-a lii-laayi
1-pst-buy-apl-fv-18 Pp-2-child 5-pst-be-fv 5-good

“It is in the shop that the hide which the farmer bought the hide from there for children was good”

(g) *Sii-tabu nii-sy-o ni-sy-o o-mu-limi o-w-a-kul-a
7-book pred-7-pron pred-7-pron Pp-1-farmer wh-1-pst-buy-fv
a-a-b-a o-mu-layi
1-pst-be-fv Pp-1-good

“It is the book that the farmer who bought was good”

(h) ?Sii-tabu nii-sy-o ni-sy-o o-mu-limi o-w-a-si-kul-a
7-book pred-7-pron pred-7-pron Pp-1-farmer wh-1-pst-buy-fv
a-a-b-a o-mu-layi
1-pst-be-fv Pp-1-good

“It is the book that the farmer who bought it was good”

(i) *Mwii-tuka nii-mw-o ni-mw-o o-mu-limi o-w-a-kul-a
18-shop pred-18-pron pred-18-pron Pp-1-farmer wh-1-pst-buy-fv
sii-tabu a-a-b-a o-mu-layi
7-book 1-pst-be-fv Pp-1-good

“It is the shop that the farmer who bought the book was good”

(j) ?Mwii-tuka nii-mw-o ni-mw-o o-mu-limi o-w-a-kul-a-mo
18-shop pred-18-pron pred-18-pron Pp-1-farmer wh-1-pst-buy-fv-18
sii-tabu a-a-b-a o-mu-layi
7-book 1-pst-be-fv Pp-1-good

“It is in the shop that the farmer who bought a book from there was good”

97. Wh-Island

- (a) Nekesa e-e-eny-a khuu-many-a niiba mbo Wekesa a-kha-kul-e sii-tabu
1Nekesa 1-prs-want inf-know-fv whether that 1Wekesa 1-fut-buy-fv 7-book
“Nekesa wants to know whether Wekesa will buy a book”
- (b) *sii-tabu nii-sy-o ni-sy-o Nekesa e-e-eny-a
7-book pred-7-pron pred-7-pron 1Nekesa 1-prs-want-fv
khuu-many-a niiba mbo Wekesa a-kha-kul-e
inf-know-fv whether that 1Wekesa 1-fut-buy-fv
“It is a book that Nekesa would like to know whether Wekesa will buy”
- (c) sii-tabu nii-sy-o ni-sy-o Nekesa e-e-eny-a
7-book pred-7-pron pred-7-pron 1Nekesa 1-prs-want-fv
khuu-many-a niiba mbo Wekesa a-kha-si-kul-e
inf-know-fv whether that 1Wekesa 1-fut-7-buy-fv
“It is a book that Nekesa would like to know whether Wekesa will buy it”
- (d) Wekesa nii-y-e ni-y-e Nekesa e-e-eny-a
1Wekesa pred-1-pron pred-1-pron 1Nekesa 1-prs-want-fv
khuu-many-a niiba mbo a-kha-kul-e sii-tabu
inf-know-fv whether that 1-fut-buy-fv 7-book
“It is Wekesa who Nekesa would like to know whether he will buy a book”

(e) *mwii-tuka nii-mw-o ni-mw-o Nekesa e-e-eny-a
18-shop pred-18-pron pred-18-pron 1Nekesa 1-prs-want-fv
khuu-many-a niiba mbo Wekesa a-kha-kul-e sii-tabu
inf-know-fv whether that 1Wekesa 1-fut-buy-fv 7-book
“It is in the shop that Nekesa would like to know if Wekesa will buy a book”

(f) mwii-tuka nii-mw-o ni-mw-o Nekesa e-e-eny-a
18-shop pred-18-pron pred-18-pron 1Nekesa 1-prs-want-fv
khuu-many-a niiba mbo Wekesa a-kha-kul-e-mo sii-tabu
inf-know-fv whether that 1Wekesa 1-fut-buy-fv-18 7-book
“It is in the shop that Nekesa would like to know if Wekesa will buy a book”

98. Adjunct Island

(a) Nekesa a-a-rekukh-a paata ya Wekesa khu-khuu-p-a Nanjala
1Nekesa 1-pst-leave-fv after of 1Wekesa inf-inf-hit-fv 1Nanjala
“Nekesa left after Wekesa hit Nanjala”

(b) *Wekesa nii-y-e ni-y-e Nekesa a-a-rekukh-a
1Wekesa pred-1-pron pred-1-pron 1Nekesa 1-pst-leave-fv
paata ye khu-khuu-p-a Nanjala
after of inf-inf-hit-fv Nanjala
“It was Wekesa who Nekesa left after he hit Nanjala”

(c) *Nanjala nii-y-e ni-y-e Nekesa a-a-rekukh-a
1Nanjala pred-1-pron pred-1-pron 1Nekesa 1-pst-leave-fv
paata ya Wekesa khu-khuu-p-a
after of 1Wekesa inf-inf-hit-fv
“It was Nanjala who Nekesa left after Wekesa hit her”

(d) Nanjala nii-y-e ni-y-e Nekesa a-a-rekukh-a

1Nanjala pred-1-pron pred-1-pron 1Nekesa 1-pst-leave-fv

paata ya Wekesa khu-muu-p-a

after of 1Wekesa inf-1-hit-fv

“It was Nanjala who Nekesa left after Wekesa hit her”

(e) *muu-soongo nii-mw-o ni-mw-o Nekesa a-a-rekukh-a paata ya

18-pot pred-18-pron pred-18-pron 1Nekesa 1-pst-leave-fv after of

Wekesa khu-chukh-a ka-me-echi

1Wekesa inf-pour-fv Pp-6-water

“It was in the water pot that Nekesa left after Wekesa poured water”

(f) ?muu-soongo nii-mw-o ni-mw-o Nekesa a-a-rekukh-a paata ya

18-pot pred-18-pron pred-18-pron 1Nekesa 1-pst-leave-fv after of

Wekesa khu-chukh-a-mo ka-me-echi

1Wekesa inf-pour-fv-18 Pp-6-water

“It was in the water pot that Nekesa left after Wekesa poured water in it”

(g) Nekesa a-a-rekukh-a ba-ba-ana ne-ba-khe-ba-siing-a chii-ngubo

1Nekesa 1-pst-leave-fv Pp-2-child prt-2-prs-2-wash-fv 10-cloth

“Nekesa left when children were washing clothes”

(h) Ba-ba-ana nii-b-o ni-b-o Nekesa a-a-rekukh-a

Pp-2-child pred-1-pron pred-1-pron 1Nekesa 1-pst-leave-fv

na-ba-khe-ba-siing-a chii-ngubo

prt-2-prs-2-wash-fv 10-cloth

“It is children that Nekesa left when they were washing clothes”

The island effects which are illustrated in the data in (93) - (98) on non-interrogative (=declarative) clefts are summarized in the following table.

Table 10:

Summary of non-wh-DP clefting from islands (Yes=Clefting ok; No=clefting bad)

		Wh-clefting W/out OP, locPrt	Wh-clefting With OP, locPrt
(i) Object CNP (Non-RC)	(a) Subject	Yes	
	(b) Object	Yes	Yes
	(c) Locative	Yes	Yes
(ii) Subject CNP (Non-RC)	(a) Subject	Yes	
	(b) Object	No	Yes
	(c) Locative	No	Yes
(iii) Wh-Island	(a) Subject	Yes	
	(b) Object	No	Yes
	(c) Locative	No	Yes
(iv) Adjunct Island	(a) Subject	No (inf), Yes (fin)	
	(b) Object	No	Yes
	(c) Locative	No	Yes
(v) RC in Object position	(a) Subject	No (why not yes?)	
	(b) Object	No	No/Yes
	(c) Locative	No	No/Yes
(vi) RC in Subject position	(a) Subject	Yes	
	(b) Object	No	Yes
	(c) Locative	No	Yes

This table shows clearly that for the most part, clefting of non-wh-phrases from islands is similar to wh-clefting from islands (cf. Table 9). One of the facts that stand out in this table is the role of pro. Like in wh-clefting, pro plays the pivotal role of licensing clefting of regular (non-wh-) DPs from islands. Another fact that stands out is the apparent problematic nature of RCs. As shown in the table a subject cannot be clefted out an RC that is in object position (see v(a)), but it can be clefted out of an RC that is in subject position (see vi(a)). Moreover, an object and a locative can and cannot be clefted from an object RC (see v(b)&(c)). Although this No/Yes specification (in v(b)&(c) in the table) is without doubt contradictory, it does in fact represent two scenarios the data presented us. Thus in (95d) which is repeated here as (99a), clefting the object DP from an object RC leads to ungrammaticality, but clefting an object DP in (95g) which is repeated here as (99b) does not give rise to ungrammaticality.

99(a) *Sii-tabu nii-sy-o ni-sy-o Nekesa a-kha-eenj-a o-mu-somi
 7-book pred-7-pron pred-7-pron 1Nekesa 1-prs-look.for-fv Pp-1-student

ni-y-e Wekesa a-a-(si)-kul-il-a

pred-1-pron 1Wekesa 1-pst-(7)-buy-apl-fv

“*It is a book that Nekesa is looking for the student who Wekesa bought (it)”

(b) ?Sii-tabu nii-sy-o ni-sy-o Nekesa a-kha-eenj-a

7-book pred-7-pron pred-7-pron 1Nekesa 1-prs-look.for

o-mu-somi o-w-a-si-kul-a

Pp-1-student wh-1-pst-7-buy-fv

“It is a book that Nekesa is looking for the student who bought it”

What's going on here? What accounts for this contrast? Why is (99a) ungrammatical? There are two hypotheses: (i) clefting in (99a) is blocked by the

complex complementizer, and (ii) applicative constructions do not generally allow clefting. Hypothesis (i) is supported by the fact that clefting from an RC is possible when the complex complementizer is absent as in (99b). Similarly one can argue that (99b) supports hypothesis (ii) on the strength of the fact that it is not an applicative construction and it does allow clefting. However, on closer examination both hypotheses turn out to be false. The complex complementizer does not block clefting from an object RC and clefting from an applicative construction is possible. These two facts are illustrated by the following data.

100. Baa-somi nii-b-o ni-b-o Nekesa a-a-teekh-a ka-ma-yiindi

2-student pred-2-pron pred-2-pron 1Nekesa 1-pst-cook-fv Pp-6-maize

ni-k-o o-mu-limi a-a-ba-kul-il-a¹⁵

pred-6-pron Pp-1-farmer 1-pst-2-buy-appl-fv

“It is students that Nekesa cooked the maize that the farmer bought for them”

The two hypotheses cannot therefore explain the contrast between 99(a) and (b). I argue that this contrast is due to inherent differences between the two objects in the double object construction (henceforth DOC). It seems that in a DOC, only the indirect object can have object agreement features (the AgrO features) – features that

¹⁵ However clefting is blocked if we relativize the indirect object. Thus:

(a) Nekesa a-a-rum-a baa-somi ni-b-o o-mu-limi a-a-kul-il-a ka-ma-tuunda

1Nekesa 1-pst-send 2-student pred-2-pron Pp-1-farmer 1-pst-buy-appl-fv Pp-6-fruit

“Nekesa sent students who the farmer bought fruits for.”

(b) *ka-ma-tuunda nii-k-o ni-k-o Nekesa a-a-rum-a baa-somi ni-b-o

Pp-6-fruit pred-6-pron pred-6-pron 1Nekesa 1-pst-send 2-student pred-2-pron

o-mu-limi a-a-(ka)-kul-il-a

Pp-1-farmer 1-pst-6-buy-appl-fv

“It is fruits that Nekesa sent students who the farmer bought them for.”

licence object pro. In contrast, the direct object doesn't seem to have object agreement features. In the absence of these features, object pro cannot be licensed. What this means is that an indirect object can be clefted out of an island but a direct object cannot. In the former case, the indirect object has object agreement features which license object pro, which in turn licenses clefting from an island. But in the latter case, the direct object lacks object agreement features, and it cannot therefore license object pro. In the absence of object pro, clefting from an island is impossible.

Let us look at the examples once again to see how this works. In the ungrammatical (99a), the head of the relative clause (the embedded clause) is the indirect object. But in the grammatical (100), the head of the relative clause is the direct object. This means that 99(a) and (100) are derived from or are associated with 101(a) and (b) respectively.

101(a) Nekesa a-kha-eenj-a o-mu-somi

1Nekesa 1-prs-look.for-fv Pp-1-student

ni-y-e Wekesa a-a-kul-il-a sii-tabu

pred-1-pron 1Wekesa 1-pst-buy-appl-fv 7-book

“Nekesa is looking for the student who Wekesa bought a book for”

(b) Nekesa a-a-teekh-a ka-ma-ysiindi ni-k-o

1Nekesa 1-pst-cook-fv Pp-6-maize pred-6-pron

o-mu-limi a-a-kul-il-a baa-somi

Pp-1-farmer 1-pst-buy-app-fv 2-student

“Nekesa cooked the maize that the farmer bought for the students”

By the distinction that we made between direct object and indirect object, clefting from the RC island is impossible in 99(a)/101(a) because the only remaining candidate for clefting – the direct object *siitabu* ‘book’ lacks object agreement

features. Therefore it cannot be object marked on the embedded verb, and consequently clefting is ruled out. But in (100)/101b, clefting from the RC island is possible because the indirect object, which remains behind after relativization, has object agreement features that are required to license object pro. Clefting from the RC island is therefore possible because pro is present.

The agreement contrast between direct and indirect object is also attested in simple DOCs. Consider following data.

102(a) Wekesa a-a-kul-il-a o-mu-somi sii-tabu

1Wekesa 1-pst-buy-appl-fv pprf-1-student 7-book

“Wekesa bought a book for the student”

(b) Sii-tabu ni-sy-o Wekesa a-a-mu-kul-il-a

7-book pred-7-pron 1Wekesa 1-pst-1-buy-app-fv

“The book that Wekesa bought for him/her”

(c) O-mu-somi ni-y-e Wekesa a-a-kul-il-a sii-tabu

Pp-1-student pred-1-pron 1Wekesa 1-pst-buy-appl-fv 7-book

“The student who Wekesa bought a book for”

(d) *O-mu-somi ni-y-e Wekesa a-a-si-kul-il-a

Pp-1-student pred-1-pron 1Wekesa 1-pst-7-buy-app-fv

“The student who Wekesa bought it for”

A related question is whether this contrast holds only in sentences where the indirect object (=IO) is in class 1 (the human class) or whether it applies when the IO is in a non-human class. In other words is animacy a factor in determining agreement patterns in the DOC? As shown in the following data, the contrast holds, whether IO is in the human classes (1 & 2) or not.

- 103(a) Wekesa o-o-mbekh-el-a ee-n-dika chii-n-ju chi-bili
 1Wekesa 1-pst-build-appl-fv Pp-9-bicycle Pp-10-house 10-two
 “Wekesa built two houses for the bicycle”
- (b) Ee-n-dika ni-y-o Wekesa o-o-mbekh-el-a chii-n-ju chi-bili
 Pp-9-bicycle pred-9-pron 1Wekesa 1-pst-build-app-fv Pp-10-house 10-two
 “The bicycle that Wekesa built two houses for”
- (c) *Ee-n-dika ni-y-o Wekesa o-o-cho-mbekh-el-a
 Pp-9-bicycle pred-9-pron 1Wekesa 1-pst-10-build-appl-fv
 “The bicycle that Wekesa built them for”
- (d) Chii-n-ju ni-ch-o Wekesa o-o-mbekh-el-a ee-n-dika
 Pp-10-house pred-10-pron 1Wekesa 1-pst-build-appl-fv Pp-9-bicycle
 “The houses that Wekesa built for the bicycle”
- (e) Chii-n-ju ni-ch-o Wekesa a-a-kyo-mbekh-el-a
 Pp-10-house pred-10-pron 1Wekesa 1-pst-9-build-appl-fv
 “The houses that Wekesa built for it”

It is clear from these data that in a Lubukusu DOC, the direct object cannot be object-prefixes on the verb. This contrasts with the indirect object which can be object-prefixes. I take this to be evidence that only the indirect object has an AgrO feature and the associated IO pro.

3.7 Pseudo-clefts

Although there is a substantial amount of work on pseudo-clefts, most of it is based on English (see Akmajian (1970), Higgins (1979), Bošković (1997), Heycock & Kroch (1999) and Yoo (2003) among others). There is minimal, if any, cross linguistic work on pseudo-clefts. There also doesn't seem to be much work on pseudo-clefts in individual languages other than English. In this section, I examine

pseudo-clefts in Lubukusu. Although the focus is on Lubukusu, I will, whenever possible compare the Lubukusu pseudo-clefts with their English counterparts, particularly to highlight the hard-to-miss differences.

Pseudo-clefts are often divided into two: specifical and predication. To illustrate this two way distinction, consider the following examples which are taken from Bošković (1997).

104. What John is is important

105(a) What John is is worthwhile.

(b) What John is is proud.

Sentence (104) is ambiguous between specifical and predication meaning while 105(a) & (b) are unambiguously predication.

While this distinction is useful for English, it doesn't seem to be useful for Lubukusu. This is because Lubukusu lacks pseudo-clefts of the form 'whatis, is...' This may be due to the fact that Lubukusu does not allow copula stranding: the copula in Lubukusu must always be followed by phonetic material within the containing IP (see section 3.3).

Pseudo-clefts that are attested in Lubukusu are of the form 'what John V-ed was...' As shown in the following data, they basically are headless relative clauses.

106(a) Ni-sy-o Wekesa a-a-kul-a sya-a-b-a sii-tabu.

Pred-7-pron 1Wekesa 1-pst-buy-fv 7-pst-be-fv 7-book

"What Wekesa bought was a book"

(b) Ni-y-e Wekesa a-a-rum-a a-a-b-a o-mw-aana.

Pred-1-pron 1Wekesa 1-pst-send-fv 1-pst-be-fv Pp-1-child

"The person/one who Wekesa sent was a child"

(c) Ni-sy-o Wekesa a-khaa-kul-a se-si-li sii-tabu ta.

Pred-7-pron 1Wekesa 1-prs-buy-fv neg-7-be 7-book neg

“What Wekesa is buying is not a book”

(d) Ni-sy-o Wekesa a-khaa-kul-a (si-li) sii-tabu.

Pred-7-pron 1Wekesa 1-prs-buy-fv (7-be) 7-book

“What Wekesa is buying is a book”

These sentences show that the copula is obligatory in past tense pseudo-clefts (106a&b) and in negative pseudo-clefts (106c). However, the copula is optional in present-tense pseudo-clefts (106d). In fact it is almost always dropped in the present-tense.

An interesting aspect of pseudo-clefts in Lubukusu is that they can be used as questions. In other words pseudo-clefting is a question formation strategy at par with other question formation strategies such as wh-clefting. Pseudo-clefting as a question formation strategy is illustrated in the following data.

107(a) Nangila a-a-tekh-el-a Wekesa ka-ma-kaanda

1Nangila 1-pst-cook-appl-fv 1Wekesa Pp-6-beans

“Nangila cooked beans for Wekesa”

(b) Ni-sy-o Nangila a-a-tekh-el-a Wekesa siina?

Pred-7-pron 1Nangila 1-pst-cook-appl-fv 1Wekesa what

“That which/the thing that Nangila cooked for Wekesa is what?”

(c) Ni-y-e Nangila a-a-tekh-el-a ka-ma-kaanda naanu?

Pred-1-pron 1Nangila 1-pst-cook-appl-fv Pp-6-bean who

“He/she that Nangila cooked beans for is who?”

(d) O-w-a-tekh-el-a Wekesa ka-ma-kaanda naanu?

Wh-1-pst-cook-appl-fv 1Wekesa Pp-6-bean who

“He/she that cooked beans for Wekesa is who?”

(e) Sikila Nangila ne-a-a-tekh-el-a Wekesa ka-ma-kaanda siina?

Reason 1Nangila prt-1-pst-cook-appl-fv 1Wekesa Pp-6-beans what

“The reason Nangila cooked beans for Wekesa is what?”

A question that we can ask with respect to pseudo-clefting as a questioning strategy is whether it also shows island effects. In the next section, I provide data that will help us answer this question.

3.7.1 Pseudo-clefts and islands

108. Object CNPC

(a) Ni-sy-o Nekesa a-a-nyol-a chi-lomo mbo Wekesa a-a-(si)-kul-a siina?

Pred-7-pron 1Nekesa 1-pst-get-fv 10-word that 1Wekesa 1-pst-(7)-buy-fv what

“It that Nekesa got word/report that Nekesa bought is what?”

(b) Ni-y-e Nekesa a-a-nyol-a chi-lomo mbo a-a-kul-a chii-mbete naanu?

Pred-1-pron 1Nekesa 1-pst-get-fv 10-word that 1-pst-buy-fv 10-ring who

“He/she that Nekesa got word/report that he/she bought rings is who?”

(c) Ni-o Nekesa a-li ne lii-suubila a-li Wekesa a-a-kul-a-(o)

Pred-16pron 1Nekesa 1-be with 5-faith 1-sub 1Wekesa 1-pst-buy-fv-(16)

chii-mbete waae?

10-ring where

“It (=place) that Nekesa has belief (=believes) that Wekesa bought rings is where?”

(d) Sikila Nekesa ne-a-a-nyol-a chi-lomo mbo Wekesa

Reason 1Nekesa prt-1-pst-get-fv 10-word that 1Wekesa

a-a-kul-a chii-mbete siina?

1-pst-buy-fv 10-ring what

“The reason Nekesa got word/report that Nekesa bought rings is what?”

109. CNPC in subject position

(a) ??Ni-y-e chi-lomo mbo e-e-eb-a ka-ma-syeelo

Pred-1-pron 10-word that 1-pst-steal-fv Pp-6-hide

cha-a-chuun-i-a Wekesa ku-mw-ooyo naanu?

10-pst-hurt-caus-fv 1Wekesa Pp-3-heart who

“He/she that word/report that he/she stole hides hurt Wekesa is who?”

(b) *Ni-sy-o chi-lomo mbo Nekesa e-e-eb-a

Pred-7-pron 10-word that 1Nekesa 1-pst-steal-fv

cha-a-chuun-i-a Wekesa ku-mw-ooyo siina?

10-pst-hurt-caus-fv 1Wekesa Pp-3-heart what

“It (=the thing) that word/report that Nekesa stole hurt Wekesa is what?”

(c) ??Ni-sy-o chi-lomo mbo Nekesa a-a-si-ib-a

Pred-7-pron 10-word that 1Nekesa 1-pst-7-steal-fv

cha-a-chuun-i-a Wekesa ku-mw-ooyo siina?

10-pst-hurt-caus-fv 1Wekesa Pp-3-heart what

“It (=the thing) that word/report that Nekesa stole it hurt Wekesa is what?”

(d) ??Ni-o chi-lomo mbo Nekesa e-e-eb-a-o

Pred-16pron 10-word that 1Nekesa 1-pst-steal-fv-16

ka-ma-syeelo cha-a-chun-i-a Wekesa ku-mw-ooyo waae?

Pp-6-hide 10-pst-hurt-caus-fv 1Wekesa Pp-3-heart where

“The place that word/report that Nekesa stole hides at that place hurt Wekesa is where?”

(e) Sikila chi-lomo mbo Nekesa e-e-eb-a chii-mbete ne-cha-a-chuun-i-a
Reason 10-word that 1Nekesa 1-pst-steal-fv 10-ring prt-10-pst-hurt-caus-fv
Wekesa ku-mw-ooyo siina?
1Wekesa Pp-3-heart what
“The reason word/report that Nekesa stole rings hurt Wafula is what?”

110. RC in object position

(a) ?Ni-y-e Nekesa a-kha-eenj-a sii-tabu ni-sy-o
Pred-1-pron 1Nekesa 1-prs-look.for-fv 7-book pred-7-pron
Wekesa a-a-mu-kul-il-a naanu?
1Wekesa 1-pst-7-buy-appl-fv who
“He/she that Nekesa is looking for the book which Wekesa bought for him is
who?”

(b) *Ni-y-e Nekesa a-kha-eenj-a sii-tabu ni-sy-o
Pred-1-pron 1Nekesa 1-prs-look.for-fv 7-book pred-7-pron
Wekesa a-a-kul-il-a naanu?
1Wekesa 1-pst-buy-appl-fv who
“He/she that Nekesa is looking for the book which Wekesa bought for him is
who?”

(c) ?Ni-y-e Nekesa a-kha-eenj-a sii-tabu
Pred-1-pron 1Nekesa 1-prs-look.for-fv 7-book
ni-sy-o a-a-kul-il-a paapa naanu?
pred-7-pron 1-pst-7-buy-appl-fv 1father who
“He/she that Nekesa is looking for the book which he/she bought for father is
who?”

(d) *Ni-o Nekesa a-kha-eenj-a sii-tabu ni-sy-o

Pred-16pron 1Nekesa 1-prs-look.for-fv 7-book pred-7-pron

Wekesa a-a-kul-a waae?

1Wekesa 1-pst-1-buy-fv where

“The place that Nekesa is looking for the book which Wekesa bought that place is where?”

(e) ?Ni-o Nekesa a-kha-eenj-a sii-tabu ni-sy-o

Pred-16pron 1Nekesa 1-prs-look.for-fv 7-book pred-7-pron

Wekesa a-a-kul-a-o waae?

1Wekesa 1-pst-1-buy-fv-16 where

“The place that Nekesa is looking for the book which Wekesa bought that place is where?”

(f) Ni-sy-o Nekesa a-kha-eenj-a o-mu-somi o-w-a-si-kul-a siina?

Pred-7-pron 1Nekesa 1-pst-look.for Pp-1-student wh-1-pst-7-buy-fv what

“The thing that Nekesa is looking for the student who bought it is what?”

(g) Sikila Nekesa na-a-kha-eenj-a o-mu-somi ni-y-e Wekesa

Reason 1Nekesa prt-1-prs-look.for-fv Pp-1-student pred-1-pron 1Wekesa

a-a-kul-il-a sii-tabu siina?

1-pst-buy-appl-fv 7-book what

“The reason Nekesa is looking for the student who Wekesa bought a book is what?” (Main clause construal)

111. RC in subject position

(a) *Ni-y-e lii-syeelo ni-ly-o o-mu-limi a-a-kul-il-a

Pred-1-pron 5-hide pred-5-pron Pp-1-farmer 1-pst-buy-appl-fv

ly-a-a-b-a lii-laayi naanu?

5-pst-be-fv 5-good who

“The person x who the hide which the farmer bought for x was good is who?”

- (b) ?Ni-y-e lii-syeelo ni-ly-o o-mu-limi
 Pred-1-pron 5-hide pred-5-pron Pp-1-farmer
 a-a-mu-kul-il-a lya-a-b-a lii-laayi naanu?
 1-pst-1-buy-appl-fv 5-pst-be-fv 5-good who
 “The person who the hide which the farmer bought for him/her was good is who?”
- (c) ?Ni-y-e lii-syeelo ni-ly-o a-a-kul-il-a ba-ba-ana
 Pred-1-pron 5-hide pred-5-pron 1-pst-buy-appl-fv Pp-2-child
 lya-a-b-a lii-laayi naanu?
 5-pst-be-fv 5-good who
 “The person_i that the hide that he/she_i bought for children was good is who?”
- (d) *Ni-o lii-syeelo ni-ly-o o-mu-limi a-a-kul-a
 Pred-16pron 5-hide pred-5-pron Pp-1-farmer 1-pst-buy-fv
 lya-a-b-a lii-laayi waae?
 5-pst-be-fv 5-good where
 “*The place where the hide that the farmer bought was good is where?”
- (e) ?Ni-o lii-syeelo ni-ly-o o-mu-limi a-a-kul-a-o
 Pred-16pron 5-hide pred-5-pron Pp-1-farmer 1-pst-buy-fv-16
 lya-a-b-a lii-laayi waae?
 5-pst-be-fv 5-good where
 “The place that the hide that the farmer bought from that place was good is where?”
- (f) Sikila lii-syeelo ni-ly-o o-mu-limi a-a-kul-il-a ba-ba-ana
 Reason 5-hide pred-5-pron Pp-1-farmer 1-pst-buy-appl-fv Pp-2-child
 lya-a-b-a lii-laayi siina?
 5-pst-be-fv 5-good what
 “The reason the hide that the farmer bought for children was good is what?”
 (main clause construal only)

(g) Ni-sy-o o-mu-limi o-w-a-si-kul-a a-a-b-a o-mu-layi siina?

Pred-7-pron Pp-1-farmer wh-1-pst-buy-fv 1-pst-be-fv Pp-1-good what

“That which the farmer who bought it was good is what?”

112. Wh-Island

(a) *Ni-sy-o Nekesa e-e-eny-a khuu-many-a niiba mbo

Pred-7-pron 1Nekesa 1-prs-want inf-know-fv whether that

Wekesa a-kha-kul-e siina?

1Wekesa 1-fut-buy-fv what

“The thing that Nekesa wants to know whether Wekesa will buy is what?”

(b) Ni-sy-o Nekesa e-e-eny-a khuu-many-a niiba mbo Wekesa

Pred-7-pron 1Nekesa 1-prs-want inf-know-fv whether that 1Wekesa

a-kha-si-kul-e siina?

1-fut-buy-fv what

“The thing that Nekesa wants to know whether Wekesa will buy it is what?”

(c) Ni-y-e Nekesa e-e-eny-a khuu-many-a niiba mbo

Pred-1-pron 1Nekesa 1-prs-want-fv inf-know-fv whether that

a-kha-kul-e sii-tabu naanu

1-fut-buy-fv 7-book who

“The person that Nekesa would like to know whether he will buy a book is who?”

(d) *Ni-o Nekesa e-e-eny-a khuu-many-a niiba mbo

Pred-16pron 1Nekesa 1-prs-want-fv inf-know-fv whether that

Wekesa a-kha-kul-e sii-tabu waae?

1Wekesa 1-fut-buy-fv 7-book where

“The place at which Nekesa would like to know if Wekesa will buy a book at that place is where?”

(e) Ni-o Nekesa e-e-eny-a khuu-many-a niiba mbo
Pred-16pron 1Nekesa 1-prs-want-fv inf-know-fv whether that
Wekesa a-kha-kul-e-o sii-tabu waae?
1Wekesa 1-fut-buy-fv-16 7-book where
“The place at which Nekesa would like to know if Wekesa will buy a book at that place is where?”

(f) Sikila Nekesa ne-e-e-eny-a khuu-many-a niiba mbo Wekesa
Reason 1Nekesa prt-1-prs-want inf-know-fv whether that 1Wekesa
a-kha-kul-e sii-tabu siina?
1-fut-buy-fv 7-book what
“The reason Nekesa wants to know whether Wekesa will buy a book is what?”
(main clause construal only)

113. Adjunct Island

- (a) *Ni-y-e Nekesa a-a-rekukh-a paata ye khu-khuu-p-a Nanjala naanu?
Pred-1-pron 1Nekesa 1-pst-leave-fv after of inf-inf-hit-fv 1Nanjala who
“The person that Nekesa left after hitting Nanjala is who?”
- (b) *Ni-y-e Nekesa a-a-rekukh-a paata ya Wekesa khu-khuu-p-a naanu?
Pred-1-pron 1Nekesa 1-pst-leave-fv after of 1Wekesa inf-inf-hit-fv who
“*The person who Nekesa left after Wekesa hit is who?”
- (c) Ni-y-e Nekesa a-a-rekukh-a paata ya Wekesa khu-muu-p-a naanu?
Pred-1-pron 1Nekesa 1-pst-leave-fv after of 1Wekesa inf-1-hit-fv who
“The person who Nekesa left after Wekesa hit him/her is who?”
- (d) Ni-y-e ba-ba-ana ba-a-rekukh-a ne-a-kha-teekh-a ka-ma-yiindi naanu?
Pred-1-pron Pp-2-child 2-pst-leave-fv prt-1-prs-cook-fv Pp-6-maize who
“The person that children left when he/she was cooking maize is who?”

- (e) *Ni-o Nekesa a-a-rekukh-a paata ya Nangila kuu-chukh-a ka-me-echi waae?
pred-16pron 1Nekesa 1-pst-leave-fv after of 1Nangila inf-pour-fv Pp-6-water where
“*The place that Nekesa left after Nangila poured water is where?”
- (f) Ni-o Nekesa a-a-rekukh-a paata ya Nangila
pred-16pron 1Nekesa 1-pst-leave-fv after of 1Nangila
kuu-chukh-a-o ka-me-echi waae?
inf-pour-fv-16 Pp-6-water where
“The place that Nekesa left after Nangila poured water at that place is where?”
- (g) Sikila Nekesa ne-a-a-rekukh-a paata ye Wafula khu-khuu-p-a Nanjala siina?
Reason 1Nekesa prt-1-pst-leave-fv after of 1Wafula inf-inf-hit-fv 1Nanjala what
“The reason Nekesa left after Wafula hit Nanjala is what?” (main clause construal
only)

Table 11 on the following page summarizes the data that we have just presented – pseudo-clefting in the context of islands. It is clear from table 11 that pseudo-clefting is similar to clefting with regards to island effects. Agreement which licenses pro, plays a key role in both clefting and pseudo-clefting. It indeed is accurate to conclude that these two operations would be impossible in island contexts if agreement and the associated pro were absent. There is no doubt that pro is key; it is the licensor. However there are few contexts – particularly subject CNPC – where pseudo-clefted sentences are degraded even though pro is present (see 109). I attribute the degraded status of these sentences to processing difficulties – considering the fact that pseudo-clefting from islands creates a fairly complex structure.

Table 11: Summary of pseudo-clefting from islands (Yes=pc is ok; No=pc is bad)

		Wh-clefting W/out OP, locPrt	Wh-clefting With OP, locPrt
Object CNP (Non-RC)	Subject	Yes	
	Object	Yes	Yes
	Where	Yes	Yes
	Why	No	
Subject CNP (Non-RC)	Subject	Yes	
	Object	No	Yes
	Where	No	Yes
	Why	No	
Wh-Island	Subject	Yes	
	Object	No	Yes
	Where	No	Yes
	Why	No	
Adjunct Island	Subject	No/Yes	
	Object	No	Yes
	Where	No	Yes
	Why	No	
Object RC	Subject	Yes	
	Object	No	Yes
	Where	No	Yes
	Why	No	
Subject RC	Subject	Yes	
	Object	No	Yes
	Where	No	Yes
	Why	No	

3.7.2 Deriving pseudo-clefts

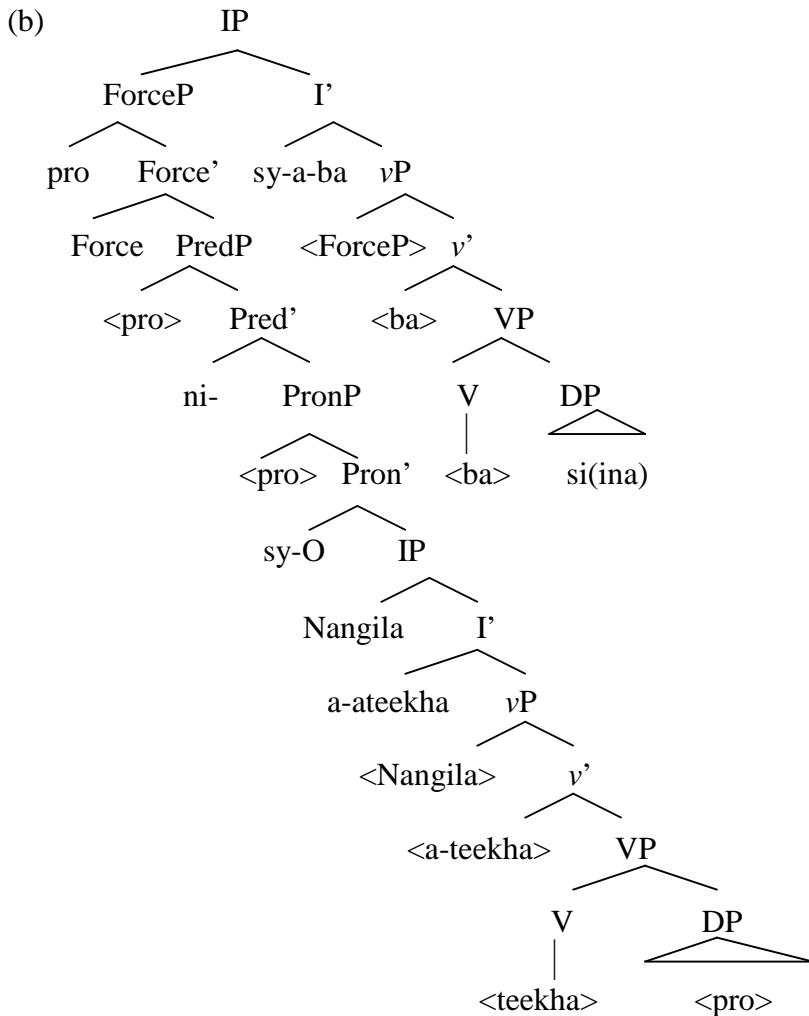
There are two competing theories for deriving pseudo-clefts: (i) the movement theory – which is supported by Akmajian (1970) and Higgins (1979) among others, and (ii) non-movement theory – which is supported by Bošković (1997) among others.

To derive the Lubukusu pseudo-cleft under a non-movement theory, we need to generate ForceP as the subject of the main (=copula) clause. This is illustrated in (114b) which is a non-movement partial derivation of (114a). Notice that under this theory, the pseudo-cleft is an RC whose head is pro.

114(a) Ni-sy-o Nangila a-a-tekh-a sy-a-ba si(ina)?

Pred-7-pron 1Nangila 1-pst-cook-fv 7-pst-be what

“That which Nangila cooked was what?”



As shown in this derivation, the RC subject is base generated in Spec vP and moves to Spec IP. The fact that the main clause verb – the copula – bears only one agreement prefix namely, ‘sy-’, strongly suggests that the RC subject remains in

Spec IP and does not move to Spec Fin. This is surprising because in Lubukusu, subjects that have a wh-feature usually move to Spec Fin triggering wh-agreement in the process. Wh-agreement is triggered not only by simple wh-DPs, but as was shown in (90), which is repeated here as (115), complex DPs such as RCs also trigger wh-agreement.

115. Naanu o-w-a-fun-a endebe o-w-aa-p-a Nekesa?

Who wh-1-pst-break-fv 9chair wh-1-pst- beat-fv Nekesa

“Who was it that broke the chair and beat Nekesa?”

Thus it comes as a big surprise for the main clause verb to turn up without wh-agreement 114 (a) & (b). This fact needs an explanation, but it doesn't seem that the non-movement account of pseudo-clefts has any straightforward way of doing so.

Another problem with the non-movement account of pseudo-clefting relates to theta-role assignment. In non-question pseudo-clefts such as 106(a) repeated here as (116), it is not clear how the the DP *siitabu* ‘book’ gets assigned a theta role in non-movement account. It would be odd to claim that the theme role that this DP bears is assigned by the copula.

116. Ni-sy-o Wekesa a-a-kul-a sya-a-b-a sii-tabu.

Pred-7-pron 1Wekesa 1-pst-buy-fv 7-pst-be-fv 7-book

“What Wekesa bought was a book”

One might argue that this is a problem that all copula constructions face, and that it would be unfair to expect the non-movement theory solve it. This is a reasonable concern, but it doesn't take into account one crucial fact: in sentences such as (116), we know that the DP *siitabu* bears the theme theta role. It is therefore reasonable to expect the non-movement theory of pseudo-clefts or any other theory for that matter, to account for this fact.

The third problem of the non-movement account of pseudo-clefting concerns the reason wh-phrase. We know that *sikila si(ina)* ‘why’ forms a constituent. It is true as will be shown in chapter 5 that in some contexts word order in this phrase is *siina sikila* and that in a cleft construction, these two words can be separated. We see this separation also in pseudo-clefts as illustrated in 107(e) repeated here as 117(a). 117b is its non applicative counterpart.

117(a) Sikila Nangila ne-a-a-tekh-el-a Wekesa ka-ma-kaanda siina?

Reason 1Nangila prt-1-pst-cook-appl-fv 1Wekesa Pp-6-beans what

“The reason Nangila cooked beans for Wekesa is what?”

(b) Sikila Nangila ne-a-a-tekh-a ka-ma-kaanda si(ina)?

Reason 1Nangila prt-1-pst-cook-fv Pp-6-beans what

“The reason Nangila cooked beans is what?”

However this separation does not mean that *sikila si(ina)* is not a constituent. As will be argued in chapter 5 *sikila si(ina)* forms a constituent that is generated in the left periphery (in the complementizer field). We therefore need to show this at some point in the derivation. A non-movement account of pseudo-clefting does not afford us this opportunity.

Because of the problems that we have just discussed, I have rejected the non-movement theory of pseudo-clefting in favor of a movement account. Part of the appeal of the movement theory is that it is better equipped to account for all the problems that faced the non-movement theory. The movement theory that I am adopting involves generating a cleft first and then moving ForceP that contains PredP to a position higher than the copula. The underlying assumption of this movement approach is that a pseudo-cleft is basically a cleft. This assumption is supported by the fact that clefts and pseudo-clefts are structurally very similar: they

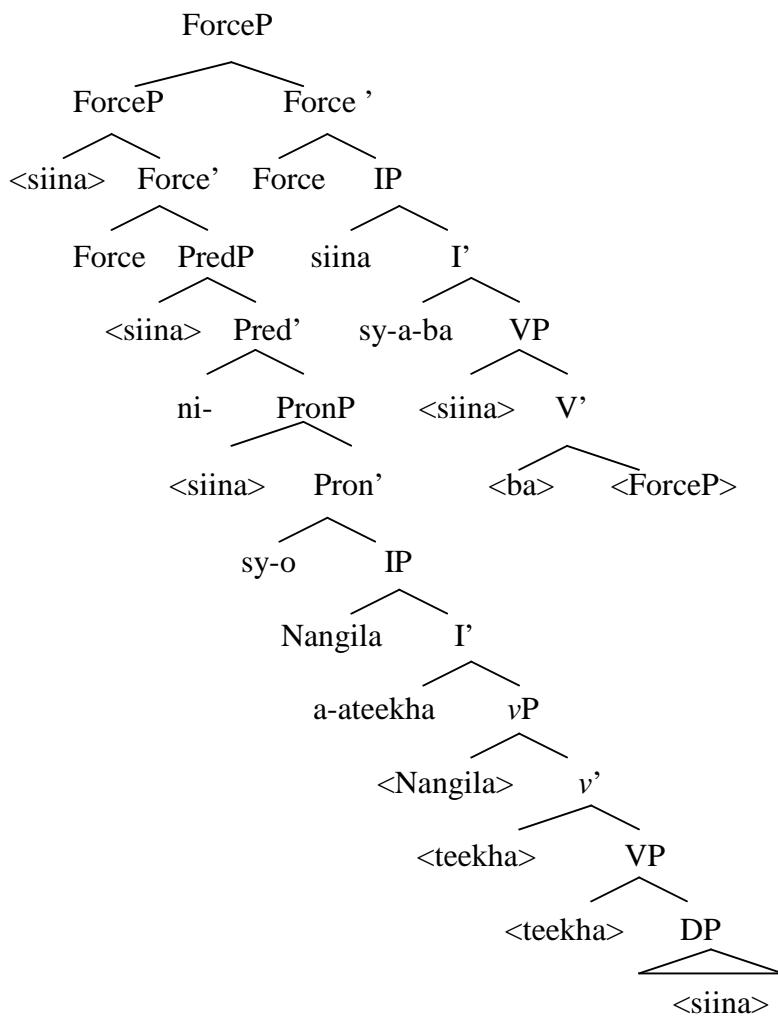
both have a clefted constituent, a complex complementizer (in the case non-subject clefting) and they have a copula position (which may or may not be filled overtly) in front of the clefted constituent. It is therefore not unreasonable to derive a pseudo-cleft from a cleft. To go from a cleft to a pseudo-cleft, all we need to do is to move ForceP (which contains PredP) to Spec of Force (of the copula clause). The derivation of a pseudo-cleft under a movement account is illustrated in the following tree.

118(a) Ni-sy-o Nangila a-a-tekh-a sy-ba si(ina)?

Pred-7-pron 1Nangila 1-pst-cook-fv 7-be what

“That which Nangila cooked was what?”

(b)



Notice that the three problems that faced the non-movement theory of deriving pseudo-clefts all disappear under a movement account illustrated in (118b). The failure of the copula to inflect for wh-agreement is expected under a movement account since the sentence does not have a wh-subject and therefore the derivation does not involve moving a wh-subject to Spec Fin. Moreover, theta-role assignment is not a problem any more: the object DP in the RC is assigned a theta role by the RC verb. And finally, the movement account of pseudo-clefts allows us to base generate sikila ‘reason’ and siina ‘what’ as a single constituent in the left periphery (see chapter 5 for more data and discussion). Sikila and siina get separated when siina moves out of PredP and ForceP. When ForceP eventually moves to Spec ForceP (of the copular clause), siina is left behind (because it has already moved out of PredP and lower ForceP).

3.8 Summary

In this chapter we discussed clefts and pseudo-clefts in Lubukusu. In particular we discussed the structure of these two constructions. We established that the two are structurally very closely related and that pseudo-clefts should in fact be derived from clefts. We also saw that clefting from islands is possible only when pro is used. In the absence of pro, clefting out of islands is ruled out. Another interesting finding was that one referential adjunct, that is, ‘where’, behaves more like wh-arguments for the purposes of extraction. The syntactic behavior of this adjunct is no different from that of arguments, at least not in island contexts. But the behavior of ‘when’ is different: ‘when’ lacks an associated pro, and cannot therefore be extracted from islands. A surprising finding with regards to clefting from a DOC that is contained in an island is that an indirect object can be clefted but a direct object cannot. I accounted for this contrast in terms of the presence or absence of object agreement features. In a DOC, an indirect object has object agreement features which license

object pro, but a direct object lacks object agreement features, hence it cannot license object pro. In the absence of pro, clefting is impossible. Other interesting issues that were discussed in this chapter include partial wh-movement, the agreeing subordinator and movement of the RC head. The next thing that we need to do is to consider the extent to which clefts, particularly in the context of islands, are similar to wh- in-situ questions. This issue is addressed alongside other issues in the following chapter.

Chapter 4

Wh-In-situ and island effects

4.1 Introduction

A distinction is often made between overt wh-movement languages and covert wh- movement (wh-in-situ) languages. Notable in former group are languages such as English, German, Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian among others. The familiar examples of the latter group are Japanese and Chinese. It is generally assumed that overt wh- movement languages and wh-in-situ languages are similar at some abstract level. Under this assumption, the structural differences between overt wh-movement languages and wh-in-situ languages are only but superficial. Baker (2001) has proposed that the difference between languages with regards to wh-constructions is a function of the differential setting of the question movement parameter, which is part of UG. In other words, languages differ according to how this parameter is set.

Beyond the preliminary distinction between overt wh- movement and wh-in-situ, linguists have grappled with the question of whether overt wh-movement is similar to covert wh-movement at some abstract level. There is a considerable amount of evidence from languages of the world, which shows that constraints on overt wh-movement apply in a more or less similar way to covert wh-movement. For instance, just as overt wh-movement languages such as English exhibit the familiar adjunct ~ complement asymmetry (Chomsky 1973, 1977a, Rizzi 1990, Lasnik & Saito 1992), in-situ wh-languages such as Japanese also exhibit this asymmetry (Lasnik & Saito 1992, Watanabe 2001). An overt movement language such as English does not allow movement of a wh- phrase out of an embedded question, neither does Japanese, which is a wh- in-situ language. However, not all wh-in-situ languages show island effects. In a wh-in-situ language such as Chinese, covert movement of wh-complements out of islands is possible (Huang 1982, Lasnik & Saito 1992). This was taken by Huang (1991) and Lasnik & Saito (1992) among others, to be evidence for

the fact that constraints on movement such as subjacency hold only in overt syntax, but not at LF. But for Nishigauchi (1986), Choe (1987), Pesetskey (1987) and Richards (2001) among others, LF is subject to subjacency and other constraints on wh-movement.

The overt ~ covert wh-movement distinction may be a valid and useful distinction. However, it is also necessary to recognize intra-group differences. Languages also exhibit intra-group variation. An overt wh-movement language such as English differs from Bulgarian with regards to the number of wh-phrases that can be moved. In English only one wh-phrase can be moved in multiple questions. Bulgarian on the other hand allows fronting of all wh-phrases.

Similarly in-situ languages do not form a homogenous group. An in-situ language such as Chinese differs from Japanese with respect to island effects. Chinese allows covert movement of wh-arguments from all islands (with the exception +specific DPs), while Japanese disallows covert movement out of embedded wh-questions (Huang 1982, Lasnik & Saito 1992).

Interestingly, more recent research has shown that similarities cut across group boundaries. Seizing upon inter-group similarities, Richards (2001) proposes an analysis that groups languages into what he calls CP-absorption languages and IP-absorption languages. He argues that overt wh-movement is identical to covert wh-movement. Overt movement languages which front all wh-phrases such Bulgarian belong to the same group as in-situ languages such as Chinese, which he argues, also fronts all wh-phrases at LF. The grouping of Bulgarian and Chinese in one group is justified by the similarity of behavior that they exhibit with regards to superiority effects, scrambling, and wh-island effects. Bulgarian and Chinese belong to the group of languages that he calls CP-absorption languages. Overt wh-movement languages, which move only one wh-phrase into the left periphery, such as Serbo-Croatian belong to the same group as Japanese, a wh-in-situ language. Again, this is

due to the fact that they exhibit similarity of behavior with regards to superiority effects, scrambling and island effects. Serbo-Croatian and Japanese belong to the group of languages that he calls IP-absorption languages. Mixed languages (those that have both overt movement and covert movement) also divide up into CP-absorption languages and IP-absorption languages. A mixed language such as English is a CP-absorption language while German, another mixed language, is an IP-absorption language. In Richards' (2001) theory, island effects are a diagnostic for the CP- or IP-absorption classification. Other diagnostics are scrambling, superiority effects and weak crossover among others.

While not denying the significance of Richards' classification of languages into IP-absorption and CP-absorption, I do not place this classification at the center of my study. In fact I do not make any effort to classify Lubukusu as an IP- or CP-absorption language. I have left this issue open. Instead I have concentrated on illustrating wh-in-situ in Lubukusu and showing how it compares to other in-situ languages – Kiswahili, Runyoro, Japanese and Chinese. I will show in this chapter that Lubukusu wh- in-situ facts argue against existence of covert (LF) phrasal movement. Following Simpson (2000) and Pesetsky (1987, 2000), I reject the existence of LF phrasal movement and argue that the relevant wh- in-situ facts in Lubukusu are best accounted for by a feature movement theory along the lines of Chomsky (1995) and Pesetsky (2000).

Let us start by examining the basic facts about wh-in-situ in simple clauses in Lubukusu.

4.2 Non-subject wh-arguments in wh-questions

Lubukusu is a wh-in situ language. Wh-questions characteristically lack the English-type wh-movement. Overt wh-movement to Spec of C is possible only in cleft

constructions. Non-clefted wh-phrases generally do not move to the left periphery of the clause over which they have scope.

Wh-complements in single-clause non-cleft sentences always occur post verbally (1b). As shown in (1c), overt movement of the wh-complement to a pre-verbal position is ruled out. Overt movement to a pre-verbal position is only possible in cleft constructions (1d).

(a) Nafula a-a-siim-a Wafula

1Nafula 1-pres-love-fv 1Wafula

“Nafula loves Wafula.”

(b) Nafula a-a-siim-a náánu?

1Nafula 1-pres-love-fv who

“Who does Nafula love?”

(c) *Naanu Nafula a-a-siim-a?

Who 1Nafula 1-prs-love-fv

“Who does Nafula love?”

(d) Naanu ni-y-e Nafula a-a-sim-a?

Who pred-1-pron 1Nafula 1-pres-love-fv

“Who is it that Nafula loves?”

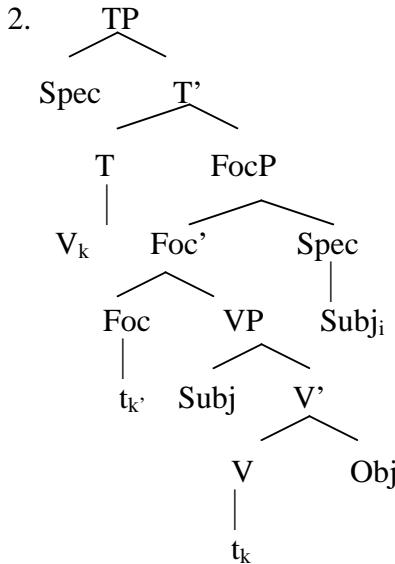
The sentences in (1) raise one interesting question: has the wh-complement *náánu* in (1b) undergone short movement to Spec of the IP-internal FocP in the manner of Ndayiragije (1999) or is it in-situ? This question is addressed in the following section.

4.2.1 Is there short movement of wh-complements?

Unlike English-type wh-movement in which a wh-phrase is moved to the left periphery (the complementizer field), short movement involves movement of a wh-

phrase (and sometimes non-wh-phrases) to Spec of Foc (=Focus) internal to the IP.

This type of movement is proposed and argued for by Ndayiragije (1999). His proposal, which is motivated by facts from Kirundi, is that FocP is located between TP and VP. This is shown in (2) (Ndayiragije's (2) as well).



According to Ndayiragije, wh-phrases, subjects in OVS constructions and focused phrases in Kirundi move to Spec of Foc, an A' position. Notice that in Ndayiragije's structure depicted in (2), the focus head precedes its specifier. This is rather odd, because phrases in Kirundi and indeed all Bantu languages have the structure Specifier-head-Complement. A question which needs to be answered by theories that allow structures such as (2) is why this structure? Why should the specifier follow the head only this once? Why should there be movement to this specifier? Ndayiragije has argued that facts in Kirundi support the structure and movement of the sort depicted in (2)¹⁶. Other Bantu languages that have been argued to involve some form of rightward movement include Dzamba, Likila and Lingala (Bokamba

¹⁶ An alternative structure for the IP-internal FocP (located above VP) is presented in Jayaseelan (2001). In Jayaseelan's structure the Foc head is preceded by its specifier in conformity with the general phrase structure. Although this structure is intended for Malayalam clefts (and English clefts), Jayaseelan argues that it can be extended to the Kirundi cases discussed in Ndayiragije (1999).

1976) and Kikuyu (Bergvall 1987). However the analyses offered by these researchers violate Kayne's LCA.

Returning to our initial question as to whether Lubukusu wh-complements as in (1b) undergo short movement to Spec of Foc (of the IP-internal FocP), it seems unlikely that they do – at least not the type that is attested in Kirundi. First, consider the following data showing the position occupied by object DPs in relation to adverbs.

3(a) Maayi a-a-teekh-a chii-nyeenyi bwaangu

1mother 1-pst-cook-fv 10-vegetables quickly

“Mother cooked vegetables quickly.”

(b) Maayi a-a-teekh-a bwaangu chii-nyeenyi

1mother 1-pst-cook-fv quickly 10-vegetables

“Mother cooked vegetables quickly.”

4(a) Maayi a-a-kul-a chii-nyeenyi khu-soko

1mother 1-pst-buy-fv 10-vegetables loc-market

“Mother bought vegetables at the market.”

(b) Maayi a-a-kul-a khu-soko chii-nyeenyi

1mother 1-pst-buy-fv at-market 10-vegetables

“Mother bought vegetables at the market.”

5(a) Maayi a-kha-kul-e chii-nyeenyi muchuli

1mother 1-fut-buy-fv 10-vegetables tomorrow

“Mother will buy vegetables tomorrow.”

(b) Maayi a-kha-kul-e muchuli chii-nyeenyi

1mother 1-fut-buy-fv tomorrow 10-vegetables

“Mother will buy vegetables tomorrow.”

6(a) Maayi a-kul-aang-a chii-nyeenyi buli nyaanga

1mother 1-buy-hab-fv 10-vegetables every day

“Mother usually buys vegetables everyday.”

(b) Maayi a-kul-aang-a buli nyaanga chii-nyeenyi

1mother 1-buy-hab-fv every day 10-vegetables

“Mother usually buys vegetables everyday.”

As these sentences show, adverbs of manner (3), adverbs of place (4) adverbs of time (5) and adverbs of frequency (6) can precede or follow the object. Both orders are fine.

Now consider the following data showing the position of in-situ wh-DPs in relation to adverbs.

7(a) Maayi a-a-tekh-a bwaangu si(ina)?

1mother 1-pst-cook-fv what quickly

“What did mother cook quickly?”

(b) Maayi a-a-tekh-a sí(ina) bwaangu?

1mother 1-pst-cook-fv what quickly

“What did mother cook quickly?”

8(a) Maayi a-a-kusy-a khu-sooko si(ina)?

1mother 1-pst-sell-fv at-market what

“What did mother sell at the market?”

(b) Maayi a-a-kusy-a sí(ina) khu-sooko?

1mother 1-pst-sell-fv what at-market

“What did mother sell at the market?”

9(a) Maayi a-kha-kul-e muchuli si(ina)?

1mother 1-fut-buy-fv tomorrow what

“What will mother buy vegetables tomorrow?”

(b) Maayi a-kha-kul-e si(ina) muchuli?

1mother 1-fut-buy-fv what tomorrow

“What will mother buy tomorrow?”

10(a) Maayi a-kul-aang-a buli nyaanga si(ina)?

1mother 1-buy-hab-fv every day what

“What does mother buy everyday?”

(b) Maayi a-kul-aang-a si(ina) buli nyaanga?

1mother 1-buy-hab-fv what every day

“What does mother buy everyday?”

These sentences show that both orders, that is, wh-phrase ~ adverb and adverb ~ wh-phrase are acceptable. In this regard then, Lubukusu differs from Kirundi – because it allows both orders. It also differs from Dzamba, Likila and Lingala which Bokamba (1976) has shown to behave like Kirundi in requiring ‘rightward’ movement of wh-phrases. Kikuyu is another Bantu language that allows rightward wh-movement (Bergvall 1987). Kiswahili also differs from Lubukusu, in that short leftward movement of the wh-phrase is obligatory. This is evidenced by the fact that adverbs in Kiswahili obligatorily follow wh-phrases.

11(a) Mama a-li-uz-a mboga soko-ni

1mother 1-pst-sell-fv vegetables market-loc

“Mother sold vegetables at the market.”

(b) Mama a-li-uz-a nini soko-ni?

1mother 1-pst-sell-fv what market-loc

“What did mother sell at the market?”

(c) *Mama a-li-uz-a soko-ni nini?

1mother 1-pst-sell-fv market-at what

“What did mother sell at the market?”

12(a) Mama a-li-kunyw-a chai upesi

1mother 1-pst-sell-fv tea quickly

“Mother drank tea quickly.”

(b) Mama a-li-kunyw-a nini upesi?

1mother 1-pst-sell-fv what quickly

“What did mother drink quickly?”

(c) *Mama a-li-kunyw-a upesi nini?

1mother 1-pst-sell-fv quickly what

“What did mother drink quickly?”

It seems then, that Bantu languages divide up into three groups on the basis of short wh-movement. Group 1, represented by Kirundi, Dzamba, Likila and Lingala requires short rightward movement. Group 2, which is represented by Kiswahili, requires short leftward movement. And lastly, group 3, which is represented by Lubukusu, is the liberal group. It is liberal in the sense that it allows for two options: short leftward wh-movement or no movement. A question that arises is why short wh-movement should be optional in Lubukusu but obligatory in Kirundi, Dzamba, Likila, Lingala and Kiswahili. A related question is this: are we dealing with the same type of movement? It seems that the answer to the latter is question is no. According to Ndayiragije (1999), the position into which the wh-phrase moves (by short movement) is a focus position. Hence the constituent that moves to this position is interpreted as having contrastive focus. Notice that this position can also be occupied by subjects. That is, subjects can move to this focus position to receive contrastive focus. The result of subject movement to this focus position is what is

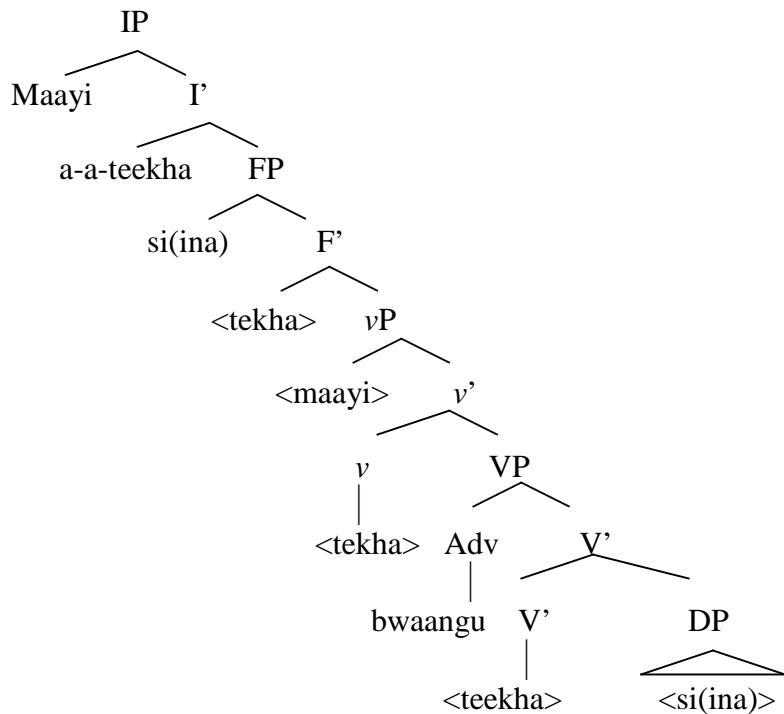
known in the literature as subject-object reversal. It turns out that no contrastive focus is involved in Lubukusu questions that have the order wh-phrase ~ adverb (that is, where apparent short wh-movement of the wh-phrase to Spec of focus has taken place). It is also instructive that Lubukusu – unlike Kirundi-type languages – does not allow subject-object reversal. I take these facts, that is, lack of contrastive focus and lack of subject-object reversal as evidence that movement in Lubukusu that generates the order wh-phrase ~ adverb is different from short wh-movement in Kirundi-type languages. The fact that short movement in Lubukusu has no focus implications suggests that the wh-phrase does not move to Spec of focus. I propose that the wh-phrase in Lubukusu optionally moves to Spec of a functional projection, FP, which is located between IP and vP. Under this proposal, a short-movement construction is derived in the manner of (13b).

13(a) Maayi a-a-tekh-a si(ina) bwaangu?

1mother 1-pst-cook-fv what quickly

What did mother cook quickly?

(b)



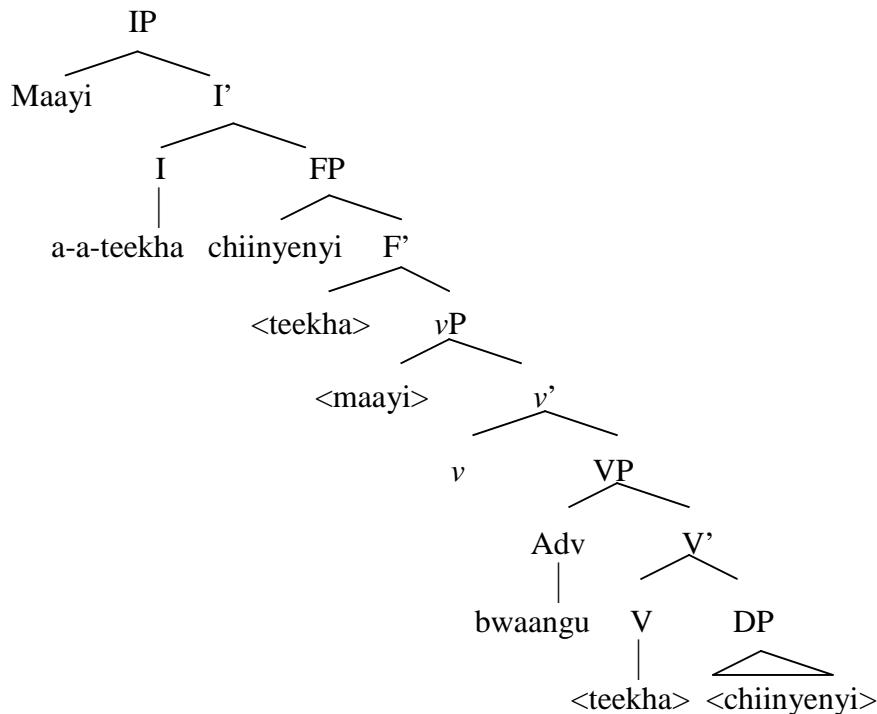
Similarly, the derivation of (3a) repeated here as (14a) involves movement of the non-wh-phrase, *chiinyenyi* (=vegetables) to Spec FP. This is illustrated in (14b).

14(a) Maayi a-a-teekh-a chii-nyeenyi bwaangu

1mother 1-pst-cook-fv 10-vegetables quickly

“Mother cooked vegetables quickly.”

(b)



This analysis – that is, DP movement to Spec of FP – can also derive sentences that have more than one adverb. The following data illustrate two-adverb sentences.

15(a) Wafula a-kusy-ak-aang-a ki-mi-koye bwaangu khu-soko

1Wafula 1-sell-intens-hab-fv Pp-4-rope quickly at-market

“Wafula usually sells ropes quickly at the market.”

- (b) Wafula a-kusy-aang-a si(ina) bwaangu khu-soko?
- 1Wafula 1-sell-hab-fv what quickly at-market
 “What does Wafula usually sell quickly at the market?”
- (c) Wafula a-kusy-aang-a bwaangu si(ina) khu-soko?
- 1Wafula 1-sell-hab-fv quickly what at-market
 “What does Wafula usually sell quickly at the market?”
- (d) Wafula a-kusy-aang-a bwaangu khu-soko si(ina)?
- 1Wafula 1-sell-hab-fv quickly at-market what
 “What does Wafula usually sell quickly at the market?”
- 16(a) Simiyu a-nywe-chak-ang-a ka-ma-lwa bwaangu buli nyanga
- 1Simiyu 1-drink-intens-hab-fv Pp-6-beer quickly every day
 “Simiyu usually drinks beer quickly everyday.”
- (b) Simiyu a-nywe-chak-ang-a si(ina) bwaangu buli nyanga?
- 1Simiyu 1-drink-intens-hab-fv what quickly every day
 “What does Simiyu usually drink quickly everyday?”
- (c) Simiyu a-nywe-chak-ang-a bwaangu si(ina) buli nyanga?
- 1Simiyu 1-drink-intens-hab-fv quickly what every day
 “What does Simiyu usually drink quickly everyday?”
- (d) Simiyu a-nywe-chak-ang-a bwaangu buli nyanga si(ina)?
- 1Simiyu 1-drink-intens-hab-fv quickly every day what
 “What does Simiyu usually drink quickly everyday?”

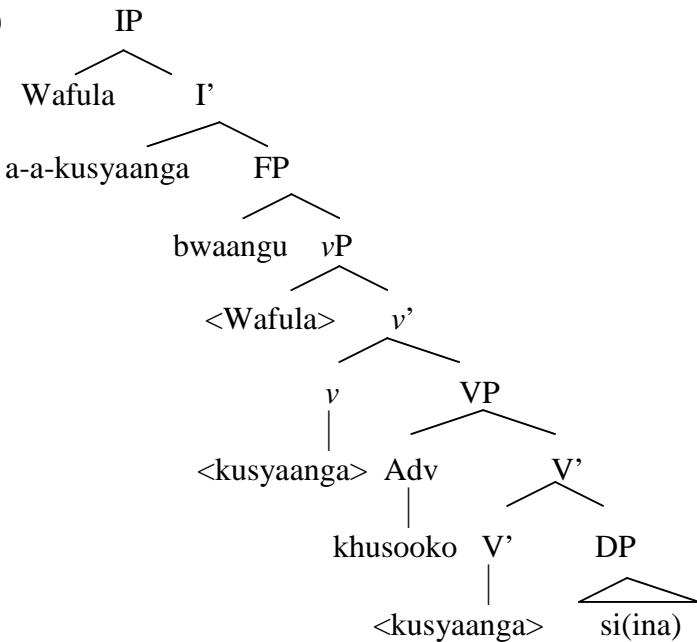
As shown in these data, the 3 word orders for the post verbal constituents are possible: (i) Adverb-Adverb-Wh-phrase, (ii) Adverb-Wh-phrase-Adverb, and (iii) Wh-phrase-Adverb-Adverb. The derivation of these word orders is illustrated in the following phrase markers.

17(a) Wafula a-kusy-aang-a bwaangu khu-soko si(ina)? (Adv~Adv~Wh-phrase)

1Wafula 1-sell-hab-fv quickly at-market what

“What does Wafula usually sell quickly at the market?”

(b)

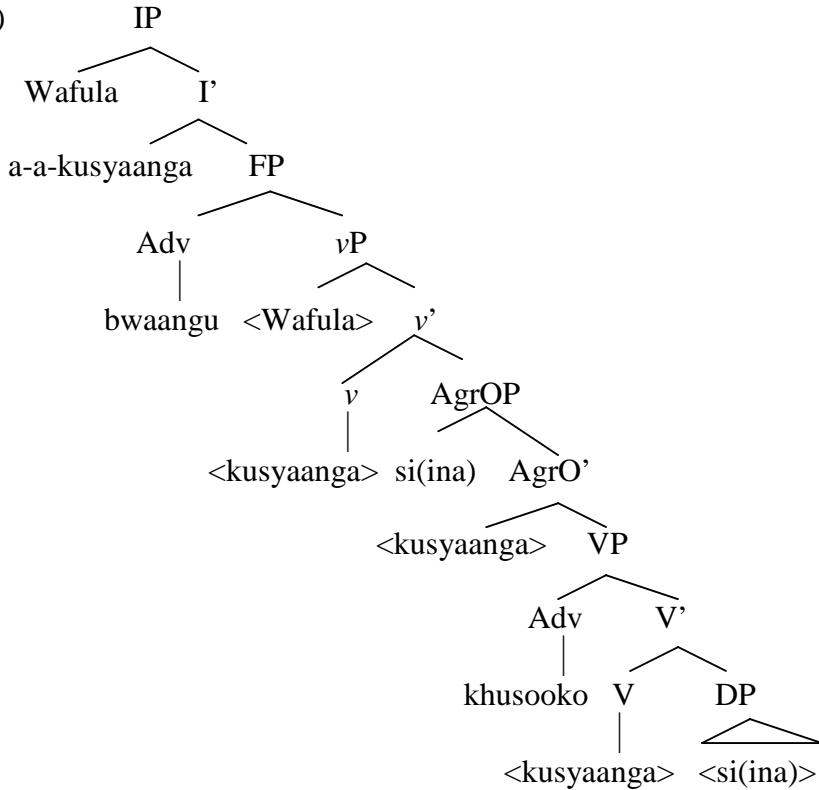


18(a) Wafula a-kusy-aang-a bwaangu si(ina) khu-soko? (Adv~Wh-phrase~Adv)

1Wafula 1-sell-hab-fv quickly what at-market

“What does Wafula usually sell quickly at the market?”

(b)

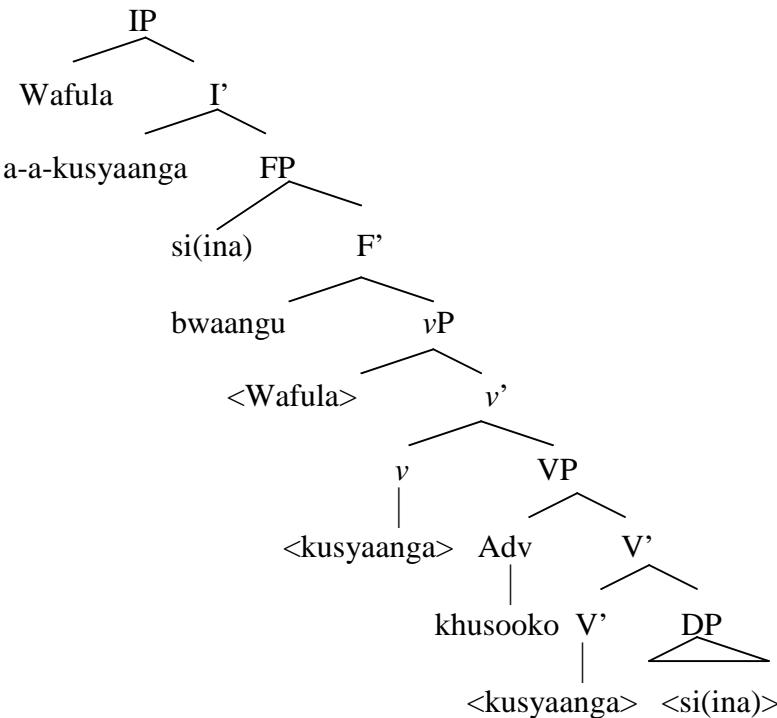


19(a) Wafula a-kusy-aang-a si(ina) bwaangu khu-soko? (Wh-phrase~Adv~Adv)

1Wafula 1-sell-hab-fv what quickly at-market

“What does Wafula usually sell quickly at the market?”

(b)



4.3 Wh-subjects in questions

Wh-subject questions in Lubukusu have the regular SVO structure. The wh-subject appears in the sentence initial position. But more importantly, the verb bears agreement morphology that is different from regular agreement morphology. As shown in the following data, the agreement associated with wh-subjects is similar to agreement that is triggered by relativization and clefting of subjects (see chapter 2 and chapter 3).

20(a) Naliaka a-li mu-nju

1Naliaka 1-be in-house

“Naliaka is in the house.”

(b) Naanu o-o-li mu-nju?

Who wh-1-be in-house

“Who is in the house?”

(c) *Naanu a-li mu-nju?

Who 1-be in-house

“Who is in the house?”

Notice the alternation in the agreement verbal morphology. While the verb in the simple declaratives appears with a single agreement prefix -a (20a), the verb in the wh-questions with a wh-subject appears with two agreement prefixes: wh-agreement o- and an allophonic variant of regular agreement -o- (20b). The declarative subject agreement a- is impossible in questions with a wh-subject (20c).

More data showing a systematic and consistent variation between interrogative wh-agreement and regular declarative subject agreement is provided in the following table.

Table 12: Wh-agreement in subject questions

Non-wh, reg agr	Wh-subj, wh-agr	Wh-subj, regular agr
o-mwa-ana a-a-tim-a Pp-1-child 1-pst-run-fv The child ran	naanu o-w-a-tim-a? Who wh-1-pst-run-fv Who ran?	*naanu a-a-tim-a? Who 1-pst-run-fv Who ran?
ba-ba-ana ba-a-tim-a Pp-2-child 2-pst-run-fv Children ran	naanu ba-ba-a-tim-a? Who wh-2-pst-run-fv Who ran?	*naanu ba-a-tim-a? Who 2-pst-run-fv Who ran?
sii-tabu si-a-tib-a 7-book 7-pst-lose-fv The book got lost	siina si-sy-a-tib-a? What wh-7-pst-lose-fv What got lost?	*siina sy-a-tib-a? What 7-pst-lose-fv What got lost?

The data in this table show that regular agreement (column 1) differs from wh-agreement (column 2), and that the former cannot be used with wh-subject questions (column 3). In other words column 3 shows that regular declarative verbal agreement

morphology is incompatible with wh-subjects. Thus wh-subjects in Lubukusu questions behave exactly in the same way as subjects under relativization and clefting (see chapter 2 and chapter 3).

A comment about the class 1 agreement patterns is in order. Class 1 agreement patterns are illustrated in the second row of table 10 and in chapter 2 and chapter 3 as well. In chapter 2, I made the observation that declarative subject agreement is usually identical to the pre-prefix of the subject noun. However this does not seem to hold for class 1 agreement patterns. As shown in (21), the pre-prefix for nouns in this class is o-. Notice that some nouns in this class lack the prefix system altogether.

(a) O-muu-ndu

Pp-1- person

“Person”

(b) O-mu-sooreeri

Pp-1-boy

“Boy”

(c) Papa

“Father”

Given that the pre-prefix for nouns in this class is o- we should expect subject agreement in declaratives in the first column, second row in table 10 to be o-. However this is not the agreement prefix that turns up. Instead, subject agreement in the declarative is a-. It is possible that this agreement prefix results from a historical change.

The agreement patterns in questions with a wh-subject are closer to what we expect them to be. We expect agreement in these questions to be o-o-, given that

agreement in questions with a wh-subject is marked by two instances of the pre-prefix of subject noun. As shown in the second column, second row in table 10 this is basically correct: the agreement pattern is o-w. The realization of [o] as [w] is phonologically conditioned. [w] is the result of glide formation, a phonological process that turns a high vowel into a glide in the environment before another vowel. The problem is that there is no high vowel in the context under discussion: we only seem to have o-o. Where then, does the glide come from? Mutonyi (2000) has argued that the class 1 pre-prefix is underlyingly u-. This pre-prefix underwent a historical sound change. By this change, short high vowels in word initial position were lowered and became mid vowels. Thus /u/ became [o], while /i/ became [e]. Mutonyi's account explains the unexpected occurrence of [w] in the second row, second column of table 10 and in similar relativization and clefting data. The class 1 pre-prefix is underlyingly /u/ and in environments where it is followed by another vowel, it becomes [w].

Turning back to the comparison between subject agreement in declaratives and questions with a wh-subject, the general conclusion (like in relativization and clefting of subjects) seems to be that agreement in the former is marked by one agreement prefix but in the latter agreement it is marked by two identical agreement prefixes. I argued in chapter 2 that the first prefix is wh-agreement which is associated with the relative or wh-feature in Fin. When Fin has these features, it enters into an agree relation with only the subject. Unlike the first agreement prefix, the second agreement prefix is regular declarative agreement. This prefix is the morphological realization of the agree relation that is established between the wh-subject and and I.

Let us now briefly consider [noun + wh-DP] subjects. These subjects also trigger special wh-agreement morphology (use of two agreement prefixes). But what

is more interesting is the fact that the nouns which typically have a pre-prefix (22) must appear without one (23 & 24).

22 (a) Ba-ba-ana

Pp-2-child

“Children”

(b) Ku-mu-saala

Pp-3-tree

“Tree”

23(a) Ba-ana siina ba-ba-a-kw-a?

2-child which wh-2-pst-fall-fv

“Which children fell?”

(b) *Ba-ba-ana siina ba-ba-a-kw-a?

Pp-2-child which wh-2-pst-fall-fv

“Which children fell down?”

24(a) Mu-saala siina ku-kw-a-kw-a?

3-tree which wh-3-pst-fall-fv

“Which tree fell down?”

(b) *Ku-mu-saala siina ku-kw-a-kw-a?

Pp-3-tree which wh-3-pst-fall-fv

“Which tree fell down?”

There two possible explanations for the obligatory deletion of the pre-prefix in (23) and (24). One is that the pre-prefix is a marker of definiteness (like in other Bantu languages where Mould (1974) among others has claimed that the pre-prefix marks definiteness). If this is true, then the pre-prefix must be incompatible with questioning. This is because we do not usually question or ask about things that are

definite. The problem with this explanation is that there is no other evidence in Lubukusu which shows that the pre-prefix is a marker of definiteness.

The second explanation is more plausible: sentences 23b and 24b are ungrammatical for licensing reasons. According to Hyman and Katamba (1993) and Progovac (1993), non-augmented forms (that is, forms without a pre-prefix) in the relevant Bantu languages are licensed by syntactic operators. Under this view, grammaticality of non-augmented forms depends on licensing by syntactic operators. In Hyman and Katamba's words, ".... non-augmented forms are grammatical only if they are licensed by one of two syntactic operators, NEG (negation) or Foc (focus), while augmented forms are grammatical only if they are not so licensed" (Hyman and Katamba 1993: 210). There a caveat though. In Lubukusu, only question related focus can license non-augmented forms; negation and declarative focus (in declarative clefts) do not. The conclusion that we can draw from this is that Bantu languages behave differently with regards to licensing non-augmented forms. In languages such as Luganda (Hyman and Katamba 1993) and Kinande (Progovac 1993), non-augmented forms are licensed by syntactic operators NEG and FOC, but in Lubukusu only FOC narrowly defined to exclude declarative clefts, can license non-augmented forms.

4.4 Lubukusu wh- in-situ: LF (=covert) movement?

Several pieces of evidence are often used to justify existence of LF movement. One such piece of evidence is island effects. If it is shown that in-situ wh-phrases are ruled out in exactly the same contexts where overt wh-movement is blocked (such as islands), then it is reasonable to conclude that some form of covert movement is involved. Under this view, covert movement is constrained in exactly the same way as overt movement. The second piece of evidence that is often used to justify LF movement is intervention effects. It is often the case that ungrammaticality

arises when a scope bearing element (SBE) such as negation, a negative polarity item, also, only, even, quantifiers etc. intervenes between a wh- in-situ phrase and C (Beck 1995, 1996, Beck & Shin-Sook 1997, Pesetsky 2000 and Ko 2005). But in the absence of SBEs the sentences are fine. This is usually taken by proponents of LF movement to be evidence that SBEs do indeed block LF movement. For Beck 1995, 1996 (though not Beck 2006) and Beck & Shin-Sook 1997, an intervention effect is a purely LF phenomenon. Under this account account, SBEs block only LF movement.

Let us now look closely at the Lubukusu facts and ask if wh- in-situ in this language indeed involves LF movement. For simplicity reasons, I assume in the remainder of this chapter that non-subject wh-phrases are in-situ (even though they may have undergone short movement as discussed in the previous sections). In order to determine whether or not wh-in-situ involves LF movement, we need to show whether or not (i) an intervention effect; and (ii) island effects hold in Lubukusu in-situ constructions. But to deepen our understanding of wh-in-situ in Lubukusu, it is necessary show how Lubukusu compares to other in-situ languages on these two dimensions (the intervention effect and island effects).

4.4.1 The Intervention effect in Lubukusu in-situ wh-constructions

It has been shown that in languages such as Japanese, Korean and German, SBEs such as also, even, only, every, someone and NPI/negation cannot intervene between a wh-phrase and C (Beck (1995, 1996, 2006), Beck & Shin-Sook (1997), Pesetsky (2000) and Ko (2005)). These SBEs give rise to an intervention effect in these languages (although as pointed out by Pesetsky 2000 – for Japanese and Beck 2006 – for Korean, the intervention effect with some of the SBEs is either absent or weak for some speakers). It turns out that in Lubukusu, only negation and ‘even’ can give rise to an intervention effect. The following data shows that ‘also’, ‘only’, ‘every’, and ‘someone’ do not give rise to an intervention effect in Lubukusu.

25(a) Wafula a-a-kul-a si(ina)?

1Wafula 1-pst-buy-fv what

“What did Wafula buy?”

(b) Wafula ye-si a-a-kul-a si(ina)? (also + wh-)

1Wafula 1-also 1-pst-buy-fv what

“What did Wafula also buy?”

(c) Wafula ye-eng’ene a-a-kul-a si(ina)? (only + wh-)

1Wafula 1-only 1-pst-buy-fv what

“What did Wafula only buy?”

(d) Buli muu-ndu a-a-som-a si(ina)? (everybody + wh-)

Every 1-person 1-pst-read-fv what

“What did everybody read?”

(e) Wafula a-a-a buli muu-ndu si(ina)? (everybody + wh-)

1Wafula 1-pst-give every 1-person what

“What did Wafula give everybody?”

(f) Muu-ndu fulani a-a-som-a si(ina)? (someone + wh-)

1-person certain 1-pst-read-fv what

“What did someone read?”

(g) ??Ata Wafula a-a-lang-a naanu? (even + wh-)

Even 1Wafula 1-pst-call-fv who

“Wafula called even who?”

4.4.2 Negation and wh-in-situ

Negation gives a stronger intervention effect in Lubukusu. Before illustrating this fact with data, let us first give an overview of negation in Lubukusu.

Negation in Lubukusu is marked by two particles which are obligatory. The first negation particle (Neg 1) occurs as a verbal prefix. It is realized either as *se-* or

-kha- depending on its position in the verb. *Se-* always occurs as the verb initial prefix before the subject prefix and the tense prefix. In contrast, *-kha-* always occurs after the subject prefix and the tense prefix, but before the object prefix. The choice between *se-* and *-kha-* as the first negation particle depends on the structure of the clause that is negated. In the negation of main clauses and non-RC (=non relative clause) CNPs, the first negation particle takes the form *se-*. To negate embedded relative clauses, cleft constructions and imperatives, the first negative particle takes the form of *-kha-*.

The second negation particle (Neg 2) is realized as *ta*. Although it is a VP constituent, it is not a verbal prefix. It is invariant and it always occurs at the end of the VP. The distribution of Neg 1 (*se-* or *-kha-*) and Neg 2 (*ta*) is illustrated in the following data.

26(a) Wekesa se-a-a-tim-a ta

1Wekesa neg-1-past-run-fv neg

“Wekesa didn’t run.”

(b) Wekesa se-a-a-lom-a a-li a-kha-tim-e ta

Wekesa neg-1-past-say-fv 1-sub 1-fut-run-fv neg

“Wekesa didn’t say that he will run.”

(c) Wekesa a-a-nyool-a chi-lomo mbo Nekesa se-a-koy-a ka-ma-lwa ta

1Wekesa 1-pst-receive 10-word that 1Nekesa neg-1-brew-fv Pp-6-beer neg

“Wekesa got word that Nekesa did not brew beer.”

27(a) Paapa se-a-a-kul-a sii-tabu ni-sy-o Wekesa a-a-ndik-a ta

1Father neg-1-past-buy-fv 7-book pred-7-pron 1Wekesa 1-pst-write-fv neg

“Father didn’t buy the book that Wekesa wrote.”

- (b) Paapa a-a-kul-a sii-tabu ni-sy-o Wekesa a-kha-a-ndik-a ta
 1Father 1-past-buy-fv 7-book pred-7-pron 1Wekesa 1-neg-pst-write-fv neg
 “Father bought a book that Wekesa didn’t write.”
- (c) Si-li sii-tabu ni-sy-o Wekesa a-kha-a-ndik-a ta.
 7-be 7-book pred-7-pron 1Wekesa 1-neg-pst-write-fv neg
 “It is a book that Wekesa didn’t write.”
- (d) mu-kha-tim-a ta
 2ndPl-neg-run-fv neg
 “Don’t run!” (plural-you imperative)

For a discussion on deriving the two negation strategies (the *se...ta* strategy and the *-kha...ta* strategy), see Bell (2004), Bell and Wasike (2004) and Wasike (2002).

Let us now turn back to negation of wh-in-situ constructions. As shown in the following data, negation is incompatible with wh- in-situ. Neither the *se...ta* negation strategy (28) nor the ...*kha...ta* strategy (29) can negate a wh- in-situ construction.

- 28(a) Wekesa a-a-kul-a si(ina)?
 1Wekesa 1-pst-buy-fv what
 “What did Wekesa buy?”
- (b) *Wekesa se-a-a-kul-a si(ina) ta?
 1Wekesa neg-1-pst-buy-fv what neg
 “What didn’t Wekesa buy?”
- (c) *Wekesa se-a-a-kul-a sii-tabu waae(na) ta?
 1Wekesa neg-1-pst-buy-fv 7-book where neg
 “Where didn’t Wekesa buy the book?”

(d) *Wekesa se-a-a-kul-a sii-tabu a-rie(ena) ta?

1Wekesa neg-1-pst-buy-fv 7-book 1-how neg

“How didn’t Wekesa buy the book?”

(e) *Wekesa se-a-a-kul-a sii-tabu liina ta?

1Wekesa neg-1-pst-buy-fv 7-book when neg

“When didn’t Wekesa buy the book?”

(f) *Naanu se-a-a-kul-a sii-tabu ta?

Who neg-1-pst-buy-fv 7-book neg

“Who didn’t buy the book?”

29(a) *Wekesa a-kha-a-kul-a si(ina) ta?

1Wekesa 1- neg-pst-buy-fv what neg

“What didn’t Wekesa buy?”

(b) *Wekesa a-kha-a-kul-a sii-tabu waae(na) ta?

1Wekesa 1-neg-pst-buy-fv 7-book where neg

“Where didn’t Wekesa buy the book?”

(c) *Wekesa a-kha-a-kul-a sii-tabu a-rie(ena) ta?

1Wekesa 1-neg-pst-buy-fv 7-book how neg

“How didn’t Wekesa buy the book?”

(d) *Wekesa a-kha-a-kul-a sii-tabu liina ta?

1Wekesa 1-neg-pst-buy-fv 7-book when neg

“When didn’t Wekesa buy the book?”

(e) Naanu o-o-kha-a-kul-a sii-tabu liina ta?

1Wekesa 1-neg-pst-buy-fv 7-book when neg

“When didn’t Wekesa buy the book?”

30(a) Wekesa a-a-kul-a sii-tabu sikila si(ina)?

1Wekesa 1-pst-buy-fv 7-book reason what

“Why did Wekesa buy a book?”

(b) Wekesa se-a-a-kul-a sii-tabu ta sikila si(ina)?

1Wekesa neg-1-pst- buy-fv 7-book neg reason what

“Why didn’t Wekesa buy the book?”

(c) *Wekesa a-kha-a-kul-a sii-tabu ta sikila si(ina)?

1Wekesa 1-neg-pst-buy-fv 7-book neg reason what

“Why didn’t Wekesa buy the book?”

(d) Siina sikila Wekesa na-a-kha-a-kul-a sii-tabu ta?

What reason 1Wekesa prt-1-neg-pst-buy-fv 7-book neg

“Why didn’t Wekesa buy the book?”

(29e) is good because wh-subjects always move to Spec of Fin (in the left periphery).

Therefore negation does not intervene between Fin and the wh-phrase. Similarly,

(30b) is grammatical because negation does not intervene between the reason wh-phrase and Fin. This is due to the fact that the reason wh-phrase, *sikila siina*, is base generated in Spec IntP in the left periphery (see chapter 5). As for (30c), its ungrammaticality has got nothing to do with the intervention effect; it is bad because the *-kha...ta* negation strategy is not the appropriate negation strategy for this context. Sentence (30b), which uses the appropriate negation strategy (the *se...ta* strategy), is grammatical and doesn’t show an intervention effect.

The intervention effect in Lubukusu and three other languages (Japanese, Korean and German)¹⁷ is summarized in the following table.

¹⁷ For Japanese and Korean data see Ko (2005); For German data see Beck (1995)

Table 13: The intervention effect in Lubukusu, Japanese, Korean and German

SBE	Lubukusu	Japanese	Korean	German
Negation/NPI	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Even	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Also	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (?)
Only	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Every	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Someone	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (?)

Note: Yes means SBE gives rise to an intervention effect; no means it doesn't give an intervention effect.

As shown in the data and in table 13, only Lubukusu fails to show an intervention effect for 'also', 'only', 'every' and 'someone'. It is not clear at this point why these SBEs do not show an intervention effect in Lubukusu.

Notice that the incompatibility of negation with wh- in-situ which is illustrated in (28) and (29) cannot be accounted for in the manner of Rizzi (1992) as an inner island effect. This is because the inner island was designed to account only for the fact that negation blocks extraction of adjunct adverbials. But as shown in (28) and (29), negation is incompatible not only with in-situ wh-adjunct phrases but also wh-argument phrases. Thus sentences in (28) and (29) are bad not because of an inner island violation, but a different kind of violation: the intervention effect. The intervention effect, which is attributed to Beck's work (see 1996 and Beck & Kim 1997), is stated in (31).

(31) Intervention Effect: At LF, a wh-phrase may not move across a Scope Bearing Element (SBE) to its licensor [Q]¹⁸.

According to (31), the intervention effect is a constraint only on LF movement; it does not apply to overt movement. This predicts that clefting in Lubukusu is compatible with negation. As was shown in chapter 3 and in the following sentences, this prediction is correct.

32(a) Siina ni-sy-o Wekesa a-kha-a-kul-a ta?

What pred-7-pron 1Wekesa 1-neg-pst-buy-fv neg

“What is it that Wekesa did not buy?”

(b) Waae(na) ni-o Wekesa a-kha-a-kul-a sii-tabu ta?

Where pred-16pron 1Wekesa 1-neg-pst-buy-fv 7-book neg

“Where didn’t Wekesa buy a book?”

Although it seems reasonable to take the intervention effect to be evidence for the existence of phrasal LF movement – and by extention argue that the intervention effect is a constraint on phrasal LF movement – it still remains puzzling why only phrasal LF movement but not overt phrasal movement should be subject to the intervention effect. Interestingly, the asymmetry between wh- in-situ and overt wh-movement also shows up in islands. As I show in the following section, in-situ wh-phrases in Lubukusu are not subject to island effects. In contrast clefting from islands gives rise to island effects (see chapter 3. This asymmetry casts doubt on the existence of LF movement.

¹⁸ Reproduced from Ko (2005)

4.5 Island effects

The next issue that we need to examine is wh-in-situ in the context of islands. Island effects are often used as a diagnostic for LF movement (see Huang 1982, Richards 2001 among others). It is therefore useful to find out whether or not island effects hold in Lubukusu. To deepen our understanding of wh- in-situ cross linguistically, I compared island effects in Bantu – represented by Lubukusu, Kiswahili and Runyoro with island effects in Japanese and Chinese.

The comparison data, which is presented below shows that with few exceptions it is acceptable for a wh-phrase to be in-situ in islands in each of these languages. A notable exception is the reason wh-phrase. In all the languages in this study, that is, Lubukusu, Kiswahili, Runyoro, Japanese and Chinese the reason wh-phrase, *why*, cannot have embedded clause construal. Even more interesting is the fact that Bantu languages in this study and Chinese do not show a clear argument-adjunct asymmetry.

In the sections that follow, I present island data from each of the languages in the study. The data is organized by island-type, starting with bridge verb constructions (which are not islands by definition). For bridge verb constructions, I don't have data from Runyoro, Japanese and Chinese. Therefore, I present data from Lubukusu only. But for all island domains, data from each of these languages is available, and I have presented it in a fixed order so as to make comparison simpler, transparent and systematic. First I present a Lubukusu sentence. Immediately below it, I present comparable sentences from Kiswahili, Runyoro, Japanese and Chinese in that order.

4.5.1 Wh-in-situ in bridge verb constructions in Lubukusu.

As shown in the following data, in-situ wh-phrases are allowed in bridge-verb constructions in Lubukusu.

33.(a) Nafula a-subil-a a-li Wafula e-eb-a sii-tabu. (Lubukusu)

1Nafula 1-believe-fv 1-sub 1Wafula 1-steal-fv 7-book

“Nafula believes that Wafula stole the book.”

(b) Nafula a-subil-a a-li Wafula e-eb-a si(ina)?

1Nafula 1-believe-fv 1-sub 1Wafula 1-steal-fv what

“What does Nafula believe Wafula stole?”

(c) Nafula a-subil-a a-li Wafula e-e-eb-a sii-tabu liina)?

1Nafula 1-believe-fv 1-sub 1Wafula 1-pst-steal-fv 7-book when

“What is the time period x, s.t. Nafula believes Wafula stole the book at time period x?”

(d) Nafula a-subil-a a-li Wafula e-eb-a sii-tabu sikila si(ina)?

1Nafula 1-believe-fv 1-sub 1Wafula 1-steal-fv 7-book reason what

(i) “*What is the reason x, s.t. Nafula believes that Wafula stole the book because of x?”

(ii) “What is the reason x, s.t. Nafula believes because of x that Wafula stole the book?”

(e) Nafula a-subil-a a-li Wafula e-eb-a sii-tabu waae(ena)?

1Nafula 1-believe-fv 1-sub 1Wafula 1-steal-fv 7-book where

“What is the place such that Nafula believes Wafula stole the book from that place?”

(f) Nafula a-subil-a a-li ba-ba-ana be-eb-a sii-tabu ba-rie(ena)?

1Nafula 1-believe-fv 1-sub Pp-2-child 2-steal-fv 7-book 2-how

“Nafula believes that children stole the book in what way?”

4.5.2 Complex NP (CNP)

In many languages the Complex NP (CNP) is an opaque domain to movement. This constraint holds for overt movement languages such as English (Rizzi 1990), Lasnik

& Saito (1992)) and to some extent in wh- in-situ languages such as Nchufie (Kural & Moritz 1994) and Japanese (Lasnik & Saito 1992, Richards 2001). But the question is: to what extent does this constraint hold in Japanese? What about Lubukusu, Kiswahili, Runyoro and Chinese? The following data provide answers to these questions. I have separated non-RC CNP data from RC-CNP data to give a more complete and accurate coverage of the CNP. (Note: RC = Relative Clause). You will notice that compared to the object CNP, subject CNP (both RC and non-RC) is a more restricted domain in Lubukusu, Kiswahili and Runyoro.

4.5.3 Non-RC CNP in object position

Lubukusu, Kiswahili, Runyoro, Japanese and Chinese¹⁹ allow wh- in-situ in an object non-RC CNP – with the exception of the reason wh-phrase. This is shown in the following data.

34(a) Maayi a-li ne lisuubila a-li papa a-la-kul-a sitabu (Lubukusu)

1mother 1-be with faith 1-sub father 1-fut-buy-fv book

‘Mother has faith/belief that father will buy the book.’

(b) Wa-toto wa-me-eneza uvumi kwamba Juma a-na-pend-a peremende (Kiswahili)

2-children 2-asp-spread rumors that 1Juma 1-prs-love-fv candy

The children have spread rumors that Juma likes candy.

(c) Peter a-ikiriz-a e-ki-gambibwa nti Mary a-ka-gur-a e-ki-tabo (Runyoro)

1Peter 1-believe-fv Pp-7-claim that 1Mary 1-pst-buy-fv Pp-7-book

“Peter believes the claim that Mary bought a book.”

¹⁹ Some of the Chinese data are adapted from Lasnik & Saito (1992); but there is also new data that was provided by Hongyuan Dong. Grammaticality judgements on the new data are his. Similarly some Japanese data are adapted from Lasnik & Saito (1992), but there is also new data that was provided by Ken Hiraiwa, Yoshi Dobashi and Yumiko Nishi. In addition to providing some of the data, they also helped with grammatical judgements. The Runyoro data and judgements were provided by Gertrude Night, while all the Kiswahili and Lubukusu data were provided by me. The Kiswahili and Lubukusu judgements are mine.

(d) Mary-wa John-ga hon-o nusunda koto-o mondai-ni siteru (Japanese)

Mary-top John-nom book-acc stole fact-acc problem-to make

“Mary is making an issue out of the fact that John stole a book”

(e) ni xiangxin Lisi mai-le shu de shuofa (Chinese)

you believe Lisi bought books claim

“you believe the claim that Lisi bought books”

35. (a) Maayi a-li ne lisuubila a-li naanu o-o-la-kul-a si-tabu? (Lubukusu)

1mother 1-be with belief/faith 1-sub who wh-1-fut-buy- fv 7-book

“Mother has faith/belief that who will buy the book?”

(b) Wa-toto wa-me-eneza uvumi kwamba nani a-na-pend-a peremende? (Kiswahili)

2-child 2-asp-spread rumors that who 1-prs-like-fv candy

“The children have spread rumors that who likes candy?”

(c) Peter a-ikiriz-a e-ki-gambibwa nti oha a-y-a-guz-ir-e e-ki-tabu? (Runyoro)

1Peter 1-believe-fv Pp-7-claim that who wh-1-pst-buy-asp-fv Pp-7-book

“Peter believes the claim that who bought a book?”

(d) Mary-wa dare-ga hon-o nusunda koto-o mondai-ni siteru? (Japanese)

Mary-top who-nom book-acc stole fact-acc problem-to make

“Mary is making an issue out of the fact that who stole a book?”

(e) ni xiangxin shei mai-le shu de shuofa? (Chinese)

you believe who bought books de claim

“you believe the claim that who bought books?”

36(a) Maayi a-li ne lii-suubila a-li papa a-la-kul-a si(ina)? (Lubukusu)

1mother 1-be with 5-faith 1-sub father 1-fut-buy-fv what

“Mother has faith/belief that father will buy what?”

(b) Wa-toto wa-me-eneza uvumi kwamba Juma a-na-pend-a nini? (Kiswahili)

2-children 2-asp-spread rumors that 1Juma 1-prs-love-fv what

“The children have spread rumors that Juma likes what?”

(c) ?Peter a-ikiriz-a e-ki-gambibwa nti Mary a-ka-gur-a ki? (Runyoro)

1Peter 1-believe-fv Pp-7-claim that 1Mary 1-pst-buy what

“Peter believes the claim that Mary bought what?”

(d) Mary-wa John-ga nani-o nusunda koto-o mondai-ni siteru no? (Japanese)

Mary-top John-nom what-acc stole fact-acc problem-to make

“What is Mary making an issue out of the fact that John stole?”

(e) ni xiangxin Lisi mai-le sheme de shuofa? (Chinese)

you believe Lisi bought what de claim

“You believe the claim that Lisi bought what?”

37(a) Maayi a-li ne lisuubila a-li papa a-kha-kul-e sii-tabu liina? (Lubukusu)

1mother 1-be with belief 1-sub father 1-fut- buy- fv 7-book when

“Mother has belief that father will buy a book when?”

(b) Wa-toto wa-li-eneza uvumi kwamba Juma a-li-nunu-a

2-children 2-past-spread rumors that 1Juma 1-pst-buy-fv

lini peremende (Kiswahili)

when candy

“The children spread rumors that Juma bought candy when?”

(c) Peter a-ikiriz-a e-ki-gambibwa nti Mary a-ka-gur-a e-ki-tabu di? (Runyoro)

1Peter 1-believe Pp-7-claim that 1Mary 1-pst-buy-fv Pp-7-book when

“Peter believes the claim that Mary bought the book when?”

(d) *Mary-wa John-ga itu sore-o nusunda koto-o mondai-ni siteru no? (Japanese)

Mary-top John-nom when it-acc stole fact-acc problem-to make Q

“Mary is making an issue out of the fact that John stole it when?”

(e) ni xiangxin Lisi shemeshihou mai-le shu de shuofa? (Chinese)

you believe Lisi when bought books de claim

“you believe the claim that Lisi bought books when?”

38. (a) Maayi a-li ne lisuubila a-li papa a-la-kul-a sii-tabu sikila si(ina)? (Lubukusu)

1mother 1-be with belief 1-sub 1father 1-fut- buy- fv 7-book reason what

(i) “What is the reason x, s.t. mother has faith/belief for x that father will buy the book?”

(ii) “*What is the reason x, such that mother has belief that father will buy the book because of x?” (=why will father buy the book?)

(b) Wa-toto wa-me-eneza uvumi kwamba Juma a-na-pend-a peremende

2-children 2-asp-spread rumors that 1Juma 1-prs-like-fv candy
kwa nini?

(Kiswahili)

for what

(i) “What is the reason x, s.t. children have spread rumors for x that Juma likes candy?”

(ii) “*What is the reason x, s.t. children have spread rumors that Juma likes candy for x?”

(c) Peter a-ikiriz-a e-ki-gambibwa nti Mary a-ka-gur-a

1Peter 1-believe-fv Pp-7-claim that 1Mary a-pst-buy-fv
e-ki-tabu habwaki? (Runyoro)

Pp-7-book why

“*What is the reason x, s.t. Peter believes the claim that Mary bought a book for x?”

(d) *Mary-wa John-ga naze sore-o nusunda koto-o mondai-ni

Mary-top John-nom why it-acc stole fact-acc problem-to

siteru no? (Japanese)

make Q

“What is the reason x, s.t. Mary is making an issue out of the fact that John stole it because of x?”

(e) *ni xiangxin Lisi weishenme mai-le shu de shuofa? (Chinese)

you believe Lisi why bought books de claim

“What is the reason x, s.t. you believe the claim that Lisi bought books for x?”

39(a) Maayi a-li ne lisuubila a-li papa a-la-kul-a sitabu waae(na)? (Lubukusu)

1mother 1-be with belief 1-sub 1father 1-fut-buy-fv book where

“What is the place x, s.t. Mother has faith/belief that father will buy the book at x?”

(b) Wa-toto wa-li-eneza uvumi kwamba Juma a-li-nunu-a

2-children 2-past-spread rumors that 1Juma 1-pst-buy-fv

wapi peremende? (Kiswahili)

where candy

“What is the place x, s.t. children spread rumors that Juma bought candy at x?”

(c) Peter a-ikiriz-a e-ki-gambibwa nti Mary a-ka-gur-a e-ki-tabu nkaha? (Runyoro)

1Peter 1-believe-fv Pp-7-claim that 1Mary 1-pst-buy-fv Pp-7-book where

“What is the place x, s.t. Peter believes the claim that Mary bought the book at x?”

(d) ??Mary-wa John-ga dokode sore-o nusunda koto-o mondai-ni

Mary-top John-nom where it-acc stole fact-acc problem-to

siteru no? (Japanese)

make Q

“Mary is making an issue out of the fact that John stole it where?”

(e) ni xiangxin Lisi nali mai-le shu de shuofa? (Chinese)

you believe Lisi where bought book de claim

“You believe the claim that Lisi bought books where?”

40. (a) ba-ba-ana ba-li ne lisuubila ba-li papa a-la-kul-a
 Pp-2-child 2-be with belief 2-sub 1-father 1-fut-buy-fv
 sii-tabu a-rie(ena)? (Lubukusu)
 7-book 1-how
 “Children have faith/belief that father will buy the book how?”
- b(i) Wa-toto wa-me-eneza uvumi kwamba Juma a-na-pend-a
 2-children 2-asp-spread rumors that 1Juma 1-prs-like-fv
 viyi peremende? (Kiswahili)
 how candy
 “The children have spread rumors that Juma likes candy how?”
- (ii) Wa-toto wa-me-eneza uvumi kwamba Juma a-na-penda-je peremende?
 2-children 2-asp-spread rumors that 1Juma 1-prs-like-how candy
 “The children have spread rumors that Juma likes candy how?”
- (c) Peter a-ikiriz-a e-ki-gambibwa nti Mary a-ka-gur-a e-ki-tabu a-ta? (Runyoro)
 1Peter 1-believe-fv Pp-7-claim that 1Mary 1-pst-buy-fv Pp-7-book 1-how
 “Peter believes the claim that Mary bought a book how?”
- (d) *Mary-wa John-ga doo sore-o nusunda koto-o mondai-ni
 Mary-top John-nom how it-acc stole fact-acc problem-to
 siteru no? (Japanese)
 make Q
 “Mary is making an issue out of the fact that John stole it how?”
- (e) ni xiangxin Lisi zenmeyang mai-le shu de shuofa? (Chinese)
 you believe Lisi how bought books de claim
 “you believe the claim that Lisi bought books how (in what manner)?”

In these object CNP data, one of the facts that stand out is that only Japanese displays a clear and consistent argument ~ adjunct asymmetry: all adjuncts, that is,

why, where, when, and how, cannot be in-situ in a CNP that is in object position. In contrast, a clear and consistent argument ~ adjunct asymmetry is absent in Lubukusu, Kiswahili, Runyoro and Chinese. In these languages, all adjuncts with the exception of why, are allowed to be in-situ in the object CNP just like arguments. A question that this raises is: what rules out wh-adjuncts in the Japanese object CNP of the non-RC type? The classical answer would be the empty category principle (ECP). By the ECP all empty categories must be properly governed. In the context of the Japanese ungrammatical sentences that we are discussing, the LF traces of adjuncts (in an LF-movement theory) need to be properly governed, but they are not – hence the ungrammaticality. This analysis predicts that in Japanes islands, in-situ wh-adjuncts can never have embedded clause construal. As will be shown in the next sections, this prediction is incorrect. This makes an ECP explanation untenable. So what is going on? You will notice that the object DPs in all the Japanese sentences that we have used to illustrate wh- in-situ in the object CNP are pronouns, specifically sore-o (=it) (see 37d, 38d, 39d and 40d). It is a fact that in some languages, pronouns are ruled out in certain contexts (for instance in English one can say ‘John called up Mary’ but not ‘*John called up her’). So it is possible that the object CNP in Japanese is just not an appropriate context for pronouns. Indeed this seems to be the case because when pronouns were substituted by a regular DP, the sentences got better (one speaker found them to be perfect and the other two put only one question mark on them). This is illustrated in the following data.

41(a) *Mary-wa John-ga naze hon-o nusunda koto-o mondai-ni siteru no?

Mary-top John-nom why book-acc stole fact-acc problem-to make Q

“Mary is making an issue out of the fact that John stole a book why?” (asking for the reason why John stole the book)

(b) ?Mary-wa John-ga dokode hon-o nusunda koto-o mondai-ni siteru no?

Mary-top John-nom where book-acc stole fact-acc problem-to make Q

“Mary is making an issue out of the fact that John stole a book where?”

(c) ?Mary-wa John-ga doo hon-o nusunda koto-o mondai-ni siteru no?

Mary-top John-nom how book-acc stole fact-acc problem-to make Q

“Mary is making an issue out of the fact that John stole a book how?”

(d) ?Mary-wa John-ga itu hon-o nusunda koto-o mondai-ni siteru no?

Mary-top John-nom when book-acc stole fact-acc problem-to make Q

“Mary is making an issue out of the fact that John stole a book when?”

The conclusion that we can draw from these data and the preceding discussion is that Japanese is not different from other in-situ languages with respect to the object CNP after all. It seems that the ungrammaticality that we saw earlier with Japanese wh-adjuncts in the CNP is associated with the use of a pronoun DP in an unappropriate context. This is at best a hypothesis. More research is therefore needed to either confirm it or disconfirm it. It is also possible that the apparent difference between Japanese and the other languages in this study with respect to the behavior of wh-adjuncts in the object CNP is due to the fact that the Japanese sentences that we used are of the factive type. In contrast the data from Lubukusu, Kiswahili, Runyoro and Chinese are not factive islands. At this point, I do not have data that would show whether or not wh-adjuncts in non-factive CNPs in Japanese (in object position) have a similar behavior to their counterparts in Lubukusu, Kiswahili, Runyoro and Chinese. I leave this issue for future research.

4.5.4 Non-RC CNP in subject position

In Lubukusu, Kiswahili, Runyoro and Chinese, sentences with wh- in-situ in a subject non-RC CNP are degraded. But as shown in the following data, comparable sentences in Japanese are fine.

42(a) Chi-lomo mbo Wafula a-a-ib-a sii-tabu cha-a-chun-i-a

7-report that 1Wafula 1-pst-steal-fv 7-book 7-pst-hurt-caus-fv

Nafula ku-mw-oyo (Lubukusu)

1Nafula Pp-3-heart

“Report/Information Wafula stole a book hurt Nafula.”

(b) U-vumi kwamba Juma a-na-pend-a peremende u-me-ene-a (Kiswahili)

11-rumor that 1Juma 1-prs-like-fv candy 11-asp-spread-fv

“The rumor that Juma likes candy has spread.”

(c) E-ki-gambibwa nti Mary a-ka-gur-a e-ki-tabu ki-ka-kang-a Peter (Runyoro)

Pp-7-claim that 1Mary 1-pst-buy-fv Pp-7-book 7-pst-shock-fv 1Peter

“The claim that Mary bought a book shocked Peter.”

(d) Taro-ga hon-o katta koto-ga odorokida (Japanese)

Taro-nom book-acc bought fact-nom is-surprising

“The fact that Taro bought a/the book is surprising.”

(e) Zhangsan tao-le Lisi zhen kexi (Chinese)

Zhangsan marry Lisi real pity

“That Zhangsan married Lisi is a real pity.”

43(a) ??Chi-lomo mbo Wafula a-a-ib-a sí(ína) cha-a-chun-i-a

7-report that 1Wafula 1-pst-steal-fv what 7-pst-hurt-caus-fv

Nafula ku-mw-oyo? (Lubukusu)

1Nafula Pp-3-heart

“What_i did the report that Wafula stole t_i hurt Nafula?”

- (b) ??U-vumi kwamba Juma a-na-pend-a nini u-me-ene-a? (Kiswahili)
 11-rumor that 1Juma 1-prs-like-fv what 11-asp-spread-fv
 “The rumor that Juma likes what has spread?”
- (c) ??E-ki-gambibwa nti Mary a-ka-gur-a ki e-ky-a-ka-ngir-e Peter? (Runyoro)
 Pp-7-claim that 1Mary 1-pst-buy-fv what wh-7-pst-shock-fv 1Peter
 “The claim that Mary bought what shocked Peter?”
- (d) Taro-ga nani-o katta koto-ga odorokida no? (Japanese)
 Taro-nom what-acc bought fact-nom is-surprising Q
 “The fact that Taro bought what is surprising?”
- (e) *Zhangsan tao-le shei zhen kexi? (Chinese)
 Zhangsan marry who real pity
 “That Zhangsan married who is a real pity?”
- 44(a) ??Chi-lomo mbo nanu o-w-a-ib-a sii-tabu cha-a-chun-i-a
 7-report that who wh-1-pst-steal-fv 7-book 7-pst-hurt-caus-fv
 Nafula ku-mw-oyo? (Lubukusu)
 1Nafula Pp-3-heart
 “Who_i did the report t_i stole the book hurt Nafula?”
- (b) ??U-vumi kwamba nani a-na-pend-a peremende u-me-ene-a? (Kiswahili)
 11-rumor that who 1-prs-like-fv candy 11-asp-spread-fv
 “The rumor that who likes candy has spread?”
- (c) ??E-ki-gambibwa nti oha a-y-a-guz-ir-e e-ki-tabu
 Pp-7-claim that who wh-1-pst-buy-asp-fv Pp-7-book
 e-ky-a-ka-ngir-e Peter? (Runyoro)
 wh-7-pst-shock-fv 1Peter
 “The claim that who bought a book shocked Peter?”

(d) Dare-ga hon-o katta koto-ga odorokina no? (Japanese)
who-nom book-acc bought fact-nom is-surprising Q

“The fact that who bought a/the book is surprising?”

(e) ??shei tao-le Lisi zhen kexi? (Chinese)

who marry Lisi real pity

“That who married Lisi is a real pity?”

45(a) *Chi-lomo mbo Wafula a-a-ib-a sii-tabu sikila sina cha-a-chun-i-a
7-report that 1Wafula 1-pst-steal-fv 7-book reason what 7-pst-hurt-caus-fv

Nafula ku-mw-oyo? Lubukusu

1Nafula Pp-3-heart

“What is the reason x, s.t. the report that Wafula stole the book because of x
hurt Nafula?”

(b) *U-vumi kwamba Juma a-na-pend-a peremende

11-rumor that 1Juma 1-prs-like-fv candy

kwa nini u-me-ene-a? (Kiswahili)

for what 11-asp-spread-fv

“The rumor that Juma likes candy why has spread?”

(c) *e-ki-gambibwa nti Mary a-ka-gur-a e-ki-tabu habwaki kya-kang-ir-e

Pp-7-claim that 1Mary 1-pst-buy-fv Pp-7-book why 7-shock-asp-fv

Peter? (Runyoro)

1Peter

“The claim that Mary bought the book why, shocked Peter?”

(d) *Taro-ga naze hon-o katta koto-ga odorokina no? (Japanese)

Taro-nom why book-acc bought fact-nom is-surprising Q

“The fact that Taro bought a/the book why is surprising?”

(e) *Zhangsan weishenme tao-le Lisi zhen kexi? (Chinese)

Zhangsan why marry Lisi real pity

“what is the reason x such that, that Zhangsan married Lisi because of x is a real pity?”

46(a) ??Chi-lomo mbo Wafula a-a-ib-a sii-tabu waae cha-a-chun-i-a

7-report that 1Wafula 1-pst-steal-fv 7-book where 7-pst-hurt-caus-fv

Nafula ku-mw-oyo? (Lubukusu)

1Nafula Pp-3-heart

“The report that Wafula stole the book where hurt Nafula?”

(b) ??U-vumi kwamba Juma a-li-nunu-a wapi peremende u-me-ene-a? (Kiswahili)

11-rumor that 1Juma 1-pst-buy-fv where candy 11-asp-spread-fv

“The rumor that Juma bought candy where has spread?”

(c) *E-ki-gambibwa nti Mary a-ka-gur-a e-ki-tabo nkaha

Pp-7-claim that 1Mary 1-pst-buy-fv Pp-7-book where

ki-ka-kang-a Peter? (Runyoro)

7-pst-shock-fv 1Peter

“The claim that Mary bought a book where shocked Peter?”

(d) Taro-ga dokode hon-o katta koto-ga odorokina no? (Japanese)

Taro-nom where book-acc bought fact-nom is-surprising Q

“The fact that Taro bought a/the book where is surprising?”

(e) *Zhangsan nali tao-le Lisi zhen kexi? (Chinese)

Zhangsan where marry Lisi real pity

“That Zhangsan married Lisi where is a real pity?”

- (b) ??U- vumi kwamba Juma a-li-nunu-a peremende lini u-me-ene-a? (Kiswahili)
 11-rumor that 1Juma 1-past-buy-fv candy when 11-asp-spread-fv
 “The rumor that Juma bought candy when has spread?”
- (c) *E-ki-gambibwa nti Mary a-ka-gur-a e-ki-tabu di ki-ka-kang-a Peter? (Runyoro)
 Pp-7-claim that 1Mary 1-pst-buy-fv Pp-7-book when 7-pst-shock-fv 1Peter
 “The claim that Mary bought a book when shocked Peter?”
- (d) Taro-ga itu hon-o katta koto-ga odorokina no? (Japanese)
 Taro-nom when book-acc bought fact-nom is-surprising Q
 “The fact that Taro bought a/the book when is surprising?”
- (e) *Zhangsan shemeshihou tao-le Lisi zhen kexi? (Chinese)
 Zhangsan when marry Lisi real pity
 “That Zhangsan married Lisi when is a real pity?”

As shown in the data above, an in-situ wh-phrase is not allowed in a (non-RC) CNP/sentential subject in Lubukusu, Kiswahili, Runyoro and Chinese. Since this restriction also holds for subject RC CNPs in Lubukusu, Kiswahili and Runyoro – but not Chinese (see section 4.5.6), I postpone offering an explanation until I present the relevant RC data in section 4.5.6. For now, I only focus on Chinese – specifically on accounting for the unacceptability of wh- in-situ in a sentential subject.

One of Huang’s (1982) interesting findings is that in Chinese, in-situ wh-phrases are ruled out from sentential subjects and RCs whose head noun is preceded by a demonstrative (for example 49 & 50).

- 49 *[s [np [s· tou-le sheme de] neige ren] bei dai-le]? (Huang’s 32)
 stole what DE that person by caught
 “*The man that stole what was caught?”

50 *[s [np [s· ni weisheme mei mai de] neiben shu] hen hao]? (Huang's 33)

you why not buy DE that book very good

“*The book that you did not buy why is very good.”

Huang accounts for this restriction in terms of the specificity condition under the assumption that sentential subjects and RCs whose head noun is preceded by a demonstrative are +specific NPs²⁰. For Huang, sentences such as (49) and (50) and also sentential subjects with an in-situ wh-phrase are ruled out by the specificity condition. This condition was originally proposed by Fiengo and Higginbotham (1981) for independent reasons. By the specificity condition, a quantifier contained within a specific NP may not have scope larger than that NP, that is, specific NPs may not contain variables that are not bound. Huang formalizes the specificity condition as follows.

51. Specificity Condition (Huang's 137)

A specific NP may not contain a free variable

Thus sentences (49) & (50), and also sentential subjects with an in-situ wh-phrase are bad because they are +specific DPs and contain unbound variables in violation of the specificity condition. The unbound variables result from LF phrasal movement which Huang assumes.

4.5.5 RC in object position

In all the languages in this study, wh-phrases – with the exception of ‘why’ - can be in-situ in object relative clauses. In addition object-RC-in-situ does not show a clear

²⁰ For an explanation why sentential subjects should be considered +specific see Huang (1982).

argument ~ adjunct asymmetry. As illustrated in the following data, the most striking instance of the absence of the argument ~ adjunct asymmetry is ‘how’.

52(a) E-m-bwa ya-a-lum-a o-mw-aana o-w-a-fun-a e-n-debe (Lubukusu)

Pp-9-dog 9-pst-bite-fv Pp-1-child wh-1-pst-break-fv Pp-9-chair

“The dog bit the child who broke the chair”

(b) Juma a-na-m-tafut-a mw-anafunzi ambaye a-li-uz-a ki-tabu (Kiswahili)

1Juma 1-prs-1-search-fv 1-student who 1-pst-sell-fv 7-book

“Juma is looking for the student who sold the book.”

(c) Paul a-ku-serr-a o-mu-ntu a-y-a-guz-ir-e e-ki-tabo (Runyoro)

1Paul 1-prs-look for-fv Pp-1-person wh-1-prs-buy-asp-fv pprf-7-book

“Paul is looking for the person who bought the book.”

(d) John-wa hon-o katta hito-o sagasite iru (Japanese)

John-top book-acc bought person-acc looking-for

“John is looking for the person who bought the book.”

(e) ni xiang kan ta pai de dianying (Chinese)

you want see he film de movie

“you want to see movies that he filmed.”

53(a) E-m-bwa ya-a-lum-a o-mw-aana o-w-a-fun-a si(ina)? (Lubukusu)

Pp-9-dog 9-pst-bite-fv Pp-1-child wh-1-pst-break-fv what

“The dog bit the child who broke what?”

(b) Juma a-na-m-tafut-a mw-anafunzi amba-y-e a-li-uz-a nini? (Kiswahili)

1Juma 1-prs-O1-search-fv 1-student pred-1-F 1-pst-sell-fv what

“Juma is looking for the student who sold what?”

c(i) Paul ka-ror-a o-mw-ana a-many-ir-e oh? (Runyoro)

1Paul 1-see-fv Pp-1-child 1-know-asp-fv who

“Paul saw the child who knows who?”

(ii) Paul a-ku-serr-a o-mu-ntu a-y-a-guz-ir-e ki?

1Paul 1-prs-look for-fv Pp-1-person wh-1-pst-buy-asp-fv what

“Paul is looking for the person who bought what?”

(d) John-wa nani-o katta hito-o sagasite iru no? (Japanese)

John-top what-acc bought person-acc looking-for

“John is looking for the person who bought what?”

(e) ??Lisi zheng-zai zhao mai-le shenme de nage re (Chinese)

Lisi right now-Asp look for buy-Asp what de that person

“Lisi is looking for the person who bought what?”

54(a) E-m-bwa ya-a-lum-a o-mw-aana ni-y-e naanu a-a-rum-a?²¹ (Lubukusu)

Pp-9-dog 9-pst-bite-fv Pp-1-child pred-1-pron who 1-pst-send-fv

“The dog bit the child that who sent?”

(b) ?Juma a-na-tafut-a ki-tabu amba-ch-o nani a-li-uz-a? (Kiswahili)

1Juma 1-prs-search-fv 7-book pred-7-F who 1-pst-sell-fv

“Juma is looking for the book that who sold?”

(c) Paul a-ku-serr-a e-ki-tabo oh a-ki-ya-guz-ir-e? (Runyoro)

1Paul 1-prs-look for-fv Pp-7-book who wh-7-pst-buy-asp-fv

“Paul is looking for the book that who bought?”

(d) Yoshi-wa dare-ga katta hon-o sagasiteiru no? (Japanese)

Yoshi-Top who-Nom bought book-Acc be.looking.for Q

“Yoshi is looking for the book that who bought?”

²¹ Wh-agreement is ruled out in embedded clause contexts. Thus:

*E-m-bwa ya-a-lum-a o-mw-aana ni-y-e naanu o-w-a-rum-a?

Pp-9-dog 9-pst-bite-fv Pp-1-child pred-1-pron who wh-1-pst-send-fv

“The dog bit the child that who sent?”

This may be due to a constraint that requires left periphery heads (such as Pron and Fin) to agree with only one DP at a time. In other words, Pron and Fin may not agree with different DPs in a clause. It seems the presence of the object DP in Spec Pron (in the left periphery) blocks movement of the subject to Spec Fin.

(e) ni xiang kan shei pai de dianying? (Chinese)

you want see who film de movie

“You want to see movies that who filmed?”

55(a) *E-m-bwa ya-a-lum-a o-mw-aana o-w-a-fun-a

Pp-9-dog 9-pst-bite-fv Pp-1-child wh-1-pst-break-fv

e-n-debe sikila si(ina)?

(Lubukusu)

Pp-9-chair reason what

“The dog bit the child who broke the chair why”

(b) *Juma a-na-m-tafut-a mw-anafunzi ambaye a-li-uz-a

1Juma 1-prs-1-search-fv 1-student [who 1-pst-sell-fv

ki-tabu kwa nini?

(Kiswahili)

7-book for what

“What is the reason x, such that Juma looking for the student who sold the book because of x?”

(c) *Paul a-ka-ror-a o-mw-ana a-many-ir-e o-mu-somesa habwaki? (Runyoro)

1Paul 1-pst-see-fv Pp-1-child 1-know-asp-fv Pp-1-teacher why

“What is the reason x, s.t. Paul saw the child who knows the teacher because of x?”

(d) *John-wa naze hon-o katta hito-o sagasite iru no? (Japanese)

John-top why book-acc bought person-acc looking-for Q

“John is looking for the person who bought the book why?”

(e) *ni xiang kan ta weishenme pai de dianying? (Chinese)

you want see he why film de movie

“what is the reason x, s.t. you want to see movies that he filmed because of x?”

56(a) ?E-m-bwa ya-a-lum-a o-mw-aana o-w-a-fun-a

Pp-9-dog 9-pst-bite-fv Pp-1-child wh-1-pst-break-fv

e-n-debe a-rie(ena)?

(Lubukusu)

Pp-9-chair 1-how

“The dog bit the child who broke the chair how”

b(i) ?Juma a-na-m-tafut-a mw-anafunzi amba-y-e a-li-uz-a

1Juma 1-prs-O1-search-fv 1-student [pred-1-pron 1-pst-sell-fv

vipi ki-tabu?

(Kiswahili)

how 7-book

“How is Juma looking for the student who sold the book <how>?”

(ii) ?Juma a-na-m-tafut-a mw-anafunzi amba-y-e a-li-uz-a-je ki-tabu?

1Juma 1-prs-O1-search-fv 1-student pred-1-pron 1-pst-sell-fv-how 7-book

“How is Juma looking for the student who sold the book <how>?”

(c) Paul a-ku-serr-a o-mu-ntu a-y-a-guz-ir-e e-ki-tabo a-ta? (Runyoro)

1Paul 1-prs-look for Pp-1-person wh-1-pst-buy-fy Pp-7-book 1-how

“Paul is looking for the person who bought the book how?”

(d) ?John-wa doo hon-o katta hito-o sagasite iru no? (Japanese)

John-top how book-acc bought person-acc looking-for Q

“John is looking for the person who bought the book how?”

(e) ni xiang kan ta zenme yang nai de dianying? (Chinese)

you want see he how film de movie

“you want to see movies that he filmed how (filmed in what manner)?”

57(a) Wafula a-kha-eni-a o-mu-ndu o-w-a-kul-a sii-tabu waae(na)? (Lubukusu)

1Wafula 1-prs-search-fy Pp-1- person wh-1-pst-buy-fy 7-book where

"Wafula is looking for the person who bought the book where?"

(b) Juma a-na-m-tafut-a mw-anafunzi amba-y-e a-li-uz-a

1Juma 1-prs-1-search-fv 1-student pred-1-pron 1-pst-sell-fv

wapi ki-tabu? (Kiswahili)

where 7-book

“Which place x, such that Juma is looking for the student who sold the book at x?”

(c) Paul a-ku-serr-a o-mu-ntu a-y-a-guz-ir-e e-ki-tabo nkaha? (Runyoro)

1Paul 1-prs-look for-fv Pp-1-person wh-1-pst-buy-asp-fv Pp-7-book where

“Paul is looking for the person who bought the book where?”

(d) ?John-wa dokode hon-o katta hito-o sagasite iru no? (Japanese)

John-top where book-acc bought person-acc looking-for Q

“John is looking for the person who bought the book where?”

(e) ni xiang kan ta nali pai de dianying? (Chinese)

you want see he where film de movie

“you want to see movies that he filmed where?”

58(a) Wafula a-kha-enj-a o-mu-ndu o-o-kha-kul-e sii-tabu liina? (Lubukusu)

1Wafula 1-prs-search-fv Pp-1-person wh-1-fut-buy-fv 7-book when

“Wafula is looking for the person who will buy the book when?”

(b) Juma a-na-m-tafut-a mw-anafunzi amba-y-e a-li-uz-a

1Juma 1-prs-1-search-fv 1-student pred-1-pron 1-pst-sell-fv

lini ki-tabu? (Kiswahili)

when 7-book

“Juma is looking for the student who sold the book when?”

(c) Paul a-ku-serr-a o-mu-ntu a-y-a-guz-ir-e e-ki-tabo di? (Runyoro)

1Paul 1-prs-look for Pp-1-person wh-1-pst-buy-asp-fv Pp-7-book when

“Paul is looking for the person who bought the book when?”

(d) ?John-wa itu hon-o katta hito-o sagasite iru no? (Japanese)

John-top when book-acc bought person-acc looking-for Q

“John is looking for the person who bought the book when?”

(e) ni xiang kan ta shemeshihou pai de dianying? (Chinese)

you want see he when film de movie

“you want to see movies that he filmed when?” (when he filmed movies)

As shown in these data, the the reason wh-adjunct is ruled in object RC CNPs. For Lubukusu (and perhaps Kiswahili and Runyoro as well), this follows from the fact that ‘why’ is generated in Spec IntP in the left periphery (see chapter 5 for discussion).

4.5.6 Relative clauses in subject position

The following data shows that Japanese and to some extent Chinese allow wh- in-situ in subject RCs, but Lubukusu, Kiswahili and Runyoro do not.

59(a) O-mu-ndu o-w-a-fun-a e-n-debe a-a-p-a Nekesa (Lubukusu)

Pp-1-person wh-1-pst-break-fv Pp-9-chair 1-pst-beat-fv 1Nekesa

“The person who broke the chair beat Nekesa.”

(b) M-kulima amba-y-e a-li-ib-a pesa a-me-nunu-a motokaa (Kiswahili)

1-farmer pred-1-pron 1-pst-steal-fv money 1-asp-buy-fv car

“The farmer who stole money has bought a car.”

(c) O-mu-ntu a-y-a-cwir-e e-ntebe a-ka-teer-a Peter (Runyoro)

Pp-1-person wh-1-pst-break Pp-9-chair 1-pst-beat-fv 1Peter

“The person who broke the chair beat up Peter.”

(d) Hon-o katta hito-ga John-o sagashiteiru (Japanese)

Book-acc bought person-nom John-acc is-looking-for

“The person who bought a/the book is looking for John.”

(e) Lisi yao mai de shu zui gui (Chinese)

Lisi want buy de book most expensive

“Books that Lisi wants to buy are most expensive.”

60(a) *O-mu-ndu o-w-a-fun-a si(ina) a-a-p-a Nekesa? (Lubukusu)

Pp-1-person wh-1-pst-break-fv what 1-pst-beat-fv 1Nekesa

“The person who broke what beat Nekesa?”

(b) *M-kulima amba-y-e a-li-ib-a nini a-me-nunu-a motokaa? (Kiswahili)

1-farmer pred-1-pron 1-pst-steal-fv what 1-asp-buy-fv car

“The farmer who stole what has bought a car?”

(c) *O-mu-ntu a-y-a-cwir-e ki a-ka-teer-a Peter? (Runyoro)

Pp-1-person wh-1-pst-break-fv what 1-pst-beat-fv 1Peter

“The person who broke what beat up Peter?”

(d) Nani-o katta hito-ga John-o sagashiteiru no? (Japanese)

what-acc bought person-nom John-acc is-looking-for Q

“The person who bought what is looking for John?”

(e) ??Mai-le shenme de nage nanren zheng-zai zhao Lisi (Chinese)

Buy-Asp what DE that man right now-Asp look for Lisi

“The man who bought what is looking for Lisi?”

61(a) *O-muu-ndu ni-y-e naanu a-a-rum-a a-a-p-a Nekesa? (Lubukusu)

Pp-1-person pred-1-pron who 1-pst-send-fv 1-pst-hit-fv 1Nekesa

“The person that who sent beat Nekesa?”

- (b) *M-kulima amba-y-e nani a-li-mw-ib-i-a pesa a-me-nunu-a
 1-farmer pred-1-pron who 1-pst-1-steal-appl-fv money 1-asp-buy-fv
 motokaa? (Kiswahili)
 car
 “The farmer that who stole money for has bought a car?”

(c) *E-ki-naga oha a-ki-yayasir-e ki-ri o-mu-nju? (Runyoro)
 Pp-7-pot who 1-7-break-fv 7-is Pp-18-house
 “The pot which who broke is in the house?”

(d) Dare-ga katta hon-ga teeburu-no ue-ni aru no? (Japanese)
 Who-Nom bought book-Nom table-Gen top-on exist Q
 “The book that who bought is on the table?”

(e) shei yao mai de shu zui gui? (Chinese)
 who want buy de book most expensive
 “Books that who wants to buy are most expensive?”

62(a) *O-mu-ndu o-w-a-fun-a e-n-debe sikila si(ina) a-a-p-a Nekesa? (Lubukusu)
 Pp-1-person wh-1-pst-break-fv Pp-9-chair reason what 1-pst-beat-fv 1Nekesa
 “The person who broke the chair for what reason beat Nekesa?”

(b) *M-kulima ambaye a-li-ib-a pesa kwa nini a-me-nunu-a motokaa? (Kiswahili)
 1-farmer that 1-pst-steal-fv money for what 1-asp-buy-fv car
 “Why_i did the farmer who stole money t_i has bought a car?”

(c) *E-ki-naga Mary a-ki-yayasir-e habwaki] ki-ri o-mu-nju? (Runyoro)
 Pp-7-pot 1Mary 1-7-break-fv why 7-is Pp-18-house
 “The pot which Mary broke why is in the house?”

(d) *Naze hon-o katta hito-ga John-o sagashiteiru no? (Japanese)
 why book-acc bought person-nom John-acc is-looking-for Q
 The person who bought a/the book why is looking for John?

(e) *Lisi weishenme yao mai de shu zui gui? (Chinese)

Lisi why want buy de book most expensive

“The books that Lisi wants to why are most expensive” (asking why Lisi wants to buy books)

63(a) *O-mu-ndu o-w-a-fun-a e-n-debe a-rie(na) a-a-p-a ba-ba-ana? (Lubukusu)

Pp-1-person wh-1-pst-break-fv Pp-9-chair 1-how 1-pst-beat-fv Pp-2-child

“The person who broke the chair how beat children?”

b(i) *M-kulima amba-y-e a-li-ib-a pesa vipi a-me-nunu-a motokaa? (Kiswahili)

1-farmer pred-1-pron 1-pst-steal-fv money how 1-asp-buy-fv car

“The farmer who stole money how has bought a car?”

(ii) *M-kulima amba-y-e a-li-ib-a-je pesa a-me-nunu-a motokaa? (Kiswahili)

1-farmer pred-1-pron 1-pst-steal-fv-how money 1-asp-buy-fv car

“The farmer who stole money how has bought a car?”

(c) *O-mu-ntu a-y-a-cwir-e e-n-tebe a-ta a-ka-teer-a Peter? (Runyoro)

Pp-1-person wh-1-pst-break-fv Pp-9-chair 1-how 1-pst-beat-fv 1Peter

“The person who broke the chair how beat up Peter?”

(d) ?Doo hon-o katta hito-ga John-o sagashiteiru no? (Japanese)

how book-acc bought person-nom John-acc is-looking-for Q

“The person who bought a/the book how is looking for John?”

(e) Lisi zenmeyang yao mai de shu zui gui? (Chinese)

Lisi how want buy de boo most expensive

“Books that Lisi wants to buy how (in what manner) are most expensive?”

64(a) *O-mu-ndu o-w-a-kul-a e-n-debe waae(na) a-a-p-a Nekesa? (Lubukusu)

Pp-1-person wh-1-pst-buy-fv Pp-9-chair where 1-pst-beat-fv 1Nekesa

“The person who bought the chair where beat Nekesa?”

- (b) *Pete amba-y-o Juma a-li-m-nunu-li-a Amina wapi i-me-pote-a? (Kiswahili)
 9ring pred-1-pron 1Juma 1-pst-1-buy-appl-fv 1Amina where 9-asp-lose-fv
 “The ring which Juma bought for Amina where is lost?”

(c) *O-mu-ntu a-y-a-cwir-e e-n-tebe nkaha a-ka-teer-a Peter? (Runyoro)
 Pp-1-person wh-1-pst-break-fv Pp-9-chair where 1-pst-beat-fv 1Peter
 “The Person who broke the chair where beat up Peter?”

(d) ?Dokode hon-o katta hito-ga John-o sagashiteiru no? (Japanese)
 where book-acc bought person-nom John-acc is-looking-for Q
 “The person who bought a/the book where is looking for John?”

(e) Lisi nali yao mai de shu zui gui? (Chinese)
 Lisi where want buy de book most expensive
 “Books that Lisi wants to buy where are most expensive?”

65.(a) *O-mu-ndu o-w-a-kul-a e-n-debe liina a-a-p-a Nekesa? (Lubukusu)
 Pp-1-person wh-1-pst-buy-fv Pp-9-chair when 1-pst- beat-fv 1Nekesa
 “The person who bought the chair when beat Nekesa?”

(b) *M-kulima amba-y-e a-li-ib-a pesa lini a-me-nunu-a motokaa? (Kiswahili)
 1-farmer pred-1-pron 1-pst-steal-fv money when 1-asp-buy-fv car
 “The farmer who stole money when has bough a car?”

(c) *O-mu-ntu a-y-a-cwir-e e-n-tebe di a-ka-teer-a Peter? (Runyoro)
 Pp-1-person wh-1-pst-break-fv Pp-9-chair when 1-pst-beat-fv 1Peter
 “The person who broke the chair when beat up Peter?”

(d) ?Itu hon-o katta hito-ga John-o sagashiteiru no? (Japanese)
 when book-acc bought person-nom John-acc is-looking-for Q
 “The person who bought a/the book when is looking for John?”

(e) Lisi shemeshihou yao mai de shu zui gui? (Chinese)
 Lisi when want buy de book most expensive
 “Books that Lisi wants to buy when are most expensive?”

These data show among other things that in-situ wh-phrases are ruled out from subject RC-CNPs in Lubukusu, Kiswahili and Runyoro. As was shown in section 4.5.4, this restriction also holds for subject non-RC-CNPs. But the question is why? Why don't these languages allow in-situ wh-phrases in the subject RCs and subject non-RC CNPs? It seems that being subject is at the core of this issue. However, it is not just enough to be subject, there has to be an additional characteristic that differentiates Lubukusu, Kiswahili, and Runyoro CNP subjects from their Japanese counterparts. I argue that this additional characteristic is topic. This idea, that is, the idea that subjects in Bantu are topics is not new. It has already been proposed and defended in Bresnan & Mchombo (1987), Demuth & Harford (1999), Henderson (2005), among others. That subjects in Lubukusu are topics is supported by the fact that wh-subjects always undergo overt movement (as evidenced by the presence of wh-agreement – see chapter 2, chapter 3 and section 4.3 in this chapter for data and discussion). They, that is, subjects, first move to Spec FinP and then from there to Spec ToP. Interestingly, wh-phrases cannot be topicalized in Lubukusu and Kiswahili. Moreover, a clause that is topicalized may not contain an in-situ wh-phrase²². This is illustrated in the following data.

- 66(a) Simiyu a-a-som-a sii-tabu (Lubukusu)
1Simiyu 1-pst-read-fv 7-book
“Simiyu read that book”

(b) Sii-tabu, Simiyu a-a-som-a
7-book 1Simiyu 1-pst-read-fv
“The book, Simiyu read”

²² Other languages, for instance Chinese, do not also allow in-situ wh-phrases in topics. The following Chinese sentential topic which is taken from Huang (1982) illustrates.

(c) *Siina, Simiyu a-a-som-a?

What, 1Simiyu 1-pst-read-fv

“What, Simiyu read?”

67(a) Nasimiyu a-a-tekh-a chii-nyenyi ni-ch-o Simiyu

1Nasimiyu 1-cook-fv 10-vegetables pred-10-pron 1Simiyu

a-a-kul-il-a Naakhaanu

1-buy-appl-fv 1Naakhaanu

“Nasimiyu cooked vegetables which Simiyu bought for Naakhaanu.”

(b) Chii-nyenyi ni-ch-o Simiyu a-a-kul-il-a Naakhaanu,

10-vegetables pred-10-pron 1Simiyu 1-buy-appl-fv 1Naakhaanu

Nasimiyu a-a-(chi)-tekh-a

1Nasimiyu 1-pst-10-cook-fv

“The vegetables which Simiyu bought for Naakhaanu, Nasimiyu cooked.”

(c) *Chi-nyenyi ni-ch-o Simiyu a-kul-il-a naanu,

10-vegetables pred-10-pron 1Simiyu 1-buy-appl-fv who

Nasimiyu a-a-(chi)-tekh-a?

1Nasimiyu 1-pst-10-cook-fv

“The vegetables which Simiyu bought for who, Nasimiyu cooked.”

(d) *Chi-nyenyi ni-ch-o naanu a-a-kul-il-a Naakhaanu,

10-vegetables pred-10-pron who 1-pst-buy-app-fv 1Naakhaanu

Nasimiyu a-a-(chi)-tekh-a?

1Nasimiyu 1-pst-10-cook-fv

“The vegetables which who bought for Naakhaanu, Nasimiyu cooked?”

(e) *Chi-lomo mbo Wafula e-e-eb-a sí(ína), Nafula a-a-(chi)-nyool-a?

7-word that 1Wafula 1-pst-steal-fv what 1Nafula 1-pst-10-get-fv

“Word that Wafula stole what, Nafula got/received?”

68. (a) Hadija a-li-ki-uz-a ki-tabu (Kiswahili)
 1Hadija 1-pst -7-sell-fv 7-book
 “Hadija sold the book.”
- (b) Kitabu, Hadija a-li-ki-uz-a
 Book 1Hadija 1-pst-7-sell-fv
 “The book, Hadija sold it.”
- (c) *Nini, Hadija a-li-ki-uz-a?
 What 1Hadija 1-pst-7-sell-fv
 “What, Hadija sold it?”
69. (a) Hadija a-li-u-kat-a m-ti amba-o Juma a-li-m-pand-i-a m-kulima.
 1Hadija 1-pst-3-cut-fv 3-tree pred-3 1Juma 1-pst-1-plant-appl-fv 1-farmer
 “Hadija cut the tree that Juma planted for the farmer.”
- (b) M-ti amba-o Juma a-li-m-pand-i-a m-kulima, Hadija a-li-u-kat-a.
 3-tree pred-3 1Juma 1-pst-1-plant-appl-fv 1-farmer 1Hadija 1-pst-3-cut-fv
 “The tree that Juma planted for the farmer, Hadija cut it.”
- (c) *M-ti amba-o Juma a-li-m-pand-i-a nani, Hadija a-li-u-kat-a?
 3-tree pred-3 1Juma 1-pst-1-plant-appl-fv who 1Hadija 1-pst-3-cut-fv
 “The tree that Juma planted for who, Hadija cut it?”
- (d) *M-ti amba-o nani a-li-m-pand-i-a m-kulima, Hadija a-li-u-kat-a?
 3-tree pred-3 who 1-pst-1-plant-appl-fv 1-farmer 1Hadija 1-pst-3-cut-fv
 “The tree that who planted for the farmer, Hadija cut it?”
- (e) *Uvumi kwamba Juma a-na-pend-a nini, wa-toto wa-me-eneza?
 rumors that 1Juma 1-prs-love-fv what 2-children 2-asp-spread
 “Rumors that Juma likes what, children have spread?”

The fact that subject CNPs pattern with topics in not allowing wh- in-situ strongly suggests they are a sub-type of topics. The question then is, why topics? Why do

topics disallow wh- in-situ in Lubukusu, Kiswahili and Runyoro? Suppose topics are specific DPs in the manner of Fiengo & Higginbotham (1981) and Huang (1982). We can then treat the ungrammaticality of in-situ in topics as a violation of the specificity condition (51). Under a theory of LF movement, covert movement of wh-phrases from topics (including subject CNPs) leaves behind unbound variables in violation of the specificity condition. The specificity condition can also be used to rule out wh- in-situ in topics (including subject CNPs) under a feature movement theory. But to do so, we need to cast the specificity condition as a condition that requires the interrogative subject CNP to contain a phrase with a wh-feature. In other words, the interrogative subject CNP must always contain a phrase bearing a wh-feature. This means feature movement from interrogative subject CNPs will always be blocked: moving a wh-feature from such CNPs leaves the CNP with no phrase that has a wh-feature. This violates the specificity condition.

Another possible explanation for the unacceptability of wh- in-situ in subject CNPs in Lubukusu, Kiswahili and Runyoro is basically semantic. One can argue that wh-in-situ is ruled out in topics for purely semantic reasons. Specifically, topicalization is incompatible with questioning due to the fact that the latter is associated with focus. We know that it is not possible for a constituent to have a topic and focus function at the same time. Moreover, topics express old information – which is available in context (Rizzi 1990:285). In some sense a topic is semantically self sufficient and contains no knowledge gaps. It therefore makes no sense to question the topic or anything within the topic (since topics are complete and have no knowledge gaps). Questions are usually about what is unknown; they generally seek new information. This semantic explanation sounds reasonable, but specificity is a better theory for our purposes because it offers a syntactically oriented explanation.

4.5.7 Wh-Island

Of the five languages that we have been examining, Japanese is the most restrictive with regards to the wh-island. While Lubukusu, Kiswahili, Runyoro and Chinese allow wh-arguments and wh-adjuncts, with the exception of ‘why’, to be in-situ in the wh- island, Japanese allows wh-arguments only. As shown in the following data, no wh-adjunct may be in-situ a wh-island in Japanese.

70.a(i) Wafula a-many-il-e nga Nafula ne-a-a-ar-a si-kombe (Lubukusu)

1Wafula 1-know- asp-fv how 1Nafula wh-1-pst-break-fv 7-cup

“Wafula knows how Nafula broke the cup.”

(ii) Wafula a-many-il-e khuu-ng’oon-a ee-n-dika

1Wafula 1-know- asp-fv inf-fix/make-fv Pp-9-bicycle

“Wafula knows how to fix/make a bicycle.”

b(i) Juma a-na-ju-a namna Hadija a-li-vyo-vunj-a ki-kombe (Kiswahili)

1Juma 1-prs-know-fv how 1Hadija 1-past-rel-break-fv 7-cup

“Juma knows how Hadija broke the cup.”

(ii) Juma a-na-ju-a ku-tengenez-a motokaa

1Juma 1-prs-know-fv inf-fix/make-fv 9car

“Juma knows how to fix/make a car.”

c(i) *Paul a-ku-gonz-a ku-many-a obwaraaba a-ba-ana

1Paul 1-prs-want-fv inf-know-fv whether Pp-2-child

ba-guz-ir-e e-ki-tabo (Runyoro)

2-buy-asp-fv Pp-7-book

“Paul wants to know if children bought a book.”

(ii) Paul a-ku-gonz-a ku-many-a a-ba-ana obwaraaba ba-guz-ir-e e-ki-tabo

1Paul 1-prs-want-fv inf-know-fv Pp-2-child whether 2-buy-asp-fv Pp-7-book

“Paul wants to know if children bought a book.”

(d) kimi-wa John-ga hon-o katta kadooka siritai (Japanese)
you-top John-nom book-acc bought whether want-to-know

“You want to know whether John bought a book.”

(e) ni xiang-zhidao Zhangsan xiang-bu-xiangxin Lisi mai shu (Chinese)
you wonder Zhangsan whether-or-not-believe Lisi buy book
“You wonder whether Zhangsan believes Lisi bought books.”

71.a(i) ?Wafula a-many-il-e nga Nafula ne-a-a-ar-a si(ina)? (Lubukusu)
1Wafula 1-know- asp-fv how 1Nafula wh-1-pst-break-fv what
“What does Wafula know how Nafula broke?”

(ii) Wafula a-many-il-e khuu-ng'oon-a si(ina)?
1Wafula 1-know-asp-fv inf-fix/make-fv what?
“What does Wafula know how to fix/make?”

(iii) Wafula a-many-il-e khuu-ng'oon-el-a ee-n-dika naanu?
1Wafula 1-know- asp-fv inf-fix/make-appl-fv Pp-9-bicycle what?
“Who does Wafula know how to fix/make a bicycle for?”

b(i) Juma a-na-ju-a namna Hadija a-li-vyo-vunj-a nini? (Kiswahili)
1Juma 1-prs-know-fv how 1Hadija 1-past-rel-break-fv what
“Juma knows how Hadija broke what?”

(ii) Juma a-na-ju-a ku-tengenez-a nini?
1Juma 1-prs-know-fv inf-fix/make-fv what
“What does Juma know how to fix/make?”

(iii) Juma a-na-ju-a ku-m-tengenez-e-a nani motokaa?
1Juma 1-prs-know-fv inf-1-fix/make-appl-fv who 9car
“Who does Juma know how to fix/make a car for?”

(c) Paul a-ku-gonz-a ku-many-a a-ba-ana obwaraaba ba-guz-ir-e ki? (Runyoro)
1Paul 1-prs-want-fv inf-know-fv Pp-2-child whether 2-buy-asp-fv what
“Paul wants to know if children bought what?”

(d) kimi-wa John-ga nani-o katta kadooka siritai no? (Japanese)
you-top John-nom what-acc bought whether want-to-know Q
“What do you want to know whether John bought?”

(e) ni xiang-zhidao Zhangsan xiang-bu-xiangxin Lisi mai sheme? (Chinese)
you wonder Zhangsan whether-or-not-believe Lisi buy what
“You wonder whether Zhangsan believes Lisi bought what?”

72.(a) Wafula a-many-il-e nga naanu ne-a-ar-a si-kombe? (Lubukusu)
1Wafula 1-know- asp-fv how who wh-1-pst-break-fv 7-cup
“Who does Wafula know how t broke the cup?”

(b) Juma a-na-ju-a namna nani a-li-vyo-vunj-a ki-kombe? (Kiswahili)
1Juma 1-prs-know-fv how who 1-past-rel-break-fv 7-cup
“Juma knows how who broke the cup?”

(c) ?Paul a-ku-gonz-a ku-many-a oha obwaraaba y-a-guz-ir-e e-ki-tabo? (Runyoro)
1Paul 1-prs-want-fv inf-know-fv who whether wh-1-buy-asp-fv Pp-7-book
“Paul wants to know if who bought a book?”

(d) ??kimi-wa dare-ga hon-o katta kadooka siritai no (Japanese)
you-top who-nom book-acc bought whether want-to-know Q
“You want to know whether who bought a book?”

(e) ??ni xiang-zhidao Zhangsan xiang-bu-xiangxin shei mai shu? (Chinese)
you wonder Zhangsan whether-or-not-believe who buy book
“You wonder whether Zhangsan believes who bought books.”

73a(i) *Wafula a-many-il-e nga Nafula ne-a-a-kul-a
1Wafula 1-know-asp-fv how 1Nafula wh-1-pst-buy-fv
si-kombe sikila si(ina)? (Lubukusu)
7-cup reason what
“Why does Wafula know how Nafula bought the cup <why>?”

- (ii) *Wafula a-many-il-e khuu-ng'oon-a ee-n-dika sikila si(ina)?
 1Wafula 1-know-asp-fv inf-fix/make-fv Pp-9-bicycle reason what
 “Why does Wafula know how to fix/make a bicycle <why>?”
- b(i) *Juma a-na-ju-a namna Hadija a-li-vyo-vunj-a ki-kombe kwa nini? (Kiswahili)
 1Juma 1-prs-know-fv how 1Hadija 1-past-rel-break-fv 7-cup for what
 “Juma knows how Hadija broke the cup why?”
- (ii) *Juma a-na-ju-a ku-tengenez-a motokaa kwa nini?
 1Juma 1-prs-know-fv inf-fix/make-fv 9car for what
 “Juma knows how to fix/make a car why?”
- (c) *Paul a-ku-gonz-a ku-many-a a-ba-ana obwaraaba
 Paul 1-prs-want-fv inf-know-fv Pp-2-child whether
 ba-guz-ir-e e-ki-tabo habwaki? (Runyoro)
 2-buy-asp-fv Pp-7-book why
 “Paul wants to know if children bought a book why?”
- (d) *kimi-wa John-ga naze sore-o katta kadooka siritai no? (Japanese)
 you-top John-nom why it-acc bought whether want-to-know Q
 “What is the reason x, s.t. you want to know whether John bought it because of x?”
- (e) *ni xiang-zhida Zhangsan xiang-bu-xiangxin Lisi weishenme
 you wonder Zhangsan whether-or-not-believe Lisi why
 mai shu? (Chinese)
 buy book
 “What is the reason x, s.t you wonder whether Zhangsan believes Lisi bought books because of x?”

74.a(i) ?Wafula a-many-il-e nga Nafula ne-a-a-kul-a

1Wafula 1-know- asp-fv how 1Nafula wh-1-pst-buy-fv

si-kombe wae(ena)?

(Lubukusu)

7-cup where

“Where does Wafula know how Nafula bought the cup t?”

(ii) Wafula a-many-il-e khuu-ng'oon-el-a ee-n-dika waae(na)?

1Wafula 1-know- asp-fv inf-fix/make-appl-fv Pp-9-bicycle where?

“Where does Wafula know how to fix/make a bicycle?”

b(i) Juma a-na-ju-a namna Hadija a-li-vyo-nunu-a wapi ki-kombe? (Kiswahili)

1Juma 1-prs-know-fv how 1Hadija 1-past-rel-buy-fv where 7-cup

“Juma knows how Hadija bought the cup where?”

(ii) Juma a-na-ju-a ku-tengenez-e-a wapi motokaa?

1Juma 1-prs-know-fv inf-fix/make-appl-fv where 9car

“Where does Juma know how to fix/make a car?”

(c) ?Paul a-ku-gonz-a ku-many-a a-ba-ana

Paul 1-prs-want-fv inf-know-fv Pp-2-child

obwaraaba ba-guz-ir-e e-ki-tabo nkaha?

(Runyoro)

whether 2-buy-asp-fv Pp-7-book where

“Paul wants to know if children bought the book where?”

(d) *kimi-wa John-ga dokode sore-o katta kadooka siritai no? (Japanese)

you-top John-nom where it-acc bought whether want-to-know Q

“You want to know whether John bought it where?”

(e) ni xiang-zhidao Zhangsan xiang-bu-xiangxin Lisi nali mai shu? (Chinese)

you wonder Zhangsan whether-or-not-believe Lisi where buy book

“You wonder whether Zhangsan believes Lisi bought books where?”

75(a) Wafula a-many-il-e nga ba-ba-ana ne-bo-o-ombakh-a

1Wafula 1-know- asp-fv how Pp-2-child wh-2-pst-build-fv

een-ju ba-rie(ena)?

(Lubukusu)

9-house 2-how

“Wafula knows how children built a house how?”

(b) Juma a-na-ju-a namna Hadija a-li-vyo-vunj-a vipi ki-kombe? (Kiswahili)

1Juma 1-prs-know-fv how 1Hadija 1-past-rel-break-fv how 7-cup

“Juma knows how Hadija broke the cup how?”

(c) ?Paul a-ku-gonz-a ku-many-a a-ba-ana

1Paul 1-prs-want-fv inf-know-fv Pp-2-child

obwaraaba ba-guz-ir-e e-ki-tabo ba-ta?

(Runyoro)

whether 2-buy-asp-fv Pp-7-book 2-how

“Paul wants to know if children bought a book how?”

(d) *kimi-wa John-ga doo sore-o katta kadooka siritai no? (Japanese)

you-top John-nom how it-acc bought whether want-to-know Q

“You want to know whether John bought it how?”

(e) ni xiang-zhidao Zhangsan xiang-bu-xiangxin Lisi zenmeyang mai shu? (Chinese)

you wonder Zhangsan whether-or-not-believe Lisi how but book

“You wonder whether Zhangsan believes Lisi bought books how (in what manner?)”

76.(a) Wafula a-many-il-e nga ba-ba-ana ne-bo-o-ombakh-a

1Wafula 1-know- asp-fv how Pp-2-child wh-2-pst-build-fv

ee-n-ju liina?

(Lubukusu)

Pp-9-house when

“Wafula knows how children built a house when?”

(b) ?Juma a-na-ju-a namna Hadija a-li-vyo-vunj-a lini ki-kombe? (Kiswahili)

1Juma 1-prs-know-fv how 1Hadija 1-past-rel-break-fv when 7-cup

“Juma knows how Hadija broke the cup when?”

(c) ?Paul a-ku-gonz-a ku-many-a a-ba-ana obwaraaba ba-guz-ir-e

Paul 1-prs-want-fv inf-know-fv Pp-2-child whether 2-buy-asp-fv

e-ki-tabo di? (Runyoro)

Pp-7-book when

“Paul wants to know if children bought a book when?”

(d) *kimi-wa John-ga itu sore-o katta kadooka siritai no? (Japanese)

you-top John-nom when it-acc bought whether want-to-know Q

“You want to know whether John bought it when?”

(e) ni xiang-zhidao Zhangsan xiang-bu-xiangxin Lisi shemeshihou

you wonder Zhangsan whether-or-not-believe Lisi when

mai shu? (Chinese)

buy book

“You wonder whether Zhangsan believes Lisi bought books when?”

It is clear from the data that Japanese does not allow all wh-adjuncts to be in-situ in the wh-island. We saw in section 4.5.3 that what seemed to be a similar case – that is, unacceptability of wh-adjuncts in the Japanese object non-RC CNP turned out to be a ‘pronoun effect.’ That is, the ungrammaticality of non-RC-CNP sentences in Japanese was correlated with the presence of a pronoun (functioning as object DP). When the pronoun was replaced with a regular full DP, the sentences improved. Notice that in the Japanese wh- island data above, the object DP is a pronoun. This may suggest that the ungrammaticality of the Japanese wh- islands with in-situ wh-adjuncts is somehow related to the use of a pronoun as object DP. Unfortunately, this

is not true. Replacing the pronoun with a regular full DP did not improve grammaticality of these sentences. This is illustrated in the following data.

- 77(a) *kimi-wa John-ga naze hon-o katta kadooka siritai no?
you-top John-nom why book-acc bought whether want-to-know Q
“You want to know whether John bought a book why?”
- (b) *kimi-wa John-ga dokode hon-o katta kadooka siritai no?
you-top John-nom where book-acc bought whether want-to-know Q
“You want to know whether John bought a book where?”
- (c) ??kimi-wa John-ga doo hon-o katta kadooka siritai no?
you-top John-nom how book-acc bought whether want-to-know Q
“You want to know whether John bought a book how?”
- (f) *kimi-wa John-ga itu hon-o katta kadooka siritai no?
you-top John-nom when book-acc bought whether want-to-know Q
“You want to know whether John bought a book when?”

It is unclear at this point why wh-adjuncts are ruled out in wh-islands in Japanese. It may just be a lexical problem: perhaps the verb buy is incompatible with adjunct wh-phrases; or perhaps ‘kadooka’ (whether) is just incompatible with wh- expressions. It would be interesting to find out how wh-adjuncts behave in wh- islands of the type ‘Hanako knows how to fix a car.’ I leave this for future research.

Next let us consider a structural aspect of Runyoro that sets it apart from other languages in the study, including its sister languages, Lubukusu and Kiswahili. You will notice in 70c(i)&(ii) repeated here as 78(a)&(b) that in the wh-island, the subject of the embedded clause must precede the complementizer.

- 78(a) *Paul a-ku-gonz-a ku-many-a obwaraaba a-ba-ana ba-guz-ir-e
 1Paul 1-prs-want-fv inf-know-fv whether Pp-2-child 2-buy-asp-fv
 e-ki-tabo (Runyoro)
 Pp-7-book
 “Paul wants to know if children bought a book.”
- (b) Paul a-ku-gonz-a ku-many-a a-ba-ana obwaraaba ba-guz-ir-e e-ki-tabo
 1Paul 1-prs-want-fv inf-know-fv Pp-2-child whether 2-buy-asp-fv Pp-7-book
 “Paul wants to know if children bought a book.”

This does not happen in Lubukusu and Kiswahili. In these languages the subject of the embedded clause never ever precedes the complementizer. I assume that the difference between Runyoro on the one hand and languages such as Lubukusu and Kiswahili on the other, is due to the focus feature of the subject. It seems that the subject in Runyoro has a focus feature. I assume that it is this focus feature that forces the subject in Runyoro to move to Spec FocP. Movement to Spec FocP in Lubukusu and Kiswahili is absent because subjects in these languages do not have a focus feature.

4.5.8 The Adjunct-clause Island

Of all the islands, the adjunct island shows the least amount of language variability. In other words, the languages in this in-situ study, that is, Lubukusu, Kiswahili, Runyoro, Japanese and Chinese, do not differ much with regards to the behavior of in-situ wh-phrases in the adjunct island. As shown in the following data all the languages allow wh-arguments and wh-adjuncts ‘where’ and ‘how’ to be in-situ in the adjunct clause. In addition all the languages do not allow embedded clause constual of ‘why’. But they differ when it comes to ‘when’: Japanese and Chinese

allow in-situ ‘when’ in the adjunct island, but Lubukusu, Kiswahili and Runyoro do not.

79(a) Nasike a-a-rekukh-a Wafula na-a-kha-kul-a chii-ngubo (Lubukusu)

1Nasike 1-pst-leave-fv 1Wafula wh-1-prs-buy-fv 9-cloth

“Nasike left when Wafula was buying clothes.”

(b) Juma a-li-ondok-a Amina a-li-po-kuw-a a-ki-uz-a ma-tunda (Kiswahili)

1Juma 1-pst-leave-fv 1Amina 1-pst-when-be-fv 1-sub-sell-fv 6-fruit

“Juma left when Amina was selling fruits.”

(c) Mukasa a-ka-gend-a Kasia na-cumb-a e-bi-takuli (Runyoro)

1Mukasa 1-pst-leave-fv 1Kasia wh1-cool-fv Pp-8-potatoe

“Mukasa left when Kasia was cooking potatoes.”

(d) Hanako-wa Yumiko-ga tegami-o kaiteiru toki ni satta (Japanese)

Hanako-Top Yumiko-Nom letter-Acc be.writing time-at left

“Hanako left when Yumiko was writing a letter.”

(e) ta zai Lisi mai shu yihou shengqi le (Chinese)

he at Lisi buy book after angry prt

“He got angry after Lisi bought books.”

80(a) Nasike a-a-rekukh-a Wafula na-a-kha-kul-a si(ina)? (Lubukusu)

1Nasike 1-pst-leave-fv 1Wafula wh-1-prs-buy-fv what

“What did Nasike leave when Wafula was buying?”

(b) Juma a-li-ondok-a Amina a-li-po-kuw-a a-ki-uz-a nini? (Kiswahili)

1Juma 1-pst-leave-fv 1Amina 1-pst-when-be-fv 1-sub-sell-fv what

“What did Juma leave when Amina was selling - ?”

(c) ?Paul a-ka-lek-a a-ti-ir-e oh-a? (Runyoro)

1Paul 1-pst-leave-fv 1-beat-asp-fv who

“Who did Paul leave after beating up?”

(d) John-wa dono hon-o yonde kara dekaketa no? (Japanese)

John-top which book-acc read after went-out Q

“John went out after he read which book?”

(e) ta zai Lisi mai sheme yihou shengqi le? (Chinese)

he at Lisi buy what after angry prt

“He got angry after Lisi bought what?”

81.(a) Nasike a-a-rekukh-a naanu na-a-kha-kul-a chii-ngubo? (Lubukusu)

1Nasike 1-pst-leave-fv who wh-1-prs-buy-fv 9-cloth

“Who did Nasike leave when Wafula was buying clothes?”

(b) Juma a-li-ondok-a nani a-li-po-kuw-a a-ki-uz-a ma-tunda? (Kiswahili)

1Juma 1-pst-leave-fv who 1-pst-when-be-fv 1-sub-sell-fv 6-fruit

“Who did Juma leave when – was selling fruits?”

(c) Mukasa a-ka-gend-a oh a na-cumb-a e-bi-takuli? (Runyoro)

1Mukasa 1-pst-leave-fv who wh1-cook-fv Pp-8-potatoe

“Mukasa left when who was cooking potatoes?”

(d) Hanako-wa dare-ga tegami-o kaiteiru toki ni satta no (Japanese)

Hanako-Top who-nom letter-Acc be.writing time-at left Q

“Hanako left when who was writing a letter?”

(e) ta zai shei mai shu yihou shengqi le? (Chinese)

he at who buy book after angry prt

“He got angry after who bought books?”

82.(a) *Nasike a-a-rekukh-a Wafula na-a-kha-kul-a chii-ngubo

1Nasike 1-pst-leave-fv 1Wafula wh-1-prs-kul-fv 9-cloth

sikila si(ina)? (Lubukusu)

reason what

“Why did Nasike leave when Wafula was buying clothes?”

(b) *Juma a-li-ondok-a Amina a-li-po-kuw-a a-ki-uz-a ma-tunda

1Juma 1-pst-leave-fv 1Amina 1-pst-when-be-fv 1-sub-sell-fv 6-fruit

kwa nini? (Kiswahili)

for what

“Why did Juma leave when Amina was selling fruits - ?”

(c) *Paul a-ka-lek-a a-ti-ir-e Jane habwaki? (Runyoro)

1Paul 1-pst-leave-fv 1-beat-asp-fv 1Jane why

“Paul left after beating up Jane why?”

(d) *John-wa naze hon-o yonde kara dekaketa no? (Japanese)

John-top why book-acc read after went-out Q

“John went out after he read the book why?”

(e) *ta zai Lisi weishenme mai shu yihou shengqi le? (Chinese)

he at Lisi why buy book after angry prt

“What is the reason x, s.t. he got angry after Lisi bought books because of x?”

83.(a) Nasike a-a-rekukh-a Wafula na-a-kha-kul-a chii-ngubo waae(na)? (Lubukusu)

1Nasike 1-pst-leave-fv 1Wafula wh-1-prs-kul-fv 9-cloth where

“Nasike left when Wafula was buying clothes where?”

(b) Juma a-li-ondok-a Amina a-li-po-kuw-a a-ki-uz-a ma-tunda wapi? (Kiswahili)

1Juma 1-pst-leave-fv 1Amina 1-pst-when-be-fv 1-sub-sell-fv 6-fruit where

“Juma left when Amina was selling fruits where?”

(c) ?Paul a-ka-lek-a a-ti-ir-e Jane nkaha? (Runyoro)

1Paul 1-leave-fv 1-beat-asp-fv 1Jane where

“Paul left after beating up Jane where?”

(d) Taroo-ga doko-ni itta kara umaku iku no? (Japanese)

Taroo-nom where-dat went because well go Q

“Where will things go well [because Taroo went -]?”

(e) ta zai Lisi nali mai shu yihou shengqi le? (Chinese)

he at Lisi where buy book after angry prt

“He got angry after Lisi bought books where?”

84.(a) Ba-ba-ana ba-a-rekukh-a Wafula na-a-kha-kul-a

Pp-2-child 2-pst-leave-fv 1Wafula wh-1-prs-kul-fv

chi-ngubo a-rie(ena)?

(Lubukusu)

9-cloth 1-how

“Children left when Wafula was buying clothes how (in what manner)?”

(b) Juma a-li-ondok-a Amina a-li-po-kuw-a a-ki-uz-a ma-tunda vipi? (Kiswahili)

1Juma 1-pst-leave-fv 1Amina 1-pst-when-be-fv 1-sub-sell-fv 6-fruit how

“Juma left when Amina was selling fruits how (in what manner)?”

c(i) Mukasa a-ka-gend-a a-ba-ana ni-ba-cumb-a e-bi-takuli ba-ta? (Runyoro)

1Mukasa 1-pst-leave-fv Pp-2-child wh-2-cook-fv Pp-8-potatoe 2-how

“Mukasa left when children were cooking potatoes how?”

(ii) Paul a-ka-lek-a a-ti-ir-e Jane a-ta? (Runyoro)

1Paul 1-pst-leave-fv 1-beat-asp-fv 1Jane 1-how

“Paul left after beating up Jane how?”

(d) John-wa doo hon-o yonde kara dekaketa no? (Japanese)

John-top how book-acc read after went-out Q

“John went out after he read the book how?”

(e) ta zai Lisi zenmeyang mai shu yihou shengqi le? (Chinese)

he at Lisi how buy book after angry prt

“He got angry after Lisi bought books how (in what manner)?”

85.(a) *Ba-ba-ana ba-a-rekukh-a Wafula na-a-kha-kul-a

Pp-2-child 2-pst-leave-fv 1Wafula wh-1-prs-kul-fv

chii-ngubo liina? (Lubukusu)

9-cloth when

“When did children leave when Wafula was buying clothes?”

(b) *Juma a-li-ondok-a Amina a-li-po-kuw-a a-ki-uz-a ma-tunda lini? (Kiswahili)

1Juma 1-pst-leave-fv 1Amina 1-pst-when-be-fv 1-sub-sell-fv 6-fruit when

“When did Juma leave when Amina was selling fruits - ?”

(c) ??Paul a-ka-lek-a a-ti-ir-e Jane di? (Runyoro)

1Paul 1-pst-leave-fv 1-beat-asp-fv 1Jane when

“Paul left after beating up Jane when?”

d(i) John-wa itu hon-o yonde kara dekaketa no? (Japanese)

John-top when book-acc read after went-out Q

“John went out after he read the book when?”

(ii) Taroo-ga itu gakkoo-ni itta kara umaku iku no?

Taroo-nom when school-to went because well go Q

“Things will go well because Taroo went to school when?”

(e) ta zai Lisi shemeshihou mai shu yihou shengqi le? (Chinese)

he at Lisi when buy book after angry prt

“He got angry after Lisi bought books when?” (asking about when Lisi bought books)

A legitimate question to ask is: what prohibits ‘when’ in the adjunct clause in Lubukusu, Kiswahili and Runyoro? As shown in the data above, ‘when’ is ruled in the adjunct clause in these languages. This is surprising considering the fact ‘when’ is allowed to be in-situ in other islands. Therefore the reason cannot be syntactic. Most likely, ‘when’ is ruled from these sentences for semantic reasons. It seems that

double temporal marking is illicit in these languages. The adjunct clause in the data presented above is an adverbial of time. Since this adverbial clause provides information about when the action expressed by the verb took place, it does not make much sense to ask about time again. The information about time is already available. If this is true, that is, if it is true that sentences 85(a), (b) & (c) are bad because of double temporal marking, then ‘when’ should be compatible with non-temporal adjunct clauses. In other words, the double temporal theory predicts that there shouldn’t be any problem using an in-situ ‘when’ in non-temporal adjunct clauses. As the following data shows, this prediction is borne out: it is acceptable for ‘when’ to be in-situ in the reason adjunct clause in Lubukusu and Kiswahili.

85a' buu-tinyu bwe-e-m-a sikila Wekesa a-a-ch-a Kimilili liina? (Lubukusu)

14-trouble 14-pst-stop-fv because 1Wekesa 1-pst-go-fv Kimilili when

“Trouble (sticky issues) stopped because Wekesa went to Kimilili when?”

85b' ma-mbo ya-li-nyook-a kwa sababu Juma a-li-kwend-a

6-issue 6-pst-straighten-fv for reason 1Juma 1-pst-go-fv

m-kutano-ni lini? (Kiswahili)

3-meeting-loc when

“Things straightened up because Juma went to the meeting when?”

The conclusion that we can draw from this is that it is acceptable for ‘when’ to be in-situ in an adjunct clause in Lubukusu, Kiswahili and perhaps in Runyoro as well – but only if the adjunct clause is not a temporal clause.

4.5.9 Summary of island effects

A summary of the island effects in wh- in-situ constructions in Lubukusu, Kiswahili, Runyoro, Japanese and Chinese is provided in the following table.

Table 14: Summary of island effects (Yes=wh-in-situ ok; No=wh-in-situ bad)

		Lbk	Kisw	Runy	Jap	Chin
Object CNP (Non- RC)	Subject	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Object	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Why	No	No	No	No	No
	Where	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
	When	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
	How	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Subject CNP (Non- RC)	Subject	No	No	No	Yes	No
	Object	No	No	No	Yes	No
	Why	No	No	No	No	No
	Where	No	No	No	Yes	No
	When	No	No	No	Yes	No
	How	No	No	No	Yes	No
Object RC	Subject	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	-
	Object	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
	Why	No	No	No	No	No
	Where	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	When	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	How	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Subject RC	Subject	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
	Object	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
	Why	No	No	No	No	No
	Where	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
	When	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
	How	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Wh- Island	Subject	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Object	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Why	No	No	No	No	No
	Where	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
	When	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
	How	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Adjunct Island	Subject	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Object	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Why	No	No	No	No	No
	Where	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	When	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
	How	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Thus these languages differ in certain respects although they all belong to the general class of in-situ languages. Japanese differs from Lubukusu, Kiswahili, Runyoro and Chinese in not allowing wh- in-situ wh-adjuncts in the wh-island. We speculated that this has to do with lexical requirements of either the verb or kadooka (=whether). Another difference is that Lubukusu, Kiswahili and Runyoro do not allow wh- in-situ in subject CNPs (both the non-RC type and the RC type) while Chinese disallows wh- in-situ only in subject CNP of the non-RC type. On the opposite end of the spectrum Japanese does not disallow wh- in-situ in subject CNPs of both types. But with regards to the behavior of ‘why’, the five languages are similar. ‘Why’ consistently lacks embedded clause construal in all islands in the five languages. The reason for this is that ‘why’ is base generated in Spec IntP in the left periphery in Lubukusu – and perhaps in Kiswahili and Runyoro as well (see discussion in chapter 5). The same is true for the remaining languages: ‘why’ is base generated in Spec CP in Chinese (Lin 1992) and in Japanese (Ko 2005).

From a theoretical view point, it is interesting that none of the languages in this study shows a clear and consistent argument ~ adjunct asymmetry. Huang (1982) who argues for an LF movement account of wh-in-situ claims that an argument ~ adjunct asymmetry exists in Chinese in-situ constructions. Similarly, Lasnik and Saito (1992) claim that wh-in-situ constructions in Japanese exhibit an argument ~ adjunct asymmetry. These two claims, that is, that wh-in-situ constructions in Chinese and Japanese exhibit an argument ~ adjunct asymmetry, are not wholly supported by the relevant data in this study. Apparently, Huang (1982) and Lasnik & Saito (1992) based their claims on the behavior of ‘why’ only. The other wh-adjuncts – ‘how’, ‘where’ and ‘when’ – were not systematically examined. Researchers such as Lin (1992) and Tsai (1994) who systematically examined the behavior of non-reason wh-adjuncts in addition to ‘why’ came to a conclusion similar mine in this study, namely that the argument ~ adjunct asymmetry does not always hold, owing

to the fact that wh-adjuncts differ from each other. For instance Chinese ‘weishenme’ (=why) differs from ‘zenmeyang’ (=how) in a number of ways, including the fact that ‘zenmeyang’ but not ‘weishenme’ can occur within a sentential subject and a complex NP (Lin 1992). Tsai (1994) makes an even finer distinction among wh-adjuncts pointing out that there is a difference in Chinese between instrumental ‘how’ and manner ‘how’ and between purpose ‘why’ and reason ‘why’. According to Tsai, Chinese wh-arguments and referential wh-adjuncts (when, where, instrumental how, and purpose why) pattern together but contrast with non-referential wh-adjuncts (manner how and reason why) in allowing construal out of islands. For Tsai, LF locality is a matter of referentiality and nominality, but locality in overt syntax involves the requirement of head government. This claim may hold for Chinese, but it clearly doesn’t hold for Bantu. As shown in the data above, ‘how’ in Lubukusu, Kiswahili and Runyoro is clearly the non-referential type, but it behaves like referential wh-adjuncts and wh-arguments in islands. In Bantu then, locality in islands is neither determined nor constrained by referentiality and nominality. Non-reason wh-adjuncts, whether referential or not can occur in-situ in islands in Lubukusu, Kiswahili and Runyoro just like wh-arguments. To the extent that there is no argument ~ adjunct asymmetry in these languages, there is little reason to postulate LF-phrasal movement, contrary to Huang (1992) and Tsai (1994) among others.

There is also a clear distinction between overt wh-movement languages such English and wh-in-situ languages with regards to the behavior of wh-phrases in islands. English-type languages do not generally allow movement of wh-phrases out of islands (Ross (1967), Rizzi (1990), and Richards (2001) among others). But as was shown in the data above whose summary is presented in table 14, in-situ languages generally allow non-reason wh-phrases to be in-situ in islands. This is surprising for the LF-movement theory of wh-in-situ. If LF movement did indeed

exist, and if it operated the same way as overt wh-movement, then we should expect in-situ languages to exhibit an island effect. But they generally don't. I take this to be evidence that LF wh-movement does not exist. Existence of LF phrasal movement has also been rejected by Pesetsky (1987, 2000), Simpson (2000) and more recently by Beck (2006). If wh-in-situ behaves differently from overt wh-movement in terms of island effects and the intervention effect, it must be the case that wh- in-situ and overt wh-movement involve two different operations in overt syntax. I assume following Chomsky (2000) and Pesetsky (2000) that wh-in-situ involves feature movement in overt syntax. Under this theory, only overt phrasal movement is subject to island effects. Feature movement is not subject to island effects, but as we saw in section 4.4.2 it is subject to the intervention effect. Differences such as these between what I am assuming to be feature movement and overt movement (see also Pesetsky 2000: 58), were taken by Chomsky (2000) as support for the idea that the former involves Agree but not movement. As pointed out by Pesetsky (2000: 58), Agree is a simpler operation that merely establishes a link between the probe and the features that it seeks without moving anything anywhere in the case of wh-in-situ. This Agree theory is pivotal in accounting for the ubiquitous agreement patterns evident Lubukusu and other Bantu languages – except that in such non-wh-cases, movement takes place after an Agree relation is established. If we adopt an Agree approach to wh-in-situ, we will have to explain why Agree applies differently to in-situ wh-phrases on the one hand and to non-wh-phrases on the other in Lubukusu and other Bantu languages. As already pointed out, Agree that is associated with non-wh-phrases always involves overt movement in line with Collins' (2003) Agreement parameter. In contrast, no overt movement of wh-phrases takes place in Bantu when an Agree relation is established between the focus head and the in-situ wh-phrase. This contrast suggests that we are not dealing with the same syntactic operation. I argue that in the case of wh-in-situ, we are dealing with feature

movement, but in those cases that involve non-wh-phrases we are dealing with the true cases of Agree.

4.6 Weak crossover (WCO)

According to Richards (2001), CP-absorption languages such as Bulgarian and Chinese differ from IP-absorption languages such as Serbo-Croatian and Japanese with regards to weak crossover effects. Indeed weak crossover (=WCO) has the status of a diagnostic for CP-absorption and IP-absorption in Richard's theory²³. While CP-absorption languages show weak crossover effects locally, IP-absorption languages do not. The latter show weak crossover effects only in sentences that involve long-distance movement. A surprising exception which Richards notes is Japanese. Japanese in Richards' classification is an IP-absorption language. We therefore do not expect it to show weak crossover effects locally. Contrary to this expectation, Japanese shows weak crossover effects locally. Lubukusu and Kiswahili (and perhaps Bantu generally) behaves exactly like Japanese with respect to weak crossover effects in constructions involving wh-in-situ. This is illustrated in the following data.

Lubukusu

86(a) Maayi wewe_{j/*i} a-a-siim-a naanu_i?

1mother his/her 1-prs-love-fv who

“Who_{j/*i} does his/her_i mother love?”

(b) Maayi wewe_{j/*i} a-a-par-a a-li Wafula a-a-siim-a naanu_i?

1mother his/her 1-prs-think-fv 1-sub 1Wafula 1-pst-love-fv who

“Who_{j/*i} does his/her_i mother think that Wafula loves?”

²³ For Rizzi (1997) WCO is a diagnostic for the focus-topic distinction. Focus is sensitive to WCO, but topic is not.

Kiswahili

87. (a) Mama yake_{j/*i} a-na-m-pend-a nani_i?

1mama his/her 1-prs-1-love-fv who

“Who_{j/*i} does his/her_i mother love?”

(b) Mama yake_{j/*i} a-na-fikir-i kwamba Juma a-na-m-pend-a nani_i?

1mother his/her 1-prs-think-fv Comp 1Juma 1-prs-1-love-fv who

“Who_{j/*i} does his/her_i mother think that Juma loves?”

Richards (2001:23) speculates that local weak crossover effects attested in Japanese may be due to what he calls rigid scope relations. Rigid scope refers to total reliance on the surface position of quantifiers to determine their scope. According to Richards, Japanese and Chinese are rigid scope languages because the scope of quantifiers is determined strictly by their surface position. But the two languages are not identical: Japanese uses IP-LF adjunction both in wh- and quantifier contractions – considering the fact that Quantifier raising (QR) involves multiple adjunction to IP (Richards 2001:21). In contrast, Chinese uses IP-LF adjunction only in quantifier constructions. In wh-constructions, Chinese uses substitution to Spec CP at LF. The generalization that Richards makes is that IP-LF adjunction does not change scope relations in either Japanese or Chinese. This implies that if a wh-phrase cannot bind any variables in overt syntax, then it may not bind any at LF. It then follows that Japanese, will show a WCO effect locally.

A similar argument can be used to account for local weak crossover effects in Lubukusu and Kiswahili assuming that we classify these languages as IP-absorption. However, it is not clear that classifying Lubukusu as IP-absorption and explaining the WCO effect illustrated in (61) as a scope rigidity effect is sufficient to account for all the relevant facts. For instance, while Lubukusu wh- in-situ shows a WCO effect (86), wh-clefting (88) doesn't.

- 88 (a) Naanu_i ni-y-e maayi wewe_{j/i} a-a-siim-a?
 Who pred-1-pron 1mother his/her 1-prs-love-fv
 “Who_{j/i} does his/her_i mother love?”
- (b) Naanu_i ni-y-e maayi wewe_{j/i} a-a-par-a a-li Wafula a-a-siim-a?
 Who pred-1-pron 1mother his/her 1-prs-think-fv 1-sub 1Wafula 1-pst-love-fv
 “Who_{j/i} does his/her_i mother think that Wafula loves?”

Therefore we need to go beyond classification as IP- or CP-absorption to figure out why this asymmetry exists. It seems that the reason why a WCO effect is absent in (88) is clefting. In general clefting does not induce WCO effects even in languages such as English (Lasnik & Stowell 1991). However this is not entirely true: when an explicit quantifier is involved, clefting induces WCO effects in English (Postal 1993). This is illustrated by the following data which are taken from Postal (1993).

89 (Postal's 10)

- (a) It was Jack₁ that I thought she described his₁ wife to t₁.
- (b) It was somebody₁ else that I thought she described his₂ wife to t₁.
- (c) *It was somebody₁ else that I thought she described his₁ wife to t₁.

The true generalization then is not that clefting does not induce WCO effects, but that only true quantifiers induce WCO effects (Lasnik & Stowell 1991, Postal 1993, Rizzi 1997).

This requires us to recognize two A-bar dependencies: (i) quantificational, a WCO-sensitive-dependency in which a variable is bound by a quantificational operator²⁴,

²⁴ According to Rizzi (1997), the function of the quantificational operator is to assign a range or value to the variable. In contrast, the function of the anaphoric operator is to connect the null constant to an antecedent.

and (ii) non-quantificational, a dependency not sensitive to WCO where a null epithet (=null constant) is bound by an anaphoric operator (Rizzi 1997). By Rizzi's theory then, variables and null constants differ from each other and are bound by different operators. Rizzi's theory could make for an elegant explanation for the lack of WCO effects in Lubukusu wh- clefts – except that there is one problem. Rizzi's theory is incompatible with a movement account of clefts that we adopted. It is incompatible in the sense that if we are to make it work, we would need to make a rather counter-intuitive assumption, namely that, wh-phrases in Lubukusu are not quantificational²⁵. We need them to be non-quantificational so that when they are clefted, they would leave behind a null constant. Clearly this assumption is undesirable. We need to be able to explain the lack WCO effects in Lubukusu wh- clefts (88) and the presence of WCO effects in Lubukusu wh- in-situ constructions (86) without having to make this assumption. Suppose we take Rizzi's distinction between variables and null constants and restate it in terms of features associated with the moved constituent. The idea is to capture the difference between variables and null constants in terms of the feature composition of the moved constituents: when a [+wh] constituent is moved to the left periphery (for the purpose of checking the wh-feature), it leaves behind a variable, but when a [+Pred] constituent is moved (for the purpose of checking the Pred-feature), it leaves behind a null constant. We can then say that WCO effects are associated only with phrasal or feature movement that is motivated by wh-checking; no such effects are induced by movement that is motivated by Pred checking. Under this view, the Lubukusu wh- in-situ construction shows a WCO effect because it involves wh-feature movement in the sense of

²⁵ Theories of clefting that generate the clefted wh-phrase in the left periphery (for example Adesola (2005)) are compatible with Rizzi's theory. In such theories the post-verbal null element can only be a null constant; it cannot be a variable since the wh- phrase doesn't originate from the VP

Pesetsky (2000), but the cleft construction does not show a WCO effect because clefting is motivated not by wh-checking but by Pred checking.

4.7 Superiority effects

The syntax and semantics of multiple wh-questions is not identical in all languages. In languages such as English, multiple wh-questions require a conjunction answer, that is, a pair list answer²⁶ (Kuno and Robinson 1972, Wachowicz 1974, Rizzi 1992, Lasnik and Saito 1992 among others). However, in languages such Japanese, multiple wh-questions do not require a pair list answer (Oba 2001, Kobayashi 2000, Sabel 2003). Lubukusu is like Japanese. Lubukusu multiple wh-questions do not require a pair list answer. The appropriate answer for a multiple question in Lubukusu is a simple non-pair list answer. Thus (90b) is an appropriate answer to (90a).

90(a) Naanu o-w-a-kul-a siina?

Who wh-1-pst-buy-fv what

“Who bought what?”

(b) Nangila a-a-kul-a sii-tabu

1Nangila 1-pst-buy-fv 7-book

“Nangila bought a book”

Languages also differ with regards to superiority effects. Languages such as English (see Kuno and Robinson (1972), Chomsky (1973), Huang (1995) among others) show superiority effects. On the other hand languages such as Yoruba do not show

²⁶ But see Hirschbühler (1978) who argues that in some cases multiple wh-questions in English can be answered by a simple value-identification answer. In other words a multiple question does not necessarily require a pair list answer.

superiority effects (Adesola 2005). Lubukusu belongs to the latter category. Like Yoruba, it does not show superiority effects. Consider the following data.

91(a) Siina_i ni-sy-o maayi a-a-kul-il-a naanu t_i?²⁷

What_i pred-7-pron 1mother 1-pst-buy-appl-fv who t_i

“What is it that mother bought for who?”

(b) Naanu_i ni-y-e maayi a-a-kul-il-a t_i siina?

Who_i pred-1-pron 1mother 1-pst-buy-appl-fv t_i what

“Who is it that mother bought for what?”

(c) Naanu_i niye t_i o-w-a-kul-il-a Nangila siina?

Who pred-1-pron wh-1-pst-buy-appl-fv 1Nangila what

“Who is it that bought Nangila what?”

(d) Siina_i ni-sy-o naanu a-a-kul-il-a naanu t_i?

What pred-7-pron who 1-pst-buy-appl-fv what

“What is it that who bought for who?”

(e) Waae(na)_i ni-i-o Wafula a-a-kul-il-a Nafula si(ina) t_i?

Where pred-16-pron 1Wafula 1-pst-buy-appl-fv 1Nafula what

“Where is it that Wafula bought Nafula what?”

92. (a) Naanu_i ni-y-e t_i o-w-a-a Wekesa siina?

Who pred-1-pron wh-1-pst-give 1Wekesa what

“Who gave Wekesa what?”

²⁷ As illustrated in the following example, only one wh-phrase can be clefted at a time.

(i) *Siina_j naanu_i ni-y-e maayi a-a-kul-il-a t_i t_j? (ii) *Naanu_i siina_j ni-sy-o maayi a-a-kul-il-a t_i t_j?

What_j who_i pred-1-pron 1mother 1-pst-buy-appl-fv t_i who_i what_j pred-1-pron 1mother 1-pst-buy-appl-fv t_i

*What who is it that mother bought for?

*Who what is it that mother bought for?

(b) Siina_i ni-sy-o naanu a-a-a Wekesa t_i?

What pred-7-pron who 1-pst-give 1Wekesa

“What did who give Wekesa?”

(c) Naanu_i ni-y-e Nekesa a-a-a t_i si(ina)?

What pred-1-pron 1Nekesa 1-pst-give what

“Who did Nekesa give what?”

93(a) Siina ni-sy-o naanu a-par-a a-li Wekesa a-a-(si)-kul-a?

Who pred-7-pron who 1-think-fv 1-sub 1Wekesa 1-pst-(7)-buy-fv

“What is it that who thinks Wekesa bought?”

(b) Siina ni-sy-o Wafula a-par-a a-li naanu a-a-(si)-kul-a?

What pred-7-pron 1Wafula 1prs-think-fv 1-sub who 1-pst-(7)-buy-fv

“What is it that Wafula thinks who bought?”

Thus 92(b) and 93(a)&(b) are good even though a lower wh-phrase moves over a higher wh-phrase.

Richards (2001) casts the distinction between languages that show superiority effects and those that don't in terms the CP-absorption and IP-absorption distinction. He observes that CP-absorption languages show superiority effects for local as well as long distance movement (overt as well as covert movement). This, according to Richards (2001), is due to the fact that movement in these languages is A-bar movement. In contrast, IP-absorption languages show superiority effects only for long-distance movement since wh-movement in these languages is A-movement (IP adjunction).

The fact that superiority is a criterion for classifying languages IP-absorption or CP-absorption in Richards' theory suggests that Lubukusu is an IP-absorption language (since wh-clefts do not show superiority effect). This being the case, the absence of a superiority effect in Lubukusu (and other IP-absorption languages) is

due to the fact that overt movement of a wh-phrase in a multiple wh-question is A-movement. By Richards' account long distance wh-clefting should show a superiority effect. But as shown in (93a&b) this is not correct: long distance wh-clefting does not give rise to a superiority effect just like local clefting. It is not clear in Richards' account why this should be the case.

An alternative to Richards' theory is proposed in Adesola's (2005) work on Yoruba. Like Lubukusu, Yoruba's cleft-based questions do not show a superiority effect. Adesola makes the observation that the structure of wh- questions in Yoruba differs from that of English wh- questions. He then argues that Yoruba wh-questions do not involve overt movement of an overt operator even when the wh-phrase appears at the beginning of the sentence. Wh-movement in Yoruba, according to him, is null operator movement. This means that both the head and tail of wh-movement in Yoruba are null. The absence of the superiority effect, then, is due to the fact that Yoruba does not move wh-phrases overtly (wh-phrases in Adesola's theory are base generated in the left periphery). This theory can also be used to explain the absence of a superiority effect in Lubukusu clefted wh-questions. However, this theory is not available to us. I rejected base generating clefted phrases in the left periphery on the basis of condition C reconstructions facts, subcategorization and idiom facts (see chapters 2 and 3). I argued that these facts support a theory that derives clefts by movement. Adesola's theory is therefore incompatible with the movement theory that I adopted. To account for the absence of a superiority effect in clefts under this theory, I propose that what we are seeing here is related to WCO effects. Since there is a clear distinction between clefts and wh-questions of the English type, we can make a case that superiority effects hold only for certain types movement. Specifically, superiority effects hold only if movement of a wh-phrase is driven by a wh-feature (the need to check the wh-feature). If

movement of a wh-phrase is driven by a Pred feature, then it will be immune from the superiority effect.

4.8 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter examined island effects in five wh- in-situ languages – Lubukusu, Kiswahili, Runyoro, Japanese and Chinese. We saw that Japanese differs from the rest of the languages in disallowing all wh-adjuncts in the wh-island. Lubukusu, Kiswahili and Runyoro differ from Japanese in that they do not allow any wh-phrase in subject CNPs (both RC and non-RC). But all the languages were unanimous in disallowing the reason wh- adjunct in all islands. This chapter also discussed WCO and superiority in Lubukusu. It was shown that there is a contrast between in-situ constructions and their cleft counterparts in terms of WCO: while the former show a WCO effect, the latter do not. I argued that only movement operations that are driven by a wh-feature induce a WCO effect. In contrast, movement operations that are driven by a Pred feature do not induce a WCO effect. Movement type (as determined by the feature that drives movement) plays a key role not only in WCO but also in superiority: only movement types driven by a wh-feature show a superiority effect; movement driven by the Pred feature (as in Lubukusu clefts) don't. Finally, in the discussion of the behavior of adjuncts in islands, I claimed that ‘why’ lacks embedded clause construal because it is generated in the left periphery in Lubukusu. As interesting as this claim is, I did not provide any supporting arguments or evidence for it. This is one of main the tasks of the next chapter.

Chapter 5

Syntax of Lubukusu wh- adjuncts

5.1 Introduction

In their 1993 monograph, Aoun and Li classify wh- adjuncts into two groups. One group consists of ‘when’ and ‘where.’ The second group consists of ‘why’ and ‘how.’ In Sabel’s (2003) terminology, the former are referential adjuncts while the latter are non-referential adjuncts. Aoun and Li show that referential adjuncts (but not non-referential adjuncts) pattern syntactically with the wh- arguments, ‘who’ and ‘what.’ For instance ‘when’ and ‘where’ can be treated as NPs just like wh- arguments, and they can remain in-situ just like wh- arguments. In contrast, ‘why’ and ‘how’ cannot be treated as NPs and they never remain in-situ. The contrast between referential adjuncts and non-referential adjuncts is not limited to English. Languages as diverse as Chinese (Lin 1992, Aoun and Li 1993, Tsai 1994) and Malagasy (Sabel 2003) show this contrast as well. In this chapter I show that Lubukusu also exhibits referential ~ non-referential wh- adjunct contrast. An interesting revelation of this chapter is that intra-group similarity is greater in the referential wh- adjunct group, but greater variation characterizes the non-referential group. I will argue that this diversity results from the fact that *sikila si(ina)* (=why) is generated in Spec IntP the left periphery while *-rie(ena)* (=how) is a functional head generated in the IP field.

This chapter is organized as follows. In sections 5.2 – 5.2.10, I will examine the distribution of the reason wh-phrase. I will also propose in these sections an analysis that derives the syntactic properties of *sikila si(ina)*. Sections 5.3 – 5.3.8 examine the syntactic properties of the manner wh- adjunct, the place wh- adjunct and the time wh- adjunct. Section 5.4 is the conclusion.

5.2 The reason wh-phrase in Lubukusu

In Lubukusu both *sikila si(ina)* and *khubeela si(ina)* mean ‘why.’ This section focuses mainly on *sikila si(ina)*. Reference to and discussion of *khubeela si(ina)* is limited.

5.2.1 Distribution of the reason wh-phrase

The reason wh- phrase can occur sentence initially, post verbally and in cleft constructions. As it will be shown momentarily, these positions are correlated with certain syntactic behaviors of the reason wh- phrase.

5.2.2 The reason wh-phrase in post verbal position

As illustrated in (1) and (2), the reason wh- phrase in Lubukusu can occur in the post verbal position.

(a) Nafula a-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo

1Nafula 1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes

“Nafula is washing clothes.”

(b) Nafula a-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo sikila sí(ína)?

1Nafula 1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes reason what

“Why is Nafula washing clothes?”

(c) *Nafula a-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo siina sikila?

1Nafula 1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes what reason

“Why is Nafula washing clothes?”

(d) *Nafula a-kha-siing-a sikila sí(ína) chii-ngubo?

1Nafula 1-pres-wash-fv reason what 10-clothes

“Why is Nafula washing clothes?”

2(a) Nafula a-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo khuu-be²⁸-el-a sí(ína)?

1Nafula 1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes inf-be-appl-fv what

“Why is Nafula washing clothes?”

(b) *Nafula a-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo sí(ína) khuu-be-el-a?

1Nafula 1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes what inf-be-appl-fv

“Why is Nafula washing clothes?”

(c) *Nafula a-kha-siing-a khuu-be-el-a sí(ína) chii-ngubo?

1Nafula 1-pres-wash-fv inf-be-appl-fv what 10-clothes

“Why is Nafula washing clothes?”

As shown in 1c & d, and 2b&c, the reason wh- phrase is subject to two word order constraints when it occurs in the post verbal position. First, it is subject to intra-phrasal word order restrictions. Word order in the reason wh- phrase must be *sikila si(ina)* or *khuubeela si(ina)*, but not *siina sikila* (1c) and *siina khuubeela* (2b). Secondly, the reason wh- phrase must occur after the object. As shown in (1d) and (2c), the reason wh- phrase is ruled out in the position before the object.

5.2.3 The reason wh- phrase in sentence initial position

In contrast to argument wh- phrases, the place wh-adjunct and the manner wh-adjunct, the reason wh- phrase in Lubukusu can also occur in the sentence initial position of non-cleft questions. This is illustrated in the following data.

3(a) Síína síkila Nafula ná-á-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo?

What reason 1Nafula prt-1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes

“Why is Nafula washing clothes?”

²⁸ The copula be- (=be) derives from ba-. In some contexts, ‘ba-’ surfaces as ‘be-’. For instance khu-ba ‘to be’, but a-kha-be ‘he/she will be’

(b) Sikila si(ina) Nafula ná-á-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo?

Reason what 1Nafula prt-1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes

“Why is Nafula washing clothes?”

4(a) Khuu-be-el-a si(ina) Nafula ná-á-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo?

Inf-be-appl-fv what 1Nafula prt-1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes

“Why is Nafula washing clothes?”

(b) *Siina khuu-be-el-a Nafula ná-á-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo?

What Inf-be-appl-fv 1Nafula prt-1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes

“Why is Nafula washing clothes?”

Notice that word order within the sentence initial reason wh-phrase of *sikila sii(na)*-type is flexible. The two word orders: *siina sikila* (3a) and *sikila si(ina)* (3b) are both acceptable. However, the reason wh-phrase of the *khuubeela si(ina)*-type lacks such word order flexibility. The only acceptable word order is *khuubeela si(ina)* (4a); the order *si(ina) khuubeela* is unacceptable (4b). Before attempting to explain why the order *si(ina) khuubeela* is blocked, let us consider the final context in which the reason wh-phrase occurs in Lubukusu.

5.2.4 The reason wh-phrase in cleft constructions

The reason wh-phrase can also occur in a cleft construction in Lubukusu.

Interestingly, it is not the entire reason wh-phrase that gets clefted: only one constituent within the reason wh-phrase can be clefted. Consider the following data.

5(a) *Siina sikila ni-sy-o Nafula na-a-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo?

What reason pred-7-pron 1Nafula prt-1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes

“Why is it that Nafula is washing clothes?”

(b) *Sikila si(ina) ni-sy-o Nafula na-a-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo?

Reason what pred-7-pron 1Nafula prt-1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes

“Why is it that Nafula is washing clothes?”

(c) *Sikila ni-sy-o siina Nafula na-a-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo?

Reason pred-7-pron what 1Nafula prt-1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes

“Why is it that Nafula is washing clothes?”

(d) Siina ni-sy-o sikila Nafula na-a-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo?

What pred-7-pron reason 1Nafula prt-1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes

“Why is it that Nafula is washing clothes?”

(e) *Siina ni-sy-o Nafula na-a-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo sikila?

What pred-7-pron 1Nafula prt-1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes reason

Why is it that Nafula is washing clothes?

(f) Sikila Nafula na-a-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo (sili) si(ina)?

Reason 1Nafula prt-1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes be what

“What is the reason why Nafula is washing clothes?”

6(a) *Khuu-be-el-a si(ina) ni-sy-o Nafula na-a-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo?

Inf-be-appl-fv what pred-7-pron 1Nafula prt-1- pres-wash-fv 10-clothes

“Why is it that Nafula is washing clothes?”

(b) *Siina khuu-be-el-a ni-sy-o Nafula na-a-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo?

What Inf-be-appl-fv pred-7-pron 1Nafula prt-1- pres-wash-fv 10-clothes

“Why is it that Nafula is washing clothes?”

(c) *Khuu-be-el-a ni-sy-o si(ina) Nafula na-a-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo?

Inf-be-appl-fv pred-7-pron what 1Nafula prt-1- pres-wash-fv 10-clothes

“Why is it that Nafula is washing clothes?”

(d) *Siina ni-sy-o khuu-be-el-a Nafula na-a-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo?

What pred-7-pron Inf-be-appl-fv 1Nafula prt-1- pres-wash-fv 10-clothes

“Why is it that Nafula is washing clothes?”

- (e) *Khuu-be-el-a Nafula na-a-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo (sili) si(ina)?

Inf-be-appl-fv 1Nafula prt-1- pres-wash-fv 10-clothes be what

“Why is it that Nafula is washing clothes?”

Thus only the question word *siina* in the *sikila si(ina)*-type reason wh- phrase (5d) can be clefted. All the other permutations (5a-c) are bad. (5e) shows that ‘*siina*’ cannot be clefted from a post verbal position. (5e) is good, but it is not a cleft construction on par with (5d); it is a pseudo-cleft (see chapter 3 for discussion of pseudo-clefts). In the *khuubeela si(ina)* type reason wh-phrase, the data in (6a-d) show that clefting of the question word *siina* or any other constituent is ruled out.

5.2.5 Summary and discussion

From the data presented in the preceding sub-sections we deduced the following facts.

- (i) The reason wh-phrase in Lubukusu can occur in three syntactic positions: the post verbal position, the sentence initial position of a non-cleft construction and in the sentence initial position of a cleft construction.
- (ii) In the post verbal position, the only acceptable word order *sikila si(ina)* or *khuubeela si(ina)*. The order *siina sikila* or *siina khuubeela* is unacceptable.
- (iii) In the post verbal position, the reason wh- phrase must occur after the object in transitive constructions.
- (iv) In the sentence initial position, only the *sikila si(ina)* type reason wh-phrase allows variation in word order: both *sikila si(ina)* and *siina sikila* are acceptable. In contrast, word order in the *khuubeela si(ina)* type reason wh-phrase is rigid: only *khuubeela si(ina)* is acceptable.
- (v) Clefting is limited to the *sikila si(ina)* type reason phrase; clefting in the *khuubeela si(ina)* type reason phrase is impossible.

- (vi) Clefting in the *sikila si(ina)* type reason phrase is limited to the question word *siina*. Only *siina* can be clefted. Neither the entire reason phrase nor the head of the reason wh- phrase can be clefted.
- (vii) The verb is prefixed with the particle *ne-* when the reason wh-phrase is in the sentence initial position, and in the cleft construction. The particle *ne-* is absent when the reason phrase is in the post verbal position.

The key to accounting for these facts lies with two important issues: determining the primary word order within the reason wh-phrase, and determining whether the reason wh-phrase is generated in the left periphery or in the post verbal position.

With regards to the primary or original word order in the reason wh-phrase, the data provided in preceding sub-sections seem to suggest that primary order is *sikila si(ina) / khuubeela si(ina)*. This is due to the fact that this word order has the least restrictions: it occurs in the post verbal position and in the sentence initial position. In contrast the order *siina sikila* is limited to the sentence initial position (the order *siina khuubeela* is non-existent). Moreover, similar phrases (those made up of a question word and NP) typically have the structure NP-question word. Consider the following non-reason wh-phrases.

7(a) Mi-saala si(ina)?

4-tree what

“Which trees?”

(b) *Siina mi-saala?

What 4-tree

“Which trees?”

8(a) Ki-mi-saala kii/nga?

Pp- 4-tree 4-how many

“How many trees?”

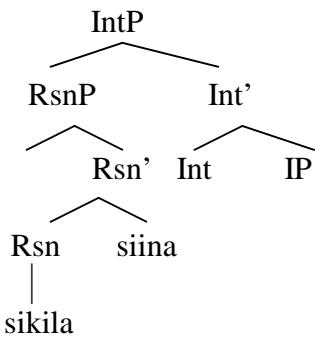
(b) *Kii/nga ki-mi-saala

4-how many Pp-4-tree

“How many trees?”

It is therefore not unreasonable to assume that *sikila si(ina)* (and *khuubeela si(ina)*) is the basic word order, and that the order *siina sikila* is a derived word order. I will argue following Rizzi (1999, 2001) that the reason wh-phrase, *sikila siina*, is base generated in Spec IntP (=Interrogative Phrase), a projection that is located between ForceP and FocusP²⁹. In constructions that contain PredP and PronP (for instance clefts), IntP is located between PronP and FocusP. The following is a diagrammatic representation of the reason phrase, *sikila siina*.

9.



Later on in this section and in subsequent sections, I will provide evidence that supports generating the reason wh-phrase in the left periphery. I will also show how the alternative word order, *siina sikila*, is derived.

A question that arises is whether the word order difference between the *sikila siina* (which I consider to be basic) and *siina sikila* (which I consider to be derived)

²⁹ For evidence from Gungbe in support of an Interrogative Phrase in the left periphery, see Aboh (2004).

is correlated with structural differences. Using sentence initial adverbials such as *abeele* (=case that) and pseudo complementizers such as *bali* (=that) can help us detect any structural differences there may be. As is shown in (10) and (11), there indeed is a structural difference between *sikila siina* and *siina sikila*. The sentences in (10) where *bali* or *abeele* intervenes between *sikila* and *siina* are degraded, but sentences in (11) where *bali* or *abeele* intervenes between *siina* and *sikila* are perfect.

10(a) ?Sikila bali si(ina) Nafula ná-á-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo?

Reason that what 1Nafula prt-1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes

“Why is Nafula washing clothes?”

(b) ?Sikila abeele si(ina) Nafula ná-á-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo?

Reason case-that what 1Nafula prt-1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes

“Why is it the case that Nafula is washing clothes?”

11(a) Síína bali síkila Nafula ná-á-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo?

What that reason 1Nafula prt-1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes

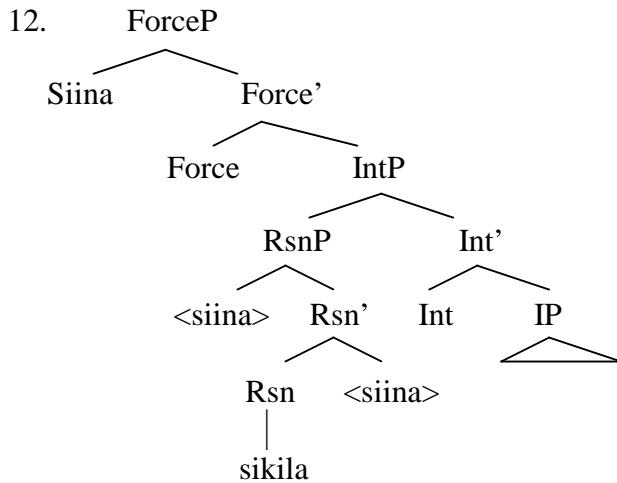
“Why is Nafula washing clothes?”

(b) Síína abeele síkila Nafula ná-á-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo?

What case-that reason 1Nafula prt-1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes

“Why is the case that Nafula is washing clothes?”

Thus sentence initial modifiers can readily be inserted inside *siina sikila* but not in *sikila siina*. The fact that nothing can intervene between *sikila* and *siina* in the basic order *sikila siina* supports the structure that we proposed in (9): there is no position in this structure that can accommodate any additional constituent. In contrast the structure which is associated with the derived order *siina sikila* (12) allows room for additional constituents – such as adverbials.



A structure such as this readily allows sentence initial modifiers especially if additional functional projections above IntP (for instance PredP) are made available. In such cases, the question word, *siina*, can move to Spec of the highest projection, leaving any of the intermediate positions between ForceP and IntP for sentential modifiers.

Another question is why the entire reason phrase, *sikila si(ina)*, doesn't undergo clefting. We saw in (5) that it is impossible to cleft the whole reason phrase *sikila si(ina)*. Only the question word *si(ina)* can be clefted. This is puzzling considering the fact that similar wh- phrases (that is, phrases with the structure NP-question word) can be clefted. In fact clefting of wh- phrases such as NP-*si(ina)* (=which-NP) and NP-*inga* (=how many-NP) involves clefting of the entire wh- phrase. Clefting the question word alone (as with the reason wh- clefting) is ruled out. This is illustrated in the following data.

13(a) Ngubo siina ni-ch-o Nafula a-kha-siing-a?

Clothes which pred-10-pron 1Nafula 1-pres-wash-fv

“Which are the clothes that Nafula is washing?”

(b) *Siina ni-ch-o ngubo Nafula a-kha-siing-a?

What pred-10-pron clothes 1Nafula 1-pres-wash-fv

“Which are the clothes that Nafula is washing?”

(c) *Siina ni-ch-o Nafula a-kha-siing-a (chii)-ngubo?

What pred-10-pron 1Nafula 1-pres-wash-fv (10)-clothes

“Which are the clothes that Nafula is washing?”

How do we explain the ungrammaticality of 13(b) & (c)? First, observe that although the phrase ‘ngubo siina’ (=which clothes) in 13(a) and the reason phrase, ‘sikila siina’ look similar they are in fact very different structurally. ‘Siina’ in the phrase ‘ngubo siina’ is a modifier of the noun ‘ngubo’ (clothes). Indeed the position occupied by ‘siina’ in this phrase is a typical adjective position as evidenced by the fact that ‘siina’ can be substituted with an adjective. Thus we can say ‘chii-ngubo chii-ndayi’ (=good clothes), ‘chii-ngubo chii-mali’ (=black clothes) etc. Since adjectives are heads, ‘siina’ in 13(b) & (c) must be a head. These two, that is, 13(b) & (c), involve an illicit movement operation: clefting of a head. Clefting of a head is illicit for two reasons. First, it violates X-bar principles. Head-clefting illicitly moves a head from an IP-internal position to Spec PronP, and then to Spec PredP and finally to Spec ForceP (see chapter 3 for discussion of clefting). Secondly, head-clefting is not allowed in Lubukusu. As was shown in chapter 3, only DPs and locative PPs can be clefted in Lubukusu.

In contrast, clefting of ‘siina’ from the reason phrase ‘sikila siina’ is acceptable since it doesn’t involve head movement. ‘Siina’ in this phrase is a maximal projection and can therefore be clefted (see 5d repeated below as 15d). Notice that the position occupied by ‘siina’ in the reason wh-phrase ‘sikila siina’ is different from the position of ‘siina’ in the phrase ‘ngubo siina.’ As observed in the preceding discussion, the position ‘siina’ in the phrase ‘ngubo siina’ is an adjective

position – a head position. But ‘siina’ in the reason phrase ‘sikila siina’ is not a head: it is a maximal projection. Evidence for this is that ‘siina’ in the reason phrase cannot be substituted by any other word level category (14a). Instead, it can be replaced by a CP/IP (14b).

14. (a) Sikila *silayi / *siibi / *siitabu / *kona

reason good / bad / book / sleep

(b) Sikila ba-ba-ana ba-a-mu-siim-a

reason Pp-2-child 2-pst-1-like-fv

“Because children like him/her”

Let us now turn to the ungrammaticality of 5(a), (b), (c) & (e) repeated here as 15(a), (b), (c) & (e) respectively. What accounts for the ungrammaticality of these sentences?

15(a) *Siina sikila ni-sy-o Nafula na-a-kha-sing-a chii-ngubo?

What reason pred-7-pron 1Nafula prt-1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes

“Why is it that Nafula is washing clothes?”

(b) *Sikila si(ina) ni-sy-o Nafula na-a-kha-sing-a chii-ngubo?

Reason what pred-7-pron 1Nafula prt-1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes

“Why is it that Nafula is washing clothes?”

(c) *Sikila ni-sy-o siina Nafula na-a-kha-sing-a chii-ngubo?

Reason pred-7-pron what 1Nafula prt-1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes

“Why is it that Nafula is washing clothes?”

(d) Siina ni-sy-o sikila Nafula na-a-kha-sing-a chii-ngubo?

What pred-7-pron reason 1Nafula prt-1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes

“Why is it that Nafula is washing clothes?”

(e) *Siina ni-sy-o Nafula na-a-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo sikila?

What pred-7-pron 1Nafula prt-1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes reason

“Why is it that Nafula is washing clothes?”

Both 15(a) & (b) involve clefting of the entire reason phrase. These sentences are ungrammatical for two possible reasons. One explanation is that they violate an economy condition on pied piping which requires that only the smallest possible constituent be pied piped (Chomsky 1995). Since ‘siina’ can be moved (15d), it is a violation of this condition to cleft a bigger constituent. Another possible explanation for the ungrammaticality of 15(a) & (b) is that they involve clefting of a constituent that is not cleftable in Lubukusu. The only constituents that can be clefted in Lubukusu are DPs and locative PPs (see chapter 3). But in 15(a) & (b), the clefted constituent is a reason wh-phrase which is clearly neither a DP nor a locative PP. Notice that 15(c) has a similar problem. In this example the clefted constituent is ‘sikila’ (=reason/because). ‘Sikila’ deceptively looks like a DP, but it is not. It is not even a noun as evidenced by the fact that it cannot be modified by an adjective (16a), it cannot be modified by a relative clause (16b), it cannot be pluralized (16d) and it can occur in a non-typical noun position in the left periphery (16d, e).

16(a) *sikila si-layi

reason 7-good

“A good reason”

(b) *sikila si-sy-a-mu-kw-iisy-a sy-a-ba ...

reason wh-7-pst-1-fall-cause-fv 7-pst-be

“Tha reason that caused him/her to fail ...”

(c) sikila → *bi-kila

8-reason

“Reasons”

(d) Sikila Nafula na-a-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo (sili) si(ina)?

Reason 1Nafula prt-1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes be what

“The reason Nafula is washing clothes is what?”

(e) Ni-sy-o Nafula a-kha-siing-a (sili) si(ina)?

Pred-7-pron 1Nafula 1-pres-wash-fv be what

“That which Nafula is washing is what?”

16(d) and (e) are pseudo-clefts. The former is based on the reason phrase, while the latter is a typical non-reason pseudo-cleft. Assuming that pseudo-clefts are headless relative clauses, (16e) has no surprises: no DP precedes the complex complementizer. But (16d) is somewhat puzzling on a theory that takes ‘sikila’ to be a NP: ‘sikila’ is appearing in a non-typical NP position. Pseudo-clefts do not generally allow NPs to occur before subjects. If pseudo-clefts are headless relative clauses, then 16(d) must also be headless. This in turn suggests three related facts about 16(d): (i) that ‘sikila’ is not a noun, (ii) that ‘sikila’ is not the head of the pseudo-cleft and (iii) that ‘sikila’ is occupying a non-nominal position.

Turning now to 15(e), it is surprising that even though only ‘siina’ is clefted, the result is bad. The only difference between the grammatical 15(d) and the ungrammatical 15(e) is that ‘siina’ is extracted from a sentence initial position in the former but from a post-verbal position in the latter. This contrast is significant. It strongly suggests to us that the reason wh-phrase ‘sikila siina’ is not base generated in a post-verbal position; it is base generated in the left periphery. Later in this section and subsequent sections, I will show that adverb distribution facts, negation facts and certain word order facts follow from this view.

Another issue raised by clefting from the reason wh-phrase is the status of the complex-complementizer-deficient-left-periphery that has the inverted order (*siina sikila*). As shown in (3a) which is repeated here as (17a), the inverted order ‘*siina sikila*’ appears in what seems to be a non-cleft construction. Compare this to the cleft with an overt complex complementizer (5d) repeated here as (17b). Like (17a), (17b) also has the inverted order *siina sikila*.

17(a) Sína síkila Nafula ná-á-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo?

What reason 1Nafula prt-1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes

“Why is Nafula washing clothes?”

(b) Sína ni-sy-o sikila Nafula na-a-kha-sing-a chii-ngubo?

What pred-7-pron reason 1Nafula prt-1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes

“Why is it that Nafula is washing clothes?”

A question that these sentences raise is whether the inverted word order in (17a) is derived in the same way as (17b). I argue that even though the former lacks the complex complementizer (=the ‘ni-agr-o’ word), it is also a cleft construction just like the latter. The complex complementizer in (17a) is suppressed. Suppression of the complex complementizer is not idiosyncratic to constructions such as (17a); it can also be suppressed in several other constructions in the language. An example of a construction that allows for suppression of the complex complementizer is shown in the following data.

18(a) Mi-saala si(ina) ni-ky-o ki-ky-a-kw-a?

3-tree what pred-7-pron wh-3-pst-fall-fv

“Which are the trees that fell?”

(b) Mi-saala siina ki-ky-a-kw-a?

3-tree what wh-3-pst-fall-fv

“Which are the trees that fell?”

Thus in subject questions, the complex complementizer can occur (18a) or can be suppressed (18b).

Up to this point our focus in the discussion of inverted word order in the reason wh-phrase has been the *siina sikila-type* reason wh-phrase. We have said nothing about the *khuubeela siina-type* reason wh-phrase. As was shown in 6(b) & (d) repeated here as 19(a) & (b) respectively and 19(c), this type of reason wh-phrase does not allow the inverted order.

19(a) *Siina khuu-be-el-a ni-sy-o Nafula na-a-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo?

What inf-be-appl-fv pred-7-pron 1Nafula prt-1- pres-wash-fv 10-clothes

“Why is it that Nafula is washing clothes?”

(b) *Siina ni-sy-o khuu-be-el-a Nafula na-a-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo?

What pred-7-pron inf-be-appl-fv 1Nafula prt-1- pres-wash-fv 10-clothes

“Why is it that Nafula is washing clothes?”

(c) *Siina khuu-be-el-a Nafula na-a-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo?

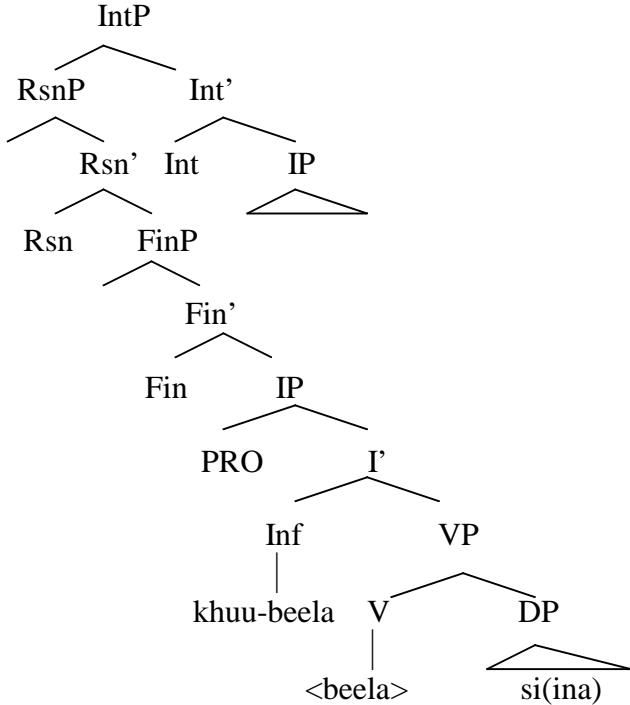
What inf-be-appl-fv 1Nafula prt-1- pres-wash-fv 10-clothes

“Why is it that Nafula is washing clothes?”

I argue that these sentences are ungrammatical due to the fact that the force head of the ForceP/IP complement of the reason head lacks a wh-feature (since the IP is infinitival). For this reason, the wh-phrase *siina* remains in the position following *khuubeela*: it cannot be raised to Spec of Reason. The structure of the *khuubeela si(ina)* type reason phrase is sketched in (20).

20. khuu-be-el-a si(ina)?

inf-be-appl-fv what



5.2.6 Generating the reason wh-phrase in the left periphery

I suggested in the previous section that the reason wh-phrase in Lubukusu is generated in the left periphery, specifically in Spec IntP. The idea of generating ‘why’ and related reason wh-phrases in the left periphery is not new. Rizzi’s (1990) generated Italian ‘why’ in Spec C, and about the same time for independent reasons, Collins (1991) argued that English ‘how come’ is base generated in C. More recently, Ko (2005) has argued that ‘why’ in Korean and Japanese is externally merged in [Spec, CP]. My proposal to generate the Lubukusu reason wh-phrase in the left periphery therefore adds Lubukusu (and other Bantu languages) to the list of languages for which this analysis has been proposed.

The strongest evidence which supports the view that ‘why’ in Lubukusu is generated in the left periphery comes from distribution facts. Consider the following data.

21(a) Sikila si(ina) Nafula ná-á-kha-rum-a o-mw-ana Kimilili?

Reason what 1Nafula prt-1-pres-send-fv Pp-1-child Kimilili

“Why is Nafula sending the child to Kimilili?”

(b) *Naanu Nafula (ná)-á-kha-rum-a Kimilili?

Who 1Nafula (prt)-1-pres-send-fv Kimilili

“Who is Nafula sending to Kimilili?”

(c) *Waae(na) Nafula (ná)-á-kha-rum-a o-mw-ana?

Where 1Nafula (prt)-1-pres-send-fv Pp-1-child

“Where is Nafula sending the child?”

(d) *Liina Nafula (ná)-á-kha-rum-e o-mw-ana Kimilili?

When 1Nafula (prt)-1-fut-send-fv Pp-1-child Kimilili

“When will Nafula send the child to Kimilili?”

Thus only *sikila siina* (=why) can occur in the sentence initial position in a non-cleft construction. All the other wh-phrases cannot. I take this to be evidence that only *sikila siina* is generated in the left periphery.

Construal of ‘why’ in bridge-verb constructions also provide support for generating *sikila siina* in the left periphery. As shown in the following data, sentence initial ‘why’ can only have main clause construal, it can never have embedded clause construal.

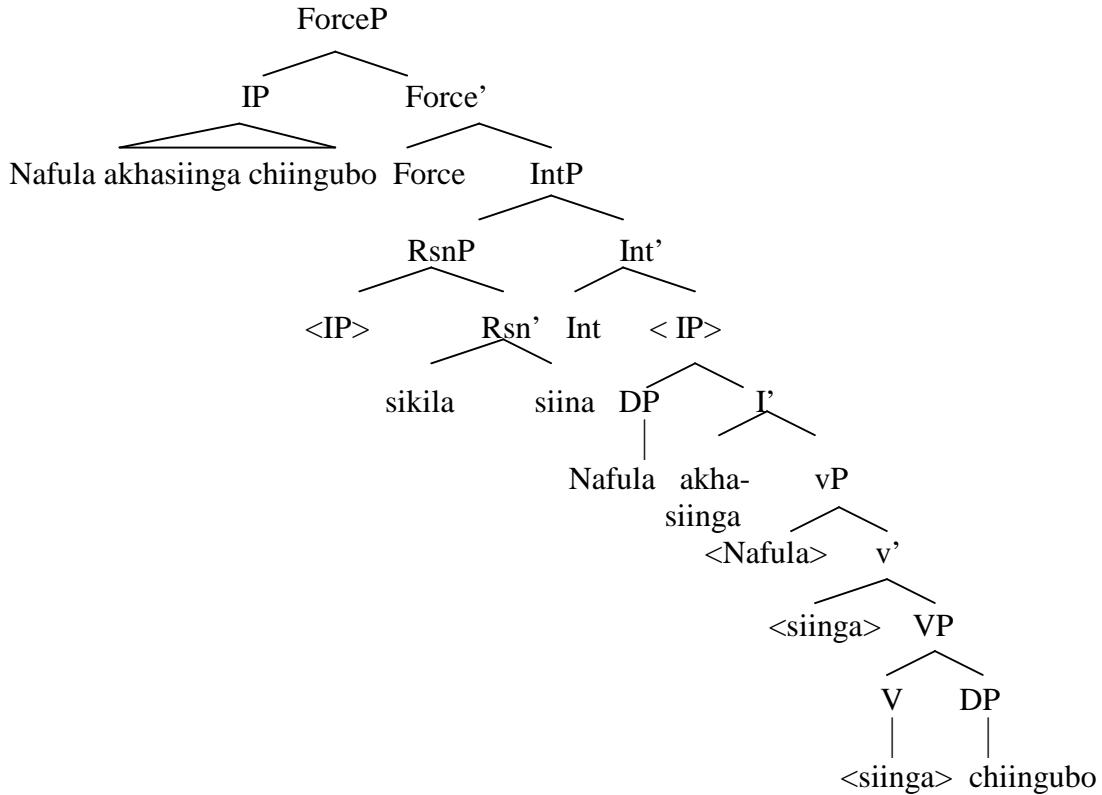
22. Siina ni-sy-o sikila Wekesa ne-a-a-lom-a a-li Nekesa
 What pred-7-pron reason 1Wekesa prt-1-pst-say-fv 1-sub 1Nekesa
 a-a-koy-a ka-ma-lwa?
 1-pst-brew-fv Pp-6-beer
- (i) “What is the reason x s.t. Wekesa said for x that Nekesa brew beer?”
 (ii) “*What is the reason x s.t. Wekesa said that Nekesa”
- The fact that *sikila siina* (=why) in (22) lacks embedded clause construal strongly suggests that it never undergoes movement. *Sikila siina* should have embedded clause construal if indeed it were generated in the VP, but it doesn’t. I take this to be evidence that *sikila siina* is base generated not in the VP, but in the left periphery.
- If *sikila siina* is generated in the left periphery (in Spec IntP), then the post verbal occurrence of *sikila siina* in a sentence such as (1b) which is repeated here as (23), must be derived.

23. Nafula a-kha-sing-a chii-ngubo sikila sí(ína)?
 1Nafula 1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes reason what
 “Why is Nafula washing clothes?”

I propose that to derive this postverbal position the IP undergoes leftward movement to Spec ForceP through Spec RsnP. This is illustrated (24).

24. Nafula a-kha-sing-a chii-ngubo sikila sí(ína)?

1Nafula 1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes reason what



IP movement to Spec of Force effectively blocks extraction from the reason phrase: the wh-phrase *siina* cannot move to Spec of Force because this position is already occupied by IP. Moreover, the OCC feature of force has already been checked by the IP, so there is no need for *siina* to raise. Notice also that Spec RsnP which is normally used as an escape hatch for *siina* is unavailable (since it is occupied by the IP trace). There is therefore no way *siina* can move out of RsnP in this construction. This analysis predicts that the inverted order *siina sikila*, is impossible in sentence final position. As was shown by (1c) which is repeated here as (25), this prediction is borne out.

25. *Nafula a-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo siina sikila?

1Nafula 1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes what reason

“Why is Nafula washing clothes?”

Thus generating *sikila siina* in the left periphery offers us a straightforward explanation for why the inverted order, *siina sikila*, is impossible (25). It also helps us account for facts that have hitherto remained unexplained. In the sections that follow I describe how these facts are straightforwardly accounted for under our theory.

5.2.7 Position of the reason wh-phrase in relation to adverbs

In Lubukusu adverbs can generally follow wh-phrases, excluding the reason wh-phrase and the manner wh-phrase. The reason and manner wh-phrases are never followed by an adverb. Consider the following data.

26(a) *Nafula a-kha-sing-a chii-ngubo sikila sí(ína) kalaa?

1Nafula 1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes reason what slowly

“Why is Nafula washing clothes slowly?”

(b) Nafula a-kha-sing-a kalaa chii-ngubo sikila si(ina)?

1Nafula 1-pres-wash-fv slowly 10-clothes reason what

“Why is Nafula washing clothes slowly?”

(c) Nafula a-kha-sing-a chii-ngubo kalaa sikila si(ina)?

1Nafula 1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes slowly reason what

“Why is Nafula washing clothes slowly?”

27(a) Nafula a-kha-sing-a sí(ína) kalaa?

1Nafula 1-pres-wash-fv what slowly

“What is Nafula washing slowly?”

(b) Nafula a-kha-sing-a kalaa sí(ína)?

1Nafula 1-pres-wash-fv slowly what

“What is Nafula washing slowly?”

28(a) Nafula a-kha-sing-a ngubo si(ina) kalaa?

1Nafula 1-pres-wash-fv clothes which slowly

“Which clothes is Nafula washing slowly?”

(b) Nafula a-kha-sing-a kalaa ngubo si(ina)?

1Nafula 1-pres-wash-fv slowly clothes which

“Which clothes is Nafula washing slowly?”

29(a) *Nafula a-kha-sing-a chii-ngubo a-rie(ena) kalaa?

1Nafula 1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes 1-how slowly

“How is Nafula washing clothes slowly?”

(b) Nafula a-kha-sing-a chii-ngubo kalaa a-rie(ena)?

1Nafula 1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes slowly 1-how

“How is Nafula washing clothes slowly?”

(c) Nafula a-kha-sing-a kalaa chii-ngubo a-riee(na)?

1Nafula 1-pres-wash-fv slowly 10-clothes 1-how

“How is Nafula washing clothes slowly?”

30(a) Nafula a-kha-ch-a waae(na) kalaa?

1Nafula 1-pres-go-fv where slowly

“Where is Nafula going slowly?”

(b) Nafula a-kha-ch-a kalaa waae(na)?

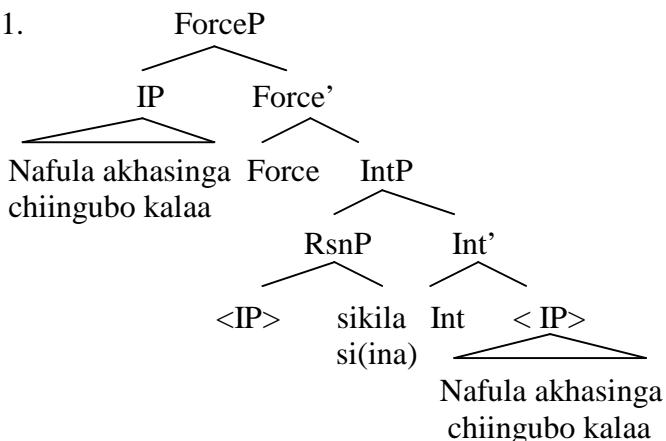
1Nafula 1-pres-go-fv slowly where

“Where is Nafula going slowly?”

Thus an adverb can follow *si(ina)* ‘what’ (27a), *ngubo si(ina)* ‘which clothes’ (28a) and *waae(na)* ‘where’ (30a), but not *sikila si(ina)* ‘why’ (26a) and *-riee(na)* ‘how’ (29a). The adverb must precede *sikila si(ina)* (26b&c) and *-riee(na)* (29b&c).

The fact that adverbs must precede *sikila si(ina)* seems to be a direct consequence of IP movement. Adverbs do not follow the reason wh- phrase in Lubukusu because VP adverbs being part of the IP always move with the rest of the IP to Spec of Force. This is illustrated in (31) which is a partial derivation of (26c).

31.



5.2.8 Negating reason wh-constructions

As was shown in the previous chapter (chapter 4), wh- in-situ is incompatible with negation in Lubukusu. The following data further illustrates.

32(a) *Wafula se-a-a-kul-a si(ina) ta?

1Wafula neg-1-past-buy-fv what neg

“What didn’t Wafula buy?”

(b) *Nafula se-a-kul-a chii-ngubo waae(na) ta?

1Nafula neg-1-pst-fv 10-clothes where neg

“Where didn’t Nafula buy clothes?”

(c) *Naanu se-a-kul-a chii-ngubo ta?

Who neg-1-buy-fv 10-clothes neg

“Who didn’t buy clothes?”

(d) *Nafula se-a-siing-a chii-ngubo a-rie(ena) ta?

1Nafula neg-1-wash-fv 10-clothes 1-how neg

“How didn’t Nafula wash clothes?”

Thus negation in Lubukusu may not intervene between Fin and the in-situ wh-phrase. In other words, negation is an SBE (scope bearing element) that gives rise to an intervention effect.

Since I have argued that the reason wh-phrase in Lubukusu is generated in Spec of IntP, negation should be compatible with the reason wh-phrase (assuming that the ungrammaticality of negated wh- in-situ constructions is caused by the unacceptability of wh-feature movement across negation). That is, if the reason wh-phrase is base generated Spec of IntP, then the issue of wh-feature movement does not arise. We therefore expect sentences 33(a) & (c)-(d) to be good. But as it turns out, only (33a) is grammatical.

33(a) Wafula se-a-a-kul-a ku-mu-kunda ta sikila si(ina)?

Wafula neg-1-past-buy-fv Pp-3-farm neg reason what

“Why didn’t Wafula buy a farm?”

(b) *Wafula se-a-a-kul-a ku-mu-kunda sikila si(ina) ta?

Wafula neg-1-past-buy-fv Pp-3-farm reason what neg

“Why didn’t Wafula buy a farm?”

(c) *Sikila siina Wafula se-a-a-kul-a ku-mu-kunda ta?

Reason what 1Wafula neg-1-past-buy-fv Pp-3-farm neg

“Why didn’t Wafula buy a farm?”

(d) *Siina sikila Wafula se-a-a-kul-a ku-mu-kunda ta?

What reason 1Wafula neg-1-past-buy-fv Pp-3-farm neg

“Why didn’t Wafula buy a farm?”

Although 33(c) & (d) are ungrammatical, they do not necessarily argue against generating *sikila siina* in the left periphery. I argue that these sentences are ungrammatical for independent reasons. They are ungrammatical for reasons that have got nothing to do with the incompatibility between negation and wh- in-situ. On our theory which generates *sikila siina* in Spec IntP, the grammaticality of 33(a) is expected. The ungrammaticality of 33(b) is also expected: the neg 2 particle, *ta*, always occurs VP-finally, so there is no way *sikila siina* which is generated in the left periphery can intervene between *ta* and the rest of the VP. In contrast, it seems on first impression that the ungrammaticality of 33(c) & (d) is unexpected, but on careful scrutiny, the ungrammaticality is in fact expected. You recall from the data in (3), (4) & (5) that in the initial sentence position, the reason wh-phrase in Lubukusu always triggers *ne-/na-* marking. But as shown in (33c & d), there is no *ne-/na*³⁰-marking even though the reason wh- phrase is in the sentence initial position. It seems that the position that is usually occupied by the *ne-/na-* particle is unavailable in negative sentences such as (33c & d). This is perhaps due to the fact that this position is already taken by the negative particle *se-*. In contrast (33a) is good because the *ne-/na-* marking is not required here, IP movement having taken place. You recall that sentences that undergo IP movement, and therefore have the reason wh- phrase in the post verbal position, characteristically lack *ne-/na-* marking. For this reason the negative particle has no competition for the preverbal slot, the *ne-/na-* particle having been rendered unnecessary by IP movement. But in the absence of IP

³⁰ Ne- and na- are allomorphs. Their distribution is phonologically determined.

movement, *ne-/na-* marking is obligatory. If our theory is correct – that is, if it is true that the negation particle *se-* blocks *ne-/na-* marking, then negating sentences 33(c) & (d) using the *-kha-...ta* strategy should be fine. This is exactly what we find: 34(a) & (b) which are negated using the *-kha-...ta* strategy are grammatical. The reason for this is that unlike *se-*, *-kha-* does not take up the verb initial position. In the *-kha-...ta* negation strategy then, the verb initial position is available for *ne-/na-* marking.

34(a) Sikila siina Wafula na-a-kha-a-kul-a ku-mu-kunda ta?

Reason what 1Wafula prt-1-neg- past-buy-fv Pp-3-farm neg

“Why didn’t Wafula buy a farm?”

(b) Siina sikila Wafula na-a-kha-a-kul-a ku-mu-kunda ta?

What reason 1Wafula prt-1-neg-past-buy-fv Pp-3-farm neg

“Why didn’t Wafula buy a farm?”

The general picture that emerges from our discussion up to this point is that in a Lubukusu why-construction, *sikila siina* is generated in Spec IntP. Moreover, the force head in a why-construction has an OCC feature that is checked in one of three ways: (i) IP movement to Spec ForceP, (ii) movement of the entire reason phrase to Spec ForceP or (iii) movement of the question word, *siina*, to Spec ForceP. The first option, that is, checking the OCC feature of the Force head by moving the IP to Spec ForceP gives rise to sentence-final *sikila siina*. The second option - checking the Force’s OCC feature by moving the entire reason phrase to Spec ForceP derives sentence-initial *sikila siina*. The inverted order, *siina sikila*, in sentence initial position comes about if the why-construction has a PredP. In such cases, the Pred head attracts the question word, *siina*. Eventually, *siina* moves to Spec ForceP to check the OCC feature of Force.

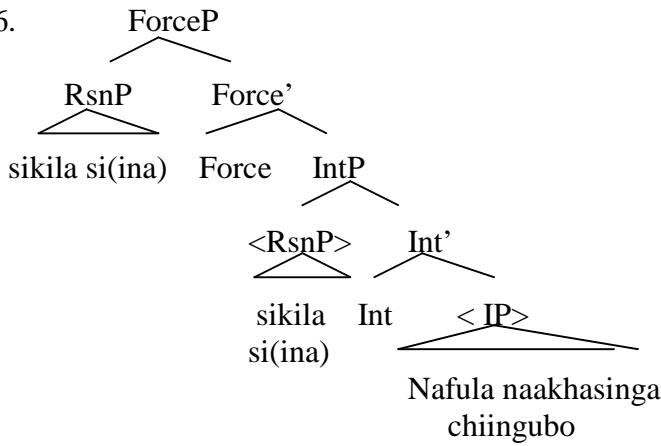
The following structures illustrate the derivation of the why-costruction in Lubukusu. (36) is a partial derivation of (35) while (38) is a partial derivation of (37)

35. Sikila si(ina) Nafula na-a-khaa-siing-a chii-ngubo?

Reason what 1Nafula prt-1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes

Why is Nafula washing clothes?

36.

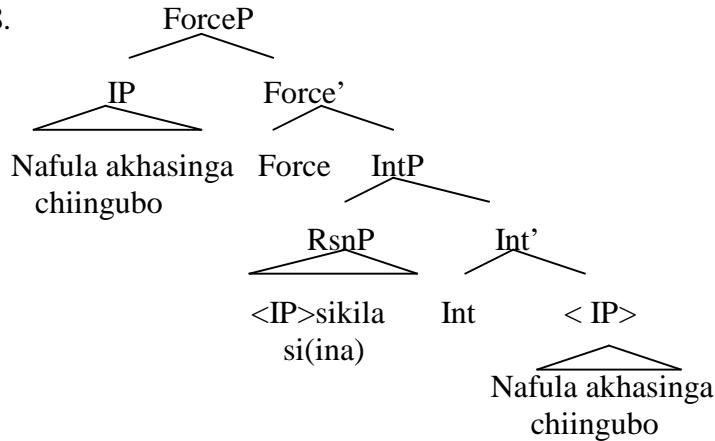


37. Nafula a-khaa-siing-a chii-ngubo sikila si(ina)?

1Nafula 1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes reason what

Why is Nafula washing clothes?

38.



A missing detail in the derivation in (36) is an illustration of what the ne-/na-particle is and where exactly it is generated. The following section focuses on this particle.

5.2.9 The *ne-/na-* particle

We saw in 3(a), 3(b)/35, 5(d) & 4(a) repeated here as 39(a), (b) & (c) respectively that the particle ne-/na- is prefixed to the verb when the reason wh-phrase is in the sentence-initial position. In contrast, the verb is not prefixed the ne-/na- particle if the reason wh-phrase is in the sentence-final position (see 1(b) & 2(a) repeated here as 40(a) & (b) respectively).

39(a) Síína síkila Nafula ná-á-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo?

What reason 1Nafula prt-1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes

“Why is Nafula washing clothes?”

(b) Sikila si(ina) Nafula ná-á-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo?

Reason what 1Nafula prt-1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes

“Why is Nafula washing clothes?”

(c) Siina ni-sy-o sikila Nafula na-a-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo?

What pred-7-pron reason 1Nafula prt-1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes

“Why is it that Nafula is washing clothes?”

(d) Khuu-be-el-a si(ina) Nafula ná-á-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo?

Inf-be-appl-fv what 1Nafula prt-1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes

“Why is Nafula washing clothes?”

40(a) Nafula a-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo sikila sí(ína)?

1Nafula 1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes reason what

“Why is Nafula washing clothes?”

- (b) Nafula a-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo kuu-be-el-a sí(ína)?

1Nafula 1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes inf-be-appl-fv what

“Why is Nafula washing clothes?”

The particle na-/ne- is obligatory when the reason wh-phrase is in the sentence-initial position. Thus dropping this particle from sentences in (39) leads to ungrammaticality. This is illustrated in the following data.

- 41(a) *Sína síkila Nafula á-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo?

What reason 1Nafula 1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes

“Why is Nafula washing clothes?”

- (b) *Sikila si(ina) Nafula á-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo?

Reason what 1Nafula 1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes

“Why is Nafula washing clothes?”

- (c) *Siina ni-sy-o sikila Nafula a-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo?

What pred-7-pron reason 1Nafula 1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes

“Why is it that Nafula is washing clothes?”

- (d) *Kuu-be-el-a si(ina) Nafula á-kha-siing-a chii-ngubo?

Inf-be-appl-fv what 1Nafula 1-pres-wash-fv 10-clothes

“Why is Nafula washing clothes?”

We adopted a theory that generates the reason wh-phrase in the left periphery, but one can re-interpret the data in (39)-(41) as supporting a theory that generates the reason wh-phrase in the VP. Under this theory, the reason wh-phrase is in-situ in (40) – hence the absence of the ne-/na- particle. But in (39), the reason wh-phrase has moved successive cyclically from a VP-internal position to the left periphery. The ne-/na- particle which shows up on the verb in each of the sentences in (39)

seems to support a successive cyclic movement analysis. The question is: what is the status of the ne-/na- particle? Does it reflect successive cyclic movement? The following data shows that it does reflect some form of local movement, but not necessarily movement from one clause to the next.

42(a) Wekesa a-lom-a a-li siina sikila Nekesa na-kha-be na-a-som-a sii-tabu?

1Wekesa 1-say-fv 1-sub what reason 1Nekesa prt-fut-be prt-1-read-fv 7-book
“What is the reason x s.t. Wekesa said that Nekesa will be reading the book
because of x?”

(b) *Wekesa ne-a-lom-a a-li siina sikila Nekesa na-kha-be na-a-som-a sii-tabu?

1Wekesa prt-1-say-fv 1-sub what reason 1Nekesa prt-fut-be prt-1-read-fv 7-book
“What is the reason x s.t. Wekesa said that Nekesa will be reading the book
because of x?”

(c) *Wekesa a-lom-a a-li siina sikila Nekesa a-kha-be na-a-som-a sii-tabu?

1Wekesa 1-say-fv 1-sub what reason 1Nekesa 1-fut-be prt-1-read-fv 7-book
“What is the reason x s.t. Wekesa said that Nekesa will be reading the book
because of x?”

(d) *Wekesa a-lom-a a-li siina sikila Nekesa na-kha-be a-som-a sii-tabu?

1Wekesa 1-say-fv 1-sub what reason 1Nekesa prt-fut-be 1-read-fv 7-book
“What is the reason x s.t. Wekesa said that Nekesa will be reading the book
because of x?”

43(a) Siina sikila Wekesa ne-a-lom-a a-li Nekesa a-kha-be a-som-a sii-tabu?

What reason 1Wekesa prt-1-say-fv 1-sub 1Nekesa 1-fut-be 1-read-fv 7-book

(i) “What is the reason x, s.t. Wekesa said because of x that Nekesa will be reading the book?”

(ii) “*What is the reason x, s.t. Wekesa said Nekesa will be reading the book because of x?”

(b) *Siina sikila Wekesa ne-a-lom-a a-li Nekesa na-a-kha-be na-a-som-a sii-tabu?

What reason 1Wekesa prt-1-say-fv 1-sub 1Nekesa prt-1-fut-be prt-1-read-fv 7-book

“Why did Wekesa say that Nekesa will be reading the book?”

(c) *Siina sikila Wekesa a-lom-a a-li Nekesa a-kha-be a-som-a sii-tabu?

What reason 1Wekesa prt-1-say-fv 1-sub 1Nekesa 1-fut-be 1-read-fv 7-book

“Why did Wekesa say that Nekesa will be reading the book?”

Thus extraction of the reason wh-phrase from embedded clause triggers obligatory ne-/na- marking: this particle must be prefixed to both the auxiliary and verb. But as shown in (42b) ne-/na- must not be prefixed to the verb of the main clause (since the reason wh-does not move into the main clause). 43(a) & (b) illustrate extraction from the main clause. This time round the verb of the main clause must bear the ne-/na- particle, but the embedded clause auxiliary and verb must not. Notice that sentence-initial ‘why’ as in (43a) can only have main clause construal; it can never have embedded clause construal. This strongly suggests that the particle ne-/na- in Lubukusu reflects local movement rather than successive cyclic movement. This means that the function of the Lubukusu ne-/na- is different for instance from Ewe’s ‘wo’ which is discussed in Collins (1994). Unlike ne-/na-, ‘wo’ in Ewe reflects successive cyclic movement.

If the ne-/na- particle is a morphological realization of some form of movement, then it makes sense under a VP generated theory for this particle to show up in (39) but not in (40). In the former the reason wh-phrase has supposedly been moved to the left periphery from the VP – and the ne-/na- particle is evidence for this. But in the latter no such movement has taken place – and the absence of the particle ne-/na- is evidence for this.

An interesting fact which is evident in (42) & (43) and also in the following data is that compound tense (CT) constructions which have ‘why’ in the sentence-

initial position show double ne-/na- marking (one on the auxiliary and the other on the verb).

44. (a) Siina ni-sy-o sikila ne-mw-a-ba ne-mu-khol-a mu-rio?

What pred-7-pron reason prt-2ndP-pst-be prt-2ndP-do-fv 4-that

Why were you were doing/behaving like that?

(b) Siina ni-sy-o sikila ne-mu-kha-be ne-mu-khol-a mu-rio?

What pred-7-pron reason prt-2-prs-be prt-2ndP-do-fv 4-that

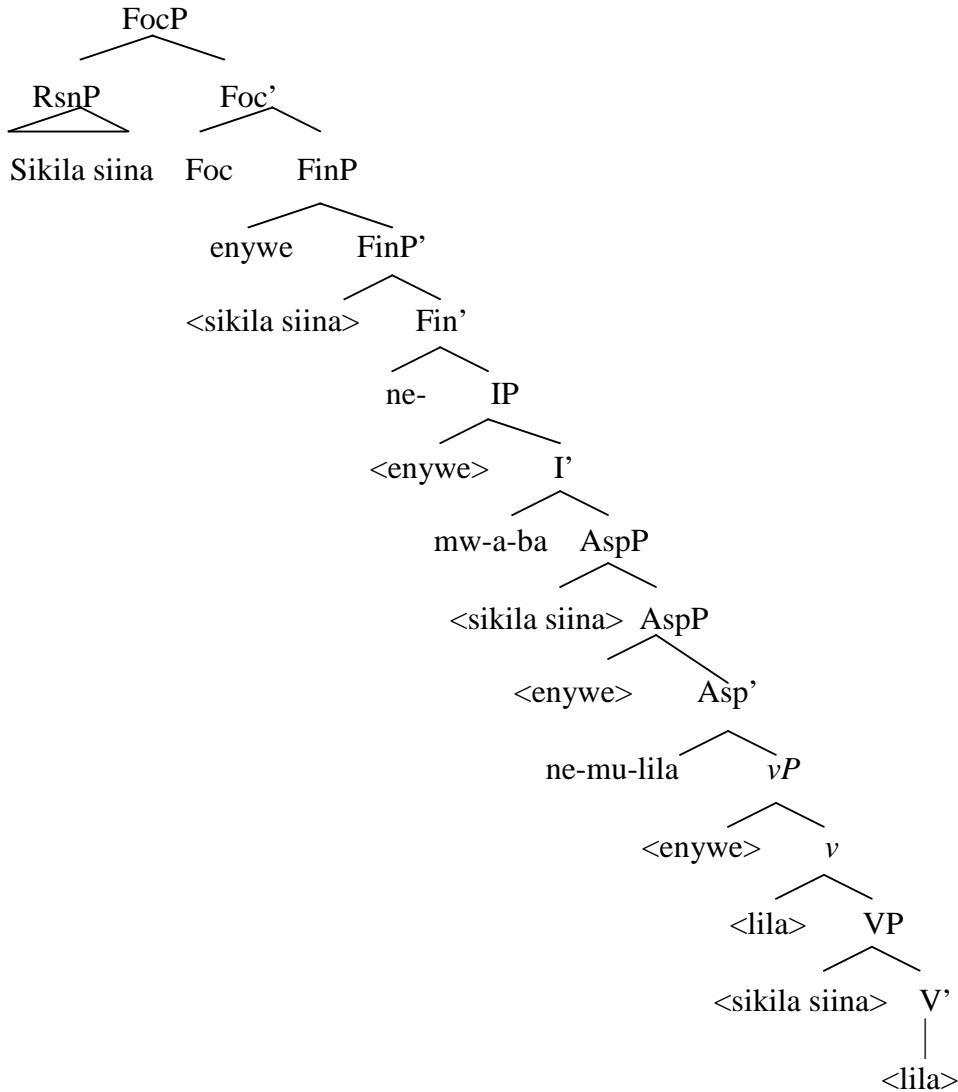
“Why will you be doing/behaving like that?”

Again, this fits in nicely with the theory that generates the the reason wh-phrase in the VP and moves it to the left periphery: the particle ne-/na- is simply a reflection of movement of *sikila siina* to the left periphery through intermediate positions; it is wh-agreement. A partial derivation of a CT construction under a why-movement account is illustrated in the following tree.

45. Sikila siina enywe ne-mw-a-ba ne-mu-lil-a?

reason what you pl. wh-2ndP-pst-be wh-2ndP-cry-fv

Why were you crying?



Although the movement-from-VP-theory of why can derive the sentence-initial and sentence-final *sikila siina* with ease, and although it can possibly explain why the inverted order, *siina sikila*, is impossible in sentence final position, it does not adequately account for several other facts. For instance, it does not explain (i) why adverbs must precede *sikila siina*, (ii) why non-reason wh-phrases do not undergo

overt movement to the left periphery in non-cleft constructions in contrast to ‘why’, (iii) why *sikila siina* consistently lacks embedded clause construal in islands (see chapter 4), (iv) why *sikila siina* in the sentence-final position does not give rise to an intervention effect, and (v) why *sikila siina* lacks embedded clause construal in bridge verb constructions – a fact that is illustrated in the following sentence.

46(a) Siina sikila Wekesa ne-a-lom-a a-li Nekesa a-kha-som-e sii-tabu?

What reason 1Wekesa prt-1-say-fv 1-sub 1Nekesa 1-fut-be 1-read-fv 7-book

- (i) “What is the reason x, s.t. Wekesa said because of x that Nekesa will read the book?”
- (ii) “*What is the reason x, s.t. Wekesa said that Nekesa will read the book because of x?”

Moreover, it is not entirely clear that the particle *ne-/na-* is a reflection of movement of *sikila siina*. It might be true that *ne-/na-* is a reflection of movement of some constituent, but it is not true that it is unequivocally a reflection of movement of *sikila siina*. To get to the bottom of this issue, let us take a closer look at the distribution of the *ne-/na-* particle in Lubukusu.

5.2.10 The distribution of the *ne-/na-* particle

In general, the *ne-/na-* particle is associated with sentence initial occurrences of the reason wh-phrases (see 39a-d). However, *ne-/na-* also shows up when non-reason wh-phrases are clefted. This is shown in the following data.

47(a) Siina ni-sy-o mw-a-ba ne-mu-khol-a?

What pred-7-pron 2ndP-pst-be prt-2ndP-do-fv

“What was it that you were doing?”

(b) Siina ni-sy-o a-kha-be ne-a-khol-a?

What pred-7-pron 1-fut-be prt-1-do-fv

“What is that s/he will be doing?”

Notice that the particle *ne-* in these CT (=Compound Tense) constructions³¹ is prefixed to the main verb. As shown in (48), prefixing it to the auxiliary is unacceptable.

48(a) *Siina ni-sy-o ne-mw-a-ba mu-khol-a?

What pred-7-pron prt-2ndP-pst-be 2ndP-do-fv

“What was it that you were doing?”

(b) *Siina ni-sy-o ne-mw-a-ba ne-mu-khol-a?

What pred-7-pron prt-2ndP-pst-be prt-2ndP-do-fv

“What was it that you were doing?”

(48b) also illustrates that it is unacceptable for the particle *ne-* to be prefixed to both the auxiliary and the main verb. But as we saw in (44), which is repeated here as (49) clefting of the wh- reason phrase in CT (=compound tense) constructions allows for this double *ne-* marking.

49(a) Siina ni-sy-o sikila ne-mw-a-ba ne-mu-khol-a mu-rio?

What pred-7-pron reason prt-2ndP-pst-be prt-2ndP-do-fv 2ndP-that

“Why were you were doing/behaving like that?”

³¹ See Carstens and Kinyalolo (1989) and Kinyalolo (1991) for a discussion of the Compound Tense construction in Bantu.

(b) Siina ni-sy-o sikila ne-mu-kha-be ne-mu-khol-a mu-rio?

What pred-7-pron reason prt-2ndP-fut-be prt-2ndP-do-fv 2ndP-that

“Why will you be doing/behaving like that?”

Similarly, *ne-* appears both on the auxiliary and on the verb in sentences such as those (50). These sentences are similar to those in (49) except that they lack the complex complementizer. I argued in the previous sections that these sentences should be considered clefts even though they lack a complex complementizer. The appearance of double *ne-* marking is therefore not surprising. They are cleft constructions in disguise, and we expect them to behave the same way as their counterparts in (49).

50(a) Siina sikila ne-mw-a-ba ne-mu-khol-a mu-rio?

What reason prt-2ndP-pst-be prt-2ndP-do-fv 2ndP-that

“Why were you doing/behaving like that?”

(b) Siina sikila ne-mu-kha-be ne-mu-khol-a mu-rio?

What reason prt-2ndP-fut-be prt-2ndP-do-fv 2ndP-that

“Why will you be doing/behaving like that?”

Notice also that movement of a non-reason wh-phrase out of a bridge verb construction does not trigger double *ne-* marking. In such sentences (see 51a-c), the particle *ne-/na-* appears only once in each clause as a prefix of the main verb, not a prefix of the auxiliary.

51(a) Wekesa a-ba a-para a-li Nekesa a-kha-be na-a-kul-a sii-tabu

1Wekesa 1- be 1-think 1-sub 1Nekesa 1-fut-be prt-1-buy-fv 7-book

“Wekesa was thinking that Nekesa will be buying a book”

- (b) Siina ni-sy-o Wekesa a-ba na-a-para a-li Nekesa a-kha-be na-a-kul-a?
 What pred-7-pron 1Wekesa 1-be prt-1-think 1-sub 1Nekesa 1-fut-be prt-1-buy-fv
 “What is it that Wekesa was thinking that Nekesa will be buying?”
- (c) Naanu ni-y-e o-w-a-ba na-a-para a-li Nekesa a-kha-be
 Who pred-1-pron wh-1-pst-be prt-1-think 1-sub 1Nekesa 1-fut-be
 na-a-kul-a sii-tabu?
 prt-1-buy-fv 7-book
 “Who was thinking that Nekesa will be buying a book?”

The particle *na-/ne-* also occurs in non-wh-cleft sentences that have compound tenses. As shown in (52), *ne-* appears only on the main verb.

- 52(a) Wafula a-beel-e a-ma khu-kul-a sii-tabu
 1Wafula 1-be-fv 1-from inf-buy-fv 7-book
 “Wafula was from buying a book”
- (b) Si-li si-tabu ni-sy-o Wafula a-beel-e ne-a-ma khu-kul-a
 7-be 7-book pred-7-pron 1Wafula 1-be-fv prt-1-from inf-buy-fv
 “It is a book that Wafula was from buying”
- (c) A-li Wafula ni-y-e o-wa-a-be-el-e ne-aa-ma khu-kul-a sii-tabu
 1-be 1Wafula pred-1-pron wh-1-pst-be-app-fv prt-1-from inf-buy-fv 7-book
 “It is Wafula who was from buying a book”

However *ne-/na-* does not show up in non-wh-cleft sentences whose tense is simple (not compound tense). This is shown in (53).

- 53(a) Wafula a-kha-kul-e sii-tabu
 1Wafula 1-fut-buy-fv 7-book
 “Wafula will buy a book”

(b) (A-li) Wafula ni-y-e o-o-kha-kul-e sii-tabu

1-be 1Wafula pred-1-pron wh-l-fut-buy-fv 7-book

“It is Wafula who will buy a book”

(c) (Si-li) sii-tabu ni-sy-o Wafula a-kha-kul-e

7-be 7-book pred-7-pron 1Wafula 1-fut-buy-fv

“It is a book that Wafula will buy”

Similarly, *ne-/na-* does not show up when a sentence with the present tense compound is clefted. Neither clefting of a non-reason wh-phrase in the present tense compound (54) nor clefting of a non-wh- NP (55) triggers *ne-/na-* marking.

54(a) Siina ni-sy-o ba-likho ba-khol-a?

What pred-7-pron 2-be 2-do-fv

“What is it that they are doing?”

(b) Siina ni-sy-o ba-khe ba-khol-a?

What pred-7-pron 2-be 2-do-fv

“What is it that they are doing?”

(c) *Siina ni-sy-o ba-likho ne-ba-khol-a?

What pred-7-pron 2-be prt-2-do-fv

“What is it that they are doing?”

55(a) Ba-ba-ana ba-likho ba-teekh-a ka-ma-kaanda

Pp-2-child 2-be 2-cook-fv Pp-6-beans

“Children are cooking beans”

(b) Ka-li ka-ma-kaanda ni-k-o ba-ba-ana ba-likho ba-teekh-a

6-be Pp-6-beans pred-6-pron Pp-2-child 2-be 2-cook-fv

“It is beans that children are cooking.”

- (c) *Ka-li ka-ma-kaanda ni-k-o ba-ba-ana ba-likho ne-ba-teekh-a
6-be Pp-6-beans pred-6-pron Pp-2-child 2-be prt-2-cook-fv
“It is beans that children are cooking.”

Sentences with a present tense compound that involve reason wh- phrases present a totally different picture. In such sentences, *ne-* obligatorily appears. Consider the following sentences.

- 56(a) Sikila siina ne-ba-likho ba-khol-a ba-rio?

Reason what prt-2-be 2-do-fv 2-that
“Why are they doing like that?”

- (b) Siina sikila ne-ba-likho ba-khol-a ba-rio?

What reason prt-2-be 2-do-fv 2-that
“Why are they doing like that?”

- (c) Siina sikila ne-ba-likho ne-ba-khol-a ba-rio?

What reason prt-2-be prt-2-do-fv 2-that
“Why are they doing like that?”

- (d) *Sikila si(ina) ba-likho ba-khol-a ba-rio?

Reason what prt-2-be 2-do-fv 2-that
“Why are they doing like that?”

- (e) Siina ni-sy-o sikila ne-ba-likho ba-khol-a ba-rio?

What pred-7-pron reason prt-2-be 2-do-fv 2-that
“Why is it that they are doing like that?”

- (f) *Siina ni-sy-o sikila ba-likho ba-khol-a ba-rio?

What pred-7-pron reason 2-be 2-do-fv 2-that
“Why is it that they are doing like that?”

In addition, *ne-* is obligatory in sentences such as the following.

57(a) Sikila Wafula ne-a-ma khu-ba na-khol-a a-rio (si-li) si-no

Reason 1Wafula prt-1-from inf-be prt-do-fv 1-that (7-be) 7-this

“The reason why Wafula has been doing like that is this.”

(b) Si-no ni-sy-o sikila Wafula ne-a-ma khu-ba na-khol-a a-rio

7-this pred-7-pron reason 1Wafula prt-1-from inf-be prt-do-fv 1-that

“This is the reason why Wafula has been doing like that.”

In both 57(a) and (b), *ne-* shows up even though ‘why’ is not directly involved. It is possible that a covert ‘why’ is present in these sentences. Comparable sentences in English show this alternation more clearly: ‘why’ is present in 58(a) but not in 58(b).

58(a) The reason why Wafula has been doing/behaving like that is this

(b) The reason Wafula has been doing/behaving like that is this

Thus one can argue that *ne-* shows up in (57) because a reason wh- phrase is present.

It doesn’t appear overtly, but it is present nonetheless.

Based on the data that we have examined upto this point, it seems that there are two different types of *ne-*: one that is associated with clefting of non-reason wh-phrases well as clefting of non-wh-phrases, and one that is associated with sentence-initial ‘why’. The former – which may be an aspectual marker – occurs as a prefix of the main verb while the latter, which might be a reflection of successive cyclic movement of the null operator, is prefixed both to the auxiliary and the main verb.

A question that arises is whether this obligatory *ne-* is only associated with the reason wh- phrase. The answer to this question is no. There are contexts for

obligatory *ne-* that do not involve the reason wh- phrase. To illustrate, consider the following data.

59(a) Wekesa a-a-rekukh-a maayi ne-a-a-ba na-a-kon-a

1Wekesa 1-pst-leave-fv 1mother prt-1-pst-be prt-1-sleep-fv

“Wekesa left when mother was sleeping.”

(b) *Wekesa a-a-rekukh-a maayi a-a-ba a-kon-a

1Wekesa 1-pst-leave-fv 1mother 1-pst-be 1-sleep-fv

“Wekesa left when mother was sleeping.”

(c) Wekesa ne-a-kend-a bwaangu a-lo-ol-a e-sikuli mapema

1Wekesa prt-1-walk-fv quickly 1-prs-arrive-fv at-school early

“If Wekesa walks fast, he will arrive early at school.”

(d) *Wekesa a-kend-a bwaangu a-lo-ol-a e-sikuli mapema

1Wekesa 1-walk-fv quickly 1-prs-arrive-fv at-school early

“If Wekesa walks fast, he will arrive early at school.”

(e) No-o-siim-a n-deer-e ka-me-echi

prt-2nd-like-a 1-bring-fv Pp-5-water

“Please bring me water” (Literally, if you please bring me water)

(f) Ba-ba-ana ba-a-kobel-a engo nga si-si-lima ne-sya-a-til-a

Pp-2-child 2-pst-return-fv home as Pp-7-darkness prt-7-pst-catch-fv

“Children returned home as / when darkness fell (when it became dark)”

(g) Ba-ba-ana ba-a-kobel-a engo nga si-si-lima ne-sya-a-ba ne-si-til-a

Pp-2-child 2-pst-return-fv home as Pp-7-darkness prt-7-pst-be prt-7-catch-fv

“Children returned home when darkness was falling (when it was becoming

dark)”

To summarize, ne-/na- has the following distributional properties.

60. (i) *Ne-/na-* is obligatory when a wh-reason phrase is sentence initial.
- (ii) *Ne-/na-* is prefixed both to the auxiliary and main verb in CT constructions when the reason wh-phrase is in the sentence initial position.
- (iii) *Ne-/na-* is prefixed only to the main verb in CT constructions where a non-reason wh-phrase or non-wh-phrase is clefted.
- (iv) *Ne-/na-* is also obligatory in conditionals, ‘when’ clauses, and similar constructions. These constructions do not seem to involve any overt wh-movement.

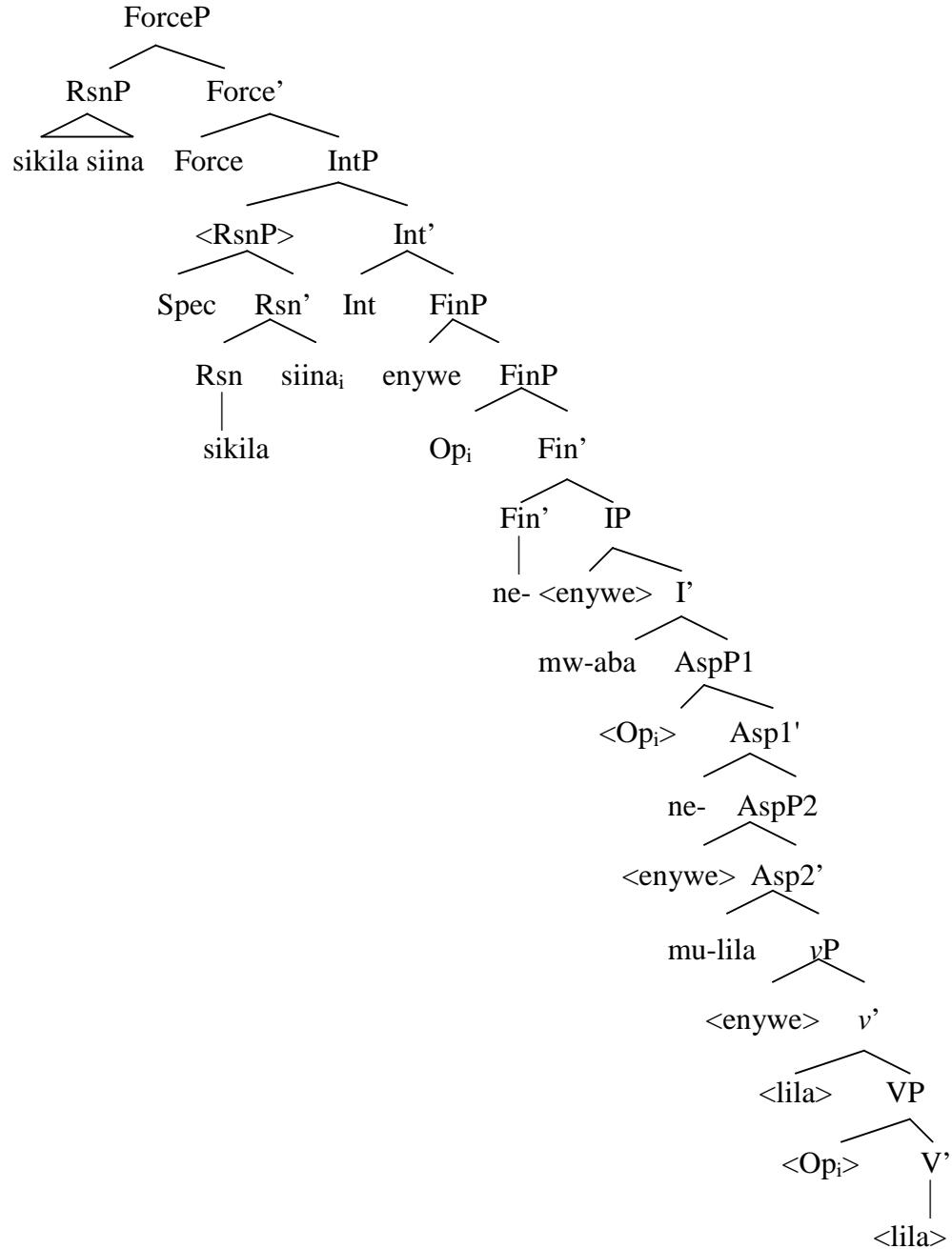
Fact (iii) suggests that ne-/na- that is associated with clefting of non-reason wh-phrases and non-wh-phrases is different from the ne-/na- particle that is associated with sentence initial *sikila siina*. The former might simply be an aspectual marker. Fact (iv) strongly suggests that the obligatory *ne-* is not triggered by successive cyclic movement of *sikila siina*. This may be true for sentences with *sikila siina* in the sentence-initial position as well: something else (not movement of *sikila siina*) is responsible for *ne*-marking. I propose that these sentences involve movement of a null operator. This null operator is generated in Spec VP of the clause containing the reason wh-phrase and moves successive cyclically to the left periphery. The ne-/na- particle is a reflection of agreement between the verb and the null operator and between aspect and the null operator. The following tree illustrates the derivation of a ‘why’ construction.

61(a) Sikila siina enywe ne-mw-a-ba ne-mu-lil-a?

reason what you pl. prt-2ndpl-pst-be prt-2ndpl-cry-fv

“Why were you crying?”

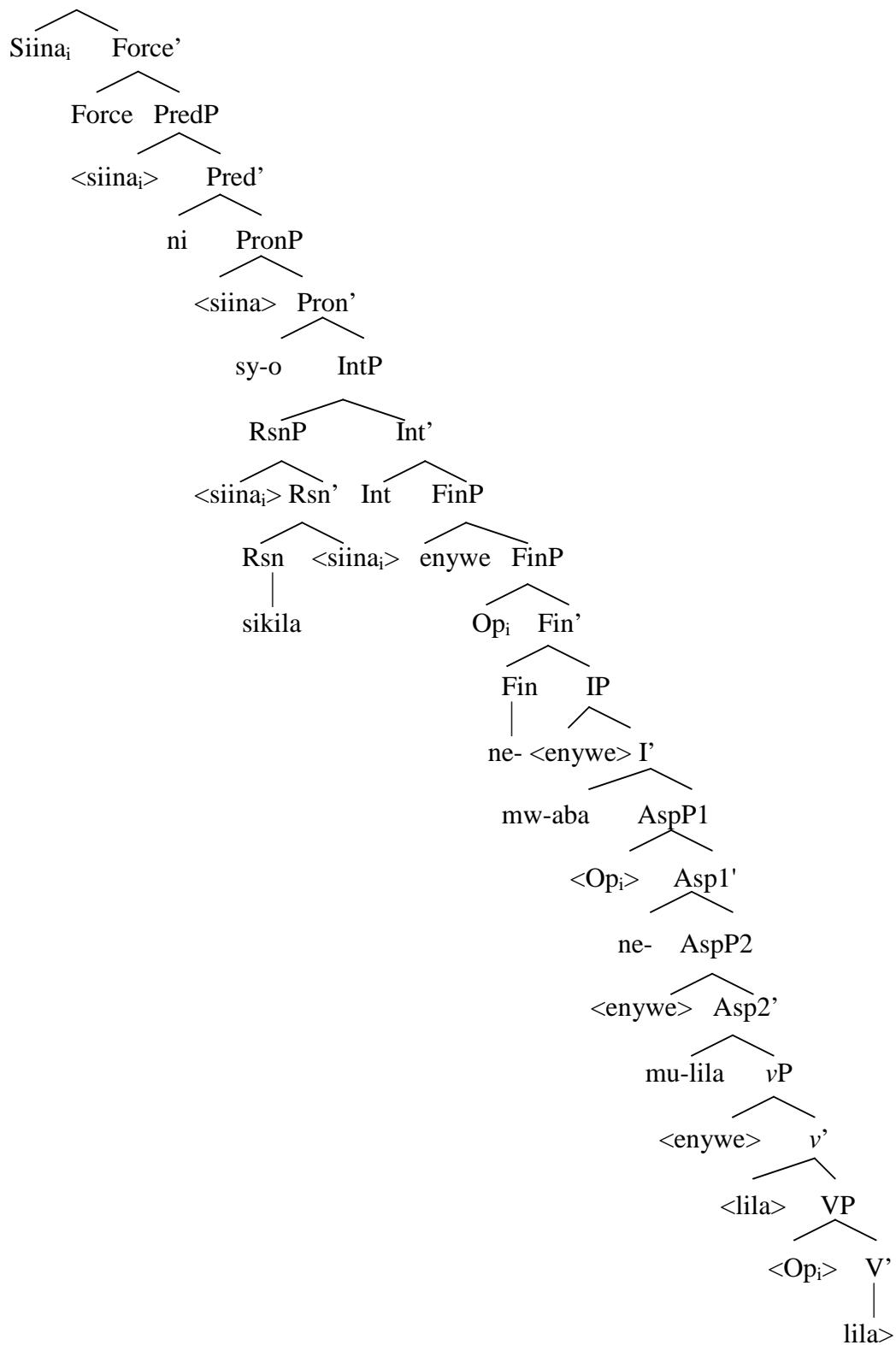
(b)



To get the inverted order in clefts, I assume that first *siina* moves to Spec PronP and then to Spec PredP. From Spec PredP, it moves to Spec of Force to check the OCC feature of Force. This is illustrated in the following derivation.

- 62(a) Siina ni-sy-o sikila enywe ne-mw-a-ba ne-mu-lil-a?
what pred-7-pron reason you pl. prt-2ndpl-pst-be pron-2ndpl-cry-fv
“Why were you crying?”

(b) ForceP



To summarize, I have argued that the reason wh-phrase, *sikila siina*, is base generated in Spec IntP. I also argued that the ne-/na- particle is operator agreement, and that getting the inverted or uninverted word order in the reason wh-phrase on the one hand and sentence-final *sikila siina* on the other, depends on the constituent that checks the OCC feature of Force. If this feature is checked by the entire reason phrase, we get sentence initial *sikila siina*; if it is checked by the wh-phrase *siina*, we get sentence initial inverted order, *siina sikila*, and if it is checked by IP, we get the sentence final *sikila siina*.

5.3 Post-verbal wh-adjuncts

This section outlines and discusses the syntactic properties of post-verbal wh-adjuncts in Lubukusu: *-rie(ena)* (=how), the manner wh- phrase; *waae(na)* (=where), the place wh- phrase and *liina* (=when), the time wh- phrase. These three wh-adjuncts are generated in the post verb position, but their syntactic behavior is by no means similar. In particular, the manner wh- adjunct *-rie(ena)* is markedly different from the place wh- adjunct *waae(na)* and the time wh- adjunct *liina* both morphologically and syntactically. It is argued that the manner wh- phrase behaves differently from other adjunct wh- phrases because it heads a functional projection while *waae(na)* and *liina* don't. The functional projection headed by *-rie(ena)* is located between IP and vP.

First I illustrate the similarities and differences between *-rie(ena)*, *waae(na)* and *liina*. I then consider how the syntactic properties of *-rie(ena)* may be accounted for, arguing that the adverb movement account is inadequate. I adopt an approach that considers *-rie(ena)* as functional head. This approach has obvious advantages over the adverb movement account.

5.3.1 The syntactic behavior of *-rie(ena)*, *waae(na)* and *liina*

The manner wh- phrase *-riee(na)* shares some syntactic properties with the other wh- phrase in the ways that will be made explicit in due course. But in major part, it exhibits behavior that is unique to itself.

5.3.2 Position of *-rie(ena)*, *waae(na)* and *liina*

As already pointed out, Lubukusu is an SVO wh- in-situ language. It follows that in normal non-cleft sentences, object wh-phrases and adjunct wh- phrases occur in the post verbal position. I assume that with the exception of the reason wh-phrase which is generated in Spec IntP in the left periphery, wh-adjuncts are base generated in the VP. The following data illustrate the occurrence of wh- adjuncts and object wh-phrases in the post verbal position.

63(a) Peter a-kha-kul-e si-tabu a-rie(ena)?

1-Peter 1-fut-buy-fv 7-book 1-how

“How will Peter buy the book?”

(b) Ba-ba-ana ba-kha-kul-e si-tabu ba-rie(ena)?

Pp-2-child 2-fut-buy-fv 7-book 2-how

“How will children buy the book?”

64(a) Peter a-kha-kul-e si-tabu waae(na)?

1-Peter 1-fut-buy-fv 7-book where

“Where will Peter buy the book?”

(b) Ba-ba-ana ba-kha-kul-e si-tabu waae(na)?

Pp-2-child 2-fut-buy-fv 7-book where

“Where will children buy the book?”

65(a) Peter a-kha-kul-e si-tabu liina?

1-Peter 1-fut-buy-fv 7-book when

“When will Peter buy the book?”

(b) Ba-ba-ana ba-kha-kul-e si-tabu liina?

Pp-2-child 2-fut-buy-fv 7-book when

“When will children buy the book?”

66(a) Peter a-kha-kul-e si-tabu sikila si(ina)?

1-Peter 1-fut-buy-fv 7-book reason what

“Why will Peter buy the book?”

(b) Ba-ba-ana ba-kha-kul-e si-tabu sikila si(ina)?

Pp-2-child 2-fut-buy-fv 7-book reason what

“Why will children buy the book?”

67(a) Peter a-kha-kul-e si(ina)?

1-Peter 1-fut-buy-fv what

“What will Peter buy?”

(b) Ba-ba-ana ba-kha-kul-e si(ina)?

Pp-2-child 2-fut-buy-fv what

“What will children buy?”

68(a) Peter a-kha-kul-e si-tabu si(ina)?

1-Peter 1-fut-buy-fv 7-book what

“Which book will Peter buy?”

(b) Ba-ba-ana ba-kha-kul-e si-tabu si(ina)?

Pp-2-child 2-fut-buy-fv 7-book what

“Which book will children buy?”

69(a) Peter a-kha-kul-e bi-tabu bi-inga?

1-Peter 1-fut-buy-fv 8-book 8-how many

“How many books will Peter buy?”

(b) Ba-ba-ana ba-kha-kul-e bi-tabu bi-inga?

Pp-2-child 2-fut-buy-fv 8-book 8-how many

“How many books will children buy?”

The position of *-rie(ena)* the wh- manner adjunct and *waae(na)*, the wh- place adjunct, and *liina*, after the object is not rigid. They can also occur before the object NP. This is shown in (70), (71) and (72). However, the pre-object position is not available for *sikila si(ina)*, the reason wh- adjunct. This is shown in (73).

70(a) Ba-ba-ana ba-a-nyol-a chi-lomo ba-rie(ena)?

Pp-2-child 2-pst-receive-fv 10-report 2-how

“How did the children receive information?”

(b) Ba-ba-ana ba-a-nyol-a ba-rie(ena) chi-lomo?

Pp-2-child 2-pst-receive-fv 2-how 10-report

“How did the children receive information?”

71(a) Ba-ba-ana ba-a-nyol-a chi-lomo waae(na)?

Pp-2-child 2-pst-receive-fv 10-report where

“Where did the children receive information?”

(b) Ba-ba-ana ba-a-nyol-a waae(na) chi-lomo?

Pp-2-child 2-pst-receive-fv where 10-report

“Where did the children receive information?”

72(a) Ba-ba-ana ba-a-nyol-a chi-lomo liina?

Pp-2-child 2-pst-receive-fv 10-report when

“When did the children receive information?”

(b) Ba-ba-ana ba-a-nyol-a liina chi-lomo?

Pp-2-child 2-pst-receive-fv when 10-report

“When did the children receive information?”

73(a) Ba-ba-ana ba-a-nyol-a chi-lomo sikila sii(na)?

Pp-2-child 2-pst-receive-fv 10-report reason what

“Why did the children receive information?”

(b) *Ba-ba-ana ba-a-nyol-a sikila si(ina) chi-lomo?

Pp-2-child 2-pst-receive-fv reason what 10-report

“Why did the children receive information?”

The reason why the wh-reason phrase is ineligible for the pre-object position is that it is base generated in Spec IntP in the left periphery.

5.3.3 Agreement

The data in (63) – (69) also show that only *-rie(na)* (=how) and *-inga* (=how many) bear agreement prefixes. But the type of agreement that these wh-phrases exhibit is different. *-inga* is a nominal modifier that only agrees with the noun it modifies. It does not matter whether the DP that contains *-inga* is in subject position or object position: *-inga* always agrees with the noun that it modifies. Consider the following sentences.

74(a) Ba-ba-ana be-enga ba-kha-kul-e bi-tabu?

Pp-2-child 2-how many 2-fut-buy-fv 8-book

“How many children will children buy?”

(b) Peter a-kha-kul-il-e ba-ba-ana be-enga bi-tabu?

1Peter 1-fut-buy-appl-fv Pp-2-child 2-how many 8-book

“How many children will Peter buy books for?”

(c) Peter a-kha-r-e mu-nju ki-mi-saala ki-inga?

1-Peter 1-fut-put-fv in-house Pp-3-tree 3-how many

“How many trees will Peter put in the house?”

- (d) Ba-ba-ana ba-a-kul-il-e chi-ndebe chi-inga?
 Pp-2-child 2-pst-buy-asp-fv 10-chairs 10-how many
 “How many chairs did the children buy?”
- (e) *Ba-ba-ana ba-a-kul-il-e chi-ndebe be-enga?
 Pp-2-child 2-pst-buy-asp-fv 10-chairs 2-how many
 “How many chairs did the children buy?”

74(e) is bad because the prefix of *-inga* (=how much/many) does not agree with the noun that it modifies. This prefix must always agree with the modified noun. On the other hand, *-rie(ena)* is verbal modifier and always agrees with the subject. This is shown in (75).

- 75(a) Ba-ba-ana ba-a-kw-il-e ba-rie(ena)?
 Pp-2-child 2-pst-fall-asp-fv 2-how
 “How did the children fall?”
- (b) Ki-mi-saala ki-a-kw-il-e ki-rie(ena)?
 Pp-4-tree 4-pst-fall-asp-fv 4-how
 “How did the trees fall?”
- (c) Ba-ba-ana ba-kha-kul-e bi-tabu ba-rie(ena)?
 Pp-2-child 2-fut-buy-fv 8-book 2-how
 “How will children buy books?”
- (d) *Ba-ba-ana ba-kha-kul-e bi-tabu bi-rie(ena)?
 Pp-2-child 2-fut-buy-fv 8-book 8-how
 “How will children buy books?”

The reason why (75d) is bad is that *-rie(ena)* doesn't agree with the subject. Rather it erroneously agrees with the object. Thus unlike *-iyyga* (how many), *-rie(ena)* cannot agree with the object. It must always agree with the subject.

In bi-clausal sentences, the agreement prefix borne by *-rie(ena)* determines whether the wh- manner adjunct is interpreted as a modifier of the main clause verb or modifier of the embedded clause verb. Consider the following sentence which on first impression seems to be ambiguous between meaning (a) and (b).

76. Nafula a-a-nyol-a chilomo mbo Wafula e-eb-a sitabu a-rie(ena)

Nafula 1-pst-receive-fv report that 1Wafula 1pst-steal-fv book 1-how

(a) "How did Nafula receive information that Wafula stole a book?" (=in what manner did Nafula receive information?)

(b) "Nafula got information that Wafula stole a book in what manner?" (=how did Wafula steal the book?)

The reason for this apparent ambiguity is that both the main clause subject and the embedded clause subject are singular and belong to same noun class. Hence the subject agreement prefix borne by the verb of the main clause is identical to the agreement prefix borne by the verb of the embedded clause. By replacing the singular main clause subject with a plural noun such as *babaana* (=children) we can uniquely show that *-rie(ena)* (=how) is a main clause adjunct or an embedded clause adjunct. This is illustrated in (77).

77(a) ??Ba-ba-ana ba-a- nyol-a chilomo mbo Wafula e-eb-a sitabu ba-rie(ena)?

Pp-2-child 2-pst-receive-fv report that 1Wafula 1pst-steal-fv book 2-how

"How did children receive information that Wafula stole a book?"

(b) Ba-ba-ana ba-a-nyol-a chilomo mbo Wafula e-eb-a sitabu a-rie(ena)?

Pp-2-child 2-pst-receive-fv report that 1Wafula 1pst-steal-fv book 1-how

“Children received information that Wafula stole a book how?”

Sentence (77a) where *-rie(ena)* agrees with the plural subject of the main clause (=babaana) is degraded. This strongly suggests that when *-rie(ena)* is in the post-verbal position of the embedded clause, it cannot have main clause construal. On the basis of this finding, it is reasonable to conclude that sentence (76) has meaning (b) but not (a). That *-rie(ena)* in (76) has embedded clause construal (=meaning b) is supported by the fact that in the disambiguating sentences in (77) only (77b) in which *-rie(ena)* has embedded clause construal, is grammatical.

In addition to disambiguating the apparent ambiguous sentence in (76), (77) underscores the fact that in Lubukusu *-rie(ena)* always agrees with the subject. This is a property that is unique to *-rie(ena)*. I have no knowledge of another wh- phrase in Lubukusu that obligatorily agrees with the subject the way *-rie(ena)* does.

The agreeing property of the wh- manner adjunct is not unique to Lubukusu. Several other Bantu languages – particularly interlacustrine Bantu languages also have an agreeing ‘how’. Taylor (1985) observed that in Nkore-Kiga, -ta (=how) always agrees with the subject. Unfortunately he does not give any data for this agreeing adjunct. Other interlucustrine Bantu languages that have an agreeing ‘how’ include Runyoro, Luganda, and Kinyarwanda³². This is illustrated in the following data.

78(a) O-li o-ta? Runyoro

2nd-be 1-how

“How are you?”

³² Runyoro, Luganda and Kinyarwanda data was provided by Gertrude Night, Anne Nagayi and Paul Rugambwa respectively.

(b) O-mu-saija a-li a-ta?

Pp-1-man 1-be 1-how

“How is the man?”

(c) A-ba-ana ba-li ba-ta?

Pp-2-child 2-be 2-how

“How are the children?”

79(a) Yoana a-tambula a-tya?

Luganda

Yoana 1-walk 1-how

“How is John walking?”

(b) A-ba-ana ba-tambula ba-tya?

Pp-2-child 2-walk 2-how

“How are children walking?”

80(a) U-mw-ana ya-guye a-te?

Kinyarwanda

Pp-1-child 1-fall 1-how

“How did the child fall?”

(b) A-ba-ana ba-gwa ba-te?

Pp-2-child 2-fall 2-how

“How did the children fall?”

5.3.4 Clefting

The post verbal wh- adjuncts also differ with respect to clefting. *Waae(na)*, the place wh- adjunct and *liina*, the time wh- adjunct can be clefted. In contrast, *-rie(ena)* does not cleft. This illustrated in the following data.

81(a) Nafula a-kha-ch-a waae(na)?

1Nafula 1-pres-go-fv where

“Where is Nafula going?”

(b) Waae(na) ni-o Nafula a-kha-ch-a?

Where is-16 1Nafula 1-pres-go-fv

“Where is it that Nafula is going?”

82(a) Nafula a-kha-ch-e liina khu-soko?

1Nafula 1-fut-go-fv when to-market

“When will Nafula go to the market?”

(b) Liina ni-lw-o Nafula a-kha-ch-e khu-soko?

When pred-11-pron 1Nafula 1-fut-go-fv to-market

“When is it that Nafula will go to the market?”

83(a) Nafula a-kha-kend-a a-rie(ena)?

1Nafula 1-pres-walk-fv 1-how

“How is Nafula walking?”

(b) *a-rie(ena) ni-o Nafula a-kha-kend-a?

1-how pred-16pron 1Nafula 1-pres-walk-fv

“How is it that Nafula is walking?”

Thus *-rie(ena)* is the only post verbal wh- adjunct that lacks a corresponding cleft construction. It is obligatory for *-rie(ena)* to occur only post-verbally. Notice that (83b) would be okay if the intended meaning is “how is the place where Nafula is walking?” However, the structure of (83b) that gives rise to this interpretation differs from the intended structure in one important respect: it has two clauses (the be-clause and the walk-clause). The subject of the walk-clause is *Nafula* while the subject of be-clause is pro that is associated the deleted noun ‘*abuundu*’ (=place). Thus in this structure *-rie(ena)* agrees with pro that is associated the null noun³³. The same

³³ The nominal prefix for the noun *abundu* [a] is homophonous with the third person singular agreement marker. The agreement prefix marked on modifiers for *abundu* therefore is a- as the following phrases illustrate. (i) abundu alayi ‘a good place’; (ii) abundu abalaayi ‘a wide place’

meaning can be expressed by a sentence that has an overtly realized subject *abuundu*. This is shown in (84).

84. A-buundu a-rie(ena) ni-o Nafula a-kha-kend-a?
16-place 16-how pred-16pron 1Nafula 1-pres-walk-fv
“How is the place at which Nafula is walking?”

Thus the alternative interpretation is a case of subject modification, but the intended interpretation is a case of verbal modification. Clefting the verbal modifier *-rie(ena)* is impossible.

I suggest that clefting of *-rie(ena)* is impossible because it lacks phi-features. In contrast *waae(na)* ‘where’ and *liina* ‘when’ have phi-features and can therefore be clefted. In this sense, wh-adjuncts follow the general patterns that we established in chapter 3: only those constituents that have phi-features, for instance DPs and nominal PPs, can be clefted; but constituents that lack phi-features, for instance adverbs, cannot.

Another possible reason why *-rie(ena)* cannot be clefted is its status. In section 5.3.8, I adopt the view that *-rie(ena)* is a functional head. If this is correct, the impossibility of *-rie(ena)* to undergo clefting is expected: heads do not generally undergo clefting because doing so violates principles of X-bar syntax. By X-bar syntax, a head cannot move to a Specifier position. As shown in chapter 3, clefted constituents move to Spec PronP, a specifier position that can only be occupied by maximal projections. Heads, for instance the reason head, *sikila*, (see section 5.2.4) and *-rie(ena)* cannot move to this position.

5.3.5 Argument status

The applicative morpheme in Bantu generally has the function of promoting oblique arguments to complement or direct object status (Baker 1988). In the same way, the applicative morpheme in Lubukusu can turn an adjunct into an argument. This is illustrated in (85).

85(a) Wafula a-kha-kon-e

1Wafula 1-fut-sleep-fv

“Wafula will sleep”

(b) Wafula a-kha-kon-e khu-sooko

1Wafula 1-fut-sleep-fv at-market

“Wafula will sleep at the market.”

(c) *Wafula a-kha-kon-el-e

1Wafula 1-fut-sleep-appl-fv

“Wafula will sleep at”

(d) Wafula a-kha-kon-el-e khu-sooko

1Wafula 1-fut-sleep-appl-fv at-market

“Wafula will sleep at the market” (on his way to some destination)

In (85b), *khu- sooko* (=at market) is an adjunct. This is why omitting it as in (85a) does not affect grammaticality of the sentence. But adding the applicative suffix to the verb changes this state of affairs. Suffixing the applicative morpheme to an intransitive verb such as *kon-* (=sleep), turns it into a transitive verb. Thus (85c) contrasts with (85d) in that the verb-applicative complex in the former, but not the latter, lacks a complement. It is the absence of a complement that makes (85c) bad.

Interestingly the place wh- adjunct *waae(na)* (=where) can serve as an applicative-licensed argument, but the manner wh- adjunct *-rie(ena)* just like non-wh-manner phrases cannot. This is illustrated in (86) - (88).

86(a) Wafula a-kha-kon-e?

1Wafula 1-fut-sleep-fv

“Will Wafula sleep?”

(b) Wafula a-kha-kon-e waae(na)?

1Wafula 1-fut-sleep-fv where

“Where will Wafula sleep?”

(c) *Wafula a-kha-kon-el-e

1Wafula 1-fut-sleep-appl-fv

“Wafula will sleep”

(d) Wafula a-kha-kon-el-e waae(na)?

1Wafula 1-fut-sleep-appl-fv at-market

“Where will Wafula sleep?” (en route to some destination)

87(a) Wafula a-kha-kon-e?

1Wafula 1-fut-sleep-fv

“Will Wafula sleep?”

(b) Wafula a-kha-kon-e a-rie(ena)?

1Wafula 1-fut-sleep-fv 1-how

“How will Wafula sleep?”

(c) *Wafula a-kha-kon-el-e

1Wafula 1-fut-sleep-appl-fv

“Wafula will sleep”

(d) *Wafula a-kha-kon-el-e a-rie(ena)?

1Wafula 1-fut-sleep-appl-fv 1-how

“How will Wafula sleep?”

88(a) Wafula a-kha-kon-e

1Wafula 1-fut-sleep-fv

“Wafula will sleep?”

(b) Wafula a-kha-kon-e bulayi

1Wafula 1-fut-sleep-fv well

“Wafula will sleep well”

(c) *Wafula a-kha-kon-el-e

1Wafula 1-fut-sleep-appl-fv

“Wafula will sleep at”

(d) *Wafula a-kha-kon-el-e bulayi?

1Wafula 1-fut-sleep-appl-fv good

“*Wafula will sleep at good.”

The contrast between (86d) and (87d) suggests that some wh- adjuncts are more argument-like than others. The place wh- adjunct is more argument-like than the manner wh- adjunct since the former can be an applicative-licensed argument (86d), but not the latter (87d).

An objection might be raised against using applicative-licensing to determine argumenthood of wh-adjuncts, correctly pointing out that the time wh-adjunct *liina* is also not licensed by the applicative even though it has phi-features. The problem here is that the applicative is subject to subcategorization requirements. The applicative is essentially prepositional (Baker 1988, Marantz 1984 and others). We therefore do not expect it to take NPs that are incompatible with it. This seems to be

what is happening with *liina* (=when) in the (89); *liina* is incompatible with the applicative.

89(a) Wafula a-kha-kon-e?

1Wafula 1-fut-sleep-fv

“Will Wafula sleep?”

(b) Wafula a-kha-kon-e liina?

1Wafula 1-fut-sleep-fv when

“When will Wafula sleep?”

(c) *Wafula a-kha-kon-el-e

1Wafula 1-fut-sleep-appl-fv

“Wafula will sleep at”

(d) *Wafula a-kha-kon-el-e liina?

1Wafula 1-fut-sleep-appl-fv when

“When will Wafula sleep at?”

The fact that the applicative-argument-licensing test rules out *liina* just as it rules out *-rie(ena)* points to the need to use more than one test to determine argumenthood of the wh-adjuncts. The applicative argument licensing tells us only part of the story. It tells us that *liina* is as much a non-argument as *-rie(ena)*, and it also seems to suggest that *liina* and *-rie(ena)* pattern together. But we know that these two are different. It is therefore necessary to put the applicative-argument licensing facts in the wider context in order to make valid generalizations.

5.3.6 Summary of properties and distribution of post verbal wh-adjuncts

The place, time and manner wh-adjuncts are all generated inside the IP, but they differ from each other at varying degrees. The manner wh- adjunct shows the

greatest divergence from the other post verbal wh-adjuncts. It differs from the place wh-adjunct in three respects, but differs from the time wh-adjunct in only two respects.

- (i) The manner wh- adjunct always agrees with the subject. The place wh-adjunct and time wh-adjunct do not agree with the subject.
- (ii) Place and time wh- adjuncts can be clefted; the manner wh- adjunct cannot.
- (iii) The place wh- adjunct can be an applicative-licensed argument; manner and time wh-adjuncts cannot.

Two of these differences (ii and iii) are not surprising. Manner adverbs are non-nominal verbal modifiers. We cannot therefore expect them to have nominal properties. In general, it is nominals that are moved in cleft constructions from a clause internal position to Spec PronP in the left periphery. The complex complementizer which introduces the cleft construction obligatorily bears an agreement prefix, a prefix that reflects agreement between Pron (of the complex complementizer) and the clefted noun. The necessity for Pron to agree with the clefted constituent places a crucial constraint on what can be clefted: for a constituent to be clefted, it must have phi-features. DPs and nominal PPs in Lubukusu have phi-features, and can therefore be clefted. They have features that can enable them to govern and control agreement in the complex complementizer. In contrast, non-nominal constituents such non-locative PPs and manner adverbs lack phi-features, and cannot therefore be clefted. This is illustrated in the following data.

90(a) Wekesa a-a-ch-a khu-sooko ne Wanjala

1Wekesa 1-pst-go-fv to-market with 1Wanjala

“Wekesa went to the market with Wanjala”

(b) *(A-li) ne Wanjala ni-y-e Wekesa a-a-ch-a khu-sooko
(1-be) with 1Wanjala pred-1-pron 1Wekesa 1-pst-go-fv to-market
“*It is with Wanjala that Wekesa went to the market.”

91(a) Wekesa a-a-nywe-chak-a ka-ma-lwa bwaangu
1Wekesa 1-pst-drink-intensive-fv Pp-6-beer quickly
“Wekesa drank beer quickly.”

(b) *(Bu-li) bwaangu ni-bw-o Wekesa a-a-nywe-chak-a ka-ma-lwa
(14-be) quickly pred-14-pron 1Wekesa 1-pst-drink-intensive-fv Pp-6-beer
“It is quickly that Wekesa drank beer.”

For a detailed discussion of clefting in Lubukusu, see chapter 3.

Similarly, argument-hood is generally associated with nominals. Any nominal can have an argument function. This is not true of manner adverbs.

By recognizing the fact that nominals and manner adverbs behave differently, we can account for (ii) and (iii). The manner wh- phrase, *-rie(ena)* cannot undergo clefting because it is non-nominal and lacks phi-features; the other adjunct wh-phrases can be clefted because they are nominal and have phi-features. Similarly, *-rie(ena)* can't be made complement in applicative constructions because it is non-nominal. But adjuncts such as *wae(na)*, the place adjunct can, because they are nominal and have phi-features.

This leaves (i) as the only difference that is still unaccounted for. I claim that subject ~ *rie(ena)* agreement is the syntactic reflection of the non-nominal status of *-rie(ena)*. We can also look at this agreement as overt marking of *-rie(ena)*'s unique function as a verbal modifier. Other wh- phrases do not enter into an agreement relation with the subject because they have a nominal status and they do not modify the verb in the narrow sense.

We have attempted to explain the three differences between *-rie(ena)* and the other post verbal adjunct wh- phrases. An outstanding issue to which I presently turn is accounting for *-rie(ena)*'s agreement facts. The *-rie(ena)* movement approach which I describe first will be shown to be inadequate.

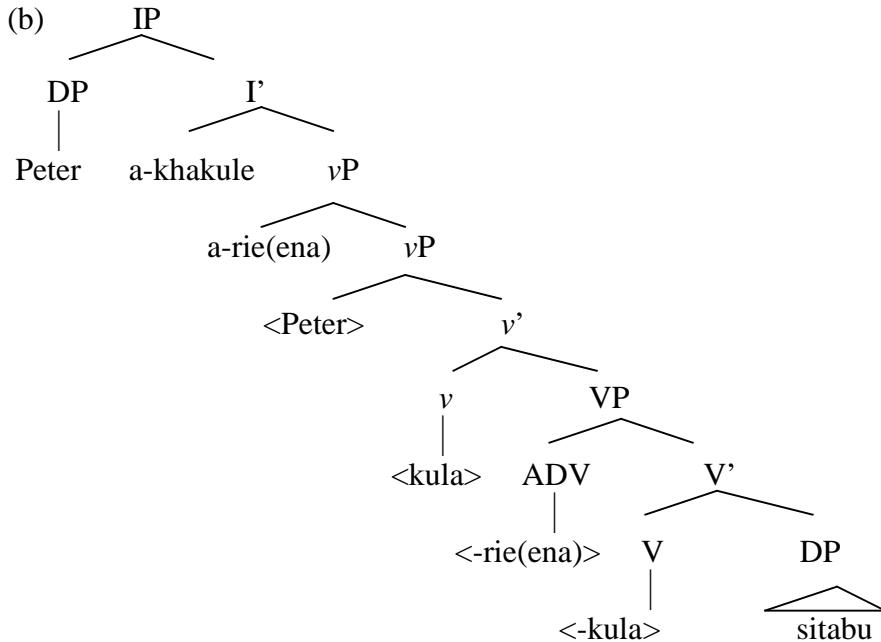
5.3.7 The *-rie(ena)* movement account

This account assumes that *-rie(ena)* is generated as a VP adverb, but it moves to a higher position within the IP. The position that it moves to is an adjoined vP position. This is illustrated in the following derivation.

- 92(a) Peter a-kha-kul-e si-tabu a-rie(ena)?

1-Peter 1-fut-buy-fv 7-book 1-how

“How will Peter buy the book?”



Thus '*-rie(ena)*' originates from the VP and moves to the next adverb position in vP. If we assume that *-rie(ena)* has uninterpretable phi features, then it has to move to Spec of *v* in order to check those features. Under this analysis, *-rie(ena)*'s

uninterpretable features are checked by the subject when *-rie(ena)* moves to the adverb position in vP. The agreement parameter (Collins 2003) predicts that movement of *-rie(ena)* to a higher position will give rise to agreement. This prediction is borne out because *-rie(ena)* is marked for agreement (it agrees with the subject). Notice that only wh- manner adverbs can agree with the subject. As shown in (93) and (94), non-wh-adverbs do not bear agreement prefixes.

93(a) Peter a-kha-kul-e si-tabu bwaangu

1Peter 1-fut-buy-fv 7-book quickly

“Peter will buy the book quickly”

(b) Peter a-kha-kul-e bwaangu si-tabu

1Peter 1-fut-buy-fv quickly 7-book

“Peter will buy the book quickly.”

(c) *Peter a-kha-kul-e si-tabu a-bwaangu

1Peter 1-fut-buy-fv 7-book 1-quickly

“Peter will buy the book quickly.”

94(a) Wafula a-kha-keend-e kalaa

1Wafula 1-fut-walk-fv slowly

“Wafula will walk slowly.”

(b) *Wafula a-kha-keend-e a-kalaa

1Wafula 1-fut-walk-fv 1-slowly

“Wafula will walk slowly.”

The impossibility of establishing an agree relation between the non-wh-adverbs and the subject can explained by assuming that they do not involve movement. In other words, non-wh-adverbs do not undergo any movement. They remain in-situ and do

not therefore enter into an agree relation with the subject. By the agreement parameter, they are not expected bear an agreement prefix.

But a question that arises is why non-wh-manner adverbs do not move. Why should the wh- manner adverbs move but not the non-wh-adverbs? It might be argued that the crucial difference between these two types of manner adverbs is the wh- feature. This can be a good explanation if we are dealing the regular-type wh-movement – that is, movement to the left periphery. But we are dealing with movement that is quite different. The Spec of *v* position into which *-rie(ena)* moves as per the derivation in (92) is clearly not a typical final landing site for wh- phrases. If it is just an adverb position, there is no reason why the non-wh-manner adverbs should not move there.

This issue presents no problem to the alternative analysis which I present in the next section.

5.3.8 *-rie(ena)* as a functional head

The problem of explaining why *-rie(ena)* but not other manner adjuncts agrees with the subject disappears if we assume that *-rie(ena)* heads a functional projection that is located between IP and vP. In contrast to *-rie(ena)*, the other manner adjuncts, that is, the non-wh- manner adjuncts are not functional heads. They are lexical heads. Independent evidence that supports this functional head and lexical head distinction is provided by reduplication facts. Only non-wh- manner adverbs can be reduplicated. Reduplication of *-rie(ena)* is impossible. This is illustrated in (95).

95(a) Peter a-kha-keend-e kalaa kalaa

1Peter 1-fut-walk-fv slowly slowly

“Peter will walk slowly by slowly”

(b) *Peter a-kha-keend-e a-rie(ena) a-rie(ena)?

1Peter 1- fut-walk-fv 1-how 1-how

“How will Peter walk?”

The assumption that *-rie(ena)* heads a functional projection and that non-wh-adjuncts are lexical heads that are generated lower in the tree straightforwardly explains why *-rie(ena)* but not regular non-wh- adverbs agrees with the subject. At one stage in the derivation, an agree relation is established between the subject and *-rie(ena)*. In contrast, an agree relation is never ever established between the subject and non-wh- manner adverbs at any stage in the derivation.

Analyzing *-rie(ena)* as a functional head also explains why it is impossible to cleft *-rie(ena)* as I have already pointed out. It does not undergo clefting because heads do not generally move from a head position to a specifier position. A head can only move to another head position.

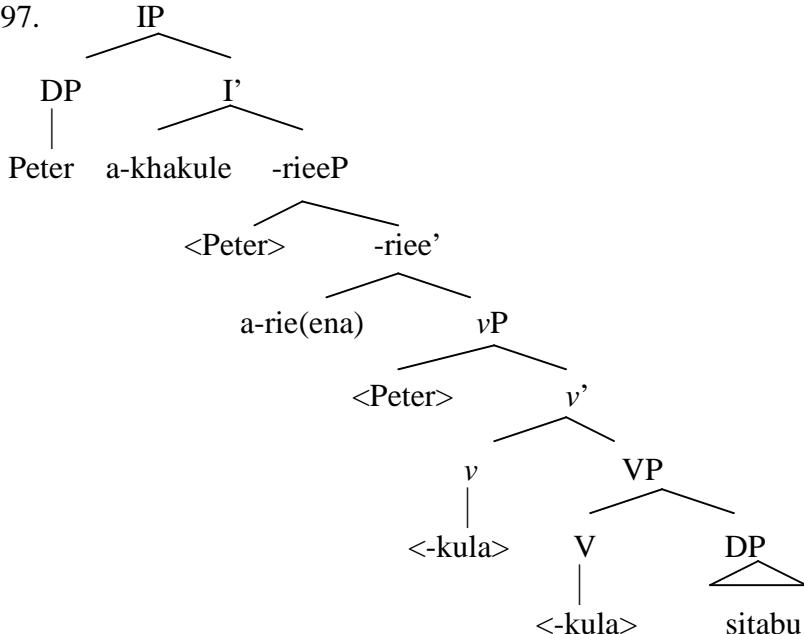
Under the analysis which takes *-rie(ena)* to be a functional head, (96) is derived as in (97).

96. Peter a-kha-kul-e si-tabu a-rie(ena)?

1-Peter 1-fut-buy-fv 7-book 1-how

“How will Peter buy the book?”

97.



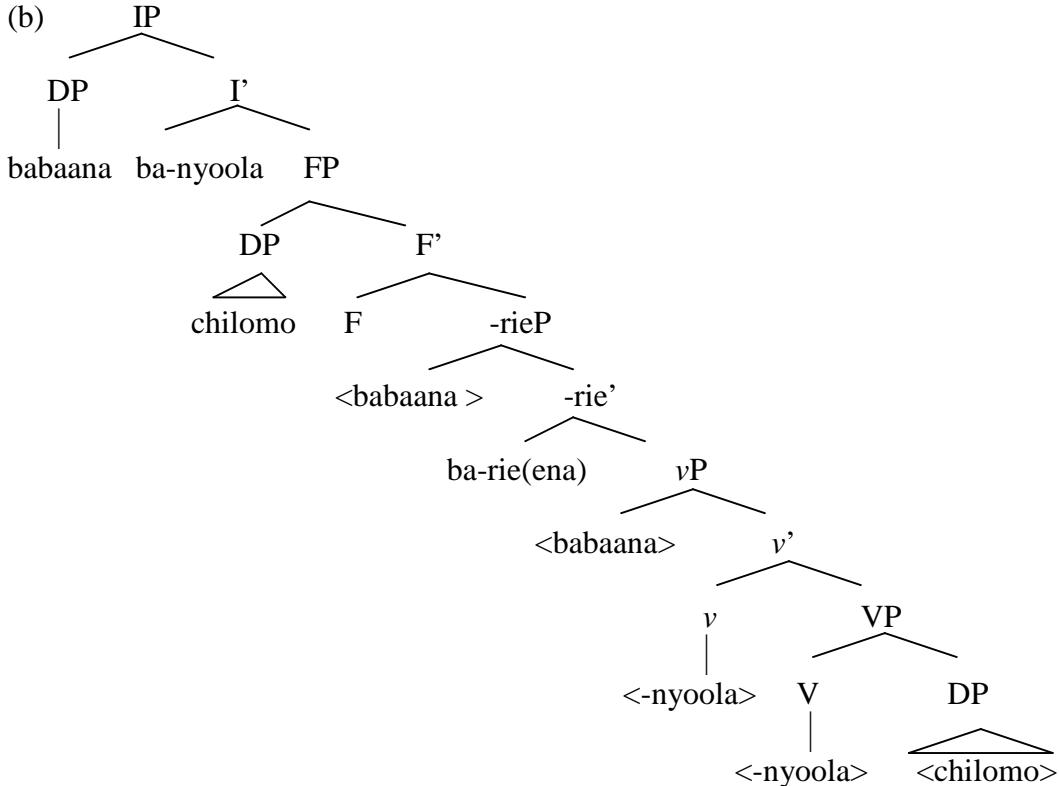
To derive the alternative word order where *-rie(ena)* follows the object (see 70 repeated here as 98(a), I assume that the object DP moves to a position between I' and *-rieep* which I have called FP. This is illustrated in the following derivation.

98(a) ba-ba-ana ba-a-nyol-a chi-lomo ba-rie(ena)?

Pp-2-child 2-receive-fv 10-report 2-how

“How did the children receive information?”

(b)



Notice that we still can derive the correct word order through remnant movement of either *vP* or *VP*. I did not pursue this option in this study.

5.4 Summary

In this chapter, I showed that that *sikila si(ina)*, the reason wh- phrase and *-rie(ena)*, the manner wh- phrase significantly differ from the other wh- adjuncts. In a basic way, this supports Aoun and Li's (1993) and Sabel's (2003) classification of wh- adjuncts into the referential class and the non-referential class. But I also showed that *sikila si(ina)* and *-rie(na)* differ from each other in non trivial ways. In particular, *-rie(ena)* agrees with the subject, it resists clefting and it does not serve as an

applicative-licensed argument. I argued that these properties are due to the fact that – *rie(ena)* is a functional head. In contrast, *sikila si(ina)* – the reason wh- phrase – is a maximal projection that contains a head (*sikila*) and a complement (*si(ina)*). The complement *si(ina)* can undergo clefting, but the head, *sikila*, cannot. Moreover, *sikila si(ina)* is the only wh- adjunct that can occur in the sentence initial position of a non-cleft sentence. I argued that this and other properties unique to *sikila si(ina)* is due to the fact that it (that is, *sikila si(ina)*) is base generated in Spec IntP in the left periphery. The list of languages in which ‘why’ is argued to be base generated in the left periphery is increasing. So far the list includes Italian (Rizzi 1999), Chinese (Lin 1992), Japanese (Ko 2005) and Korean (Ko 2005). Lubukusu is the newest addition to this list.

Chapter 6

Summary and Conclusion

One of the initial assumptions that I had before the commencement of this study was that DPs in Lubukusu behaved the same way under relativization, clefting and pseudo-clefting. This assumption turned out to be false. Instead the study found that an asymmetry exists between relativization and clefting of subjects on the one hand and non-subjects on the other. While relativization and clefting of subjects triggers wh-agreement, relativization and clefting of non-subjects does not. Instead of wh-agreement, relativization and clefting of non-subjects (such as objects) required the presence of the complex complementizer. I attributed this asymmetry, which is also attested in related languages such as Haya, Runyoro and Luganda, to the location of relative features in the left periphery: in the relativization and clefting of subjects, the relative features are located in Fin, but in the relativization and clefting of non-subjects, relative features are located in Force. I concluded that only relative features in Fin trigger wh-agreement; those in Force don't. Conversely, only relative features in Force require the presence of the complex complementizer – a complementizer that is made up of three units: two functional heads and agreement.

I found the complex complementizer, which is also attested in other Bantu languages, to be significant in one other respect. From a theoretical standpoint, the complex complementizer provides support for a split CP theory along the lines of Rizzi (1997). However, Rizzi's proposed left periphery is not entirely adequate to account for the distributional and structural characteristics of the complex complementizer in Lubukusu. For this reason, it became necessary supplement Rizzi's left periphery with two additional functional projections: PredP and PronP. These projections are generated between ForceP and FocusP.

Another interesting finding of this study was that an asymmetry exists between the behavior of wh-in-situ phrases in CNPs that are in subject position and

those CNPs that are in object position (in Lubukusu, Kiswahili and Runyoro). While it is possible for wh-phrases to be in-situ in CNPS that are in object position, in-situ wh-phrases are disallowed in CNPs that are in subject position. I accounted for this asymmetry in terms of Fiengo and Higginbotham's (1981) specificity condition – a condition that disallows free variables from occurring in a specific NP. Assuming that subject CNPs in Lubukusu, Kiswahili and Runyoro are [+specific], we can rule out wh-in-situ from this domain under a feature movement account by arguing that feature movement is constrained by the specificity condition.

All the other island domains in Lubukusu are apparently [-specific]. For this reason it is acceptable for wh-phrases to be in-situ in these islands (CNP_s in object position, wh-island and the adjunct island). But the really intriguing discovery that I made is that in-situ in these islands does not show a clear argument-adjunct asymmetry. Thus it is possible for not only arguments to be in-situ in islands, but also referential adjuncts (when and where) and surprisingly the manner wh-phrase 'how'. I interpreted this absence of a clear argument-adjunct asymmetry as evidence against an LF-movement account of wh-in-situ.

But the study found that the behavior of the 'why' was consistently different from the behavior of all the other wh-phrases. For instance, only 'why' could not have embedded clause construal in island constructions not only in Lubukusu, but in Kiswahili, Runyoro, Japanese and Chinese as well. This, I argued is due to the fact that 'why' is base generated in Spec IntP in the left periphery, at least in Lubukusu. Other unique behaviors of 'why' in Lubukusu, for instance ability to follow the second negative particle 'ta' and ability to follow adverbs also follow from this fact.

Another adjunct which shows unique syntactic behavior is 'how'. The study found that although 'how' is allowed to be in-situ in islands, it shows a number of syntactic behaviors that are unique to it. For instance, 'how' is the only wh-phrase that obligatorily agrees with the subject of the sentence in which it occurs. In

addition, it neither relativizes nor clefts. I argued that ‘how’ shows these unique behaviors because it is a functional head and it lacks phi-features.

The conclusion that we can draw from the behavior of ‘how’ and ‘why’ in Lubukusu is that the well known category of non-referential adjuncts is not homogeneous at all. It is true that both ‘how’ and ‘why’ lack phi-feature, but they also differ from each other in significant ways. It is therefore necessary to exercise caution in the use of the term ‘non-referential adjuncts’. Sometimes members of this category of adjuncts behave in similar ways; sometimes they don’t.

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