Theory and description in African Linguistics

Selected papers from the 47th Annual Conference on African Linguistics

Edited by

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Contemporary African Linguistics

language science press

Contemporary African Linguistics

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Emily Clem, Peter Jenks & Hannah Sande (ed.). 2019. *Theory and description in African Linguistics*: *Selected papers from the 47th Annual Conference on African Linguistics* (Contemporary African Linguistics). Berlin: Language Science Press.

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A case based account of Bantu IAV-focus

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Right dislocation (**chengdowning2012**) and movement to a low FocP (**vanderwal2006**) are competing analyses of Immediately-After-Verb (IAV) focus. In this paper, I discuss novel Lubukusu IAV focus data which shows that 1) IAV focus requires movement to a low FP and that 2) IAV focus is not a purely focus related phenomenon. Adopting **Baker2006** analysis of Linkers, I propose that movement to a low FP for focus interpretation is a strategy of case assignment to DPs within the VP. This analysis is shown to be superior to a purely right dislocation analysis as it can also better account for IAV focus asymmetries between Zulu and Lubukusu.

1 Introduction

Bantu Immediately-After-Verb (IAV) focus refers to the phenomenon in several Bantu languages in which a focused phrase has to be immediately post-verbal (**hyman1979nounstructure**; **watters1979**). As the name suggests, the standard view on this positional requirement is that it is a focus-driven phenomenon.

In this paper, I have two objectives. The first is to show that Lubukusu IAV-focus does not require dislocation of the non-focused phrases in the VP. This is pertinent because **chengdowning2012** argue that IAV-focus in Zulu involves dislocation of non-focused phrases and not movement of a focused element to a low FocP position, contra **vanderwal2006** for Makhuwa. These approaches are illustrated below.

In the non-dislocation strategy (eg. **vanderwal2006**) in Figure 2(a), a focused XP itself moves to a position that is the closest phrasal position c-commanded by v. Figure 2(b) shows the dislocation strategy (**ChengDowning2009**), wherein an intervening non-focused WP is moved out of the VP such that the focused XP becomes the closest phrase c-commanded by v. I assume V to v movement in all
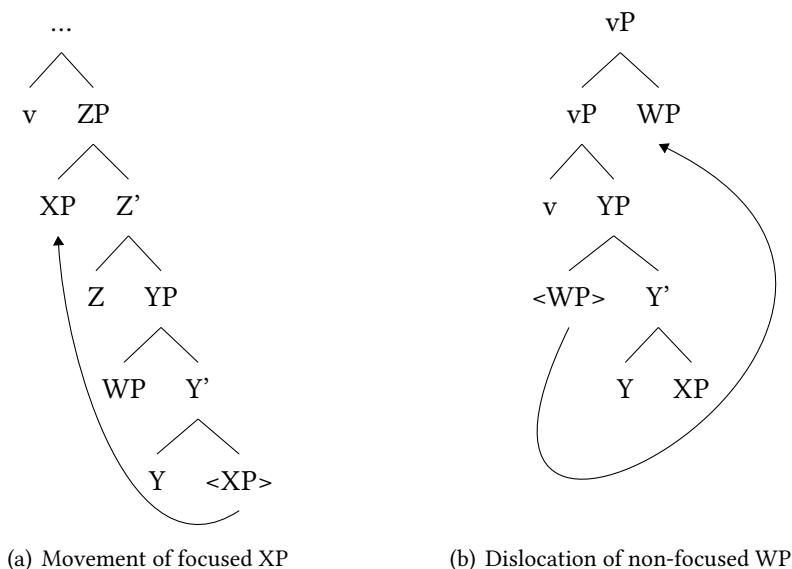
(a) Movement of focused XP   (b) Dislocation of non-focused WP

Figure 1: Movement vs. dislocation analysis of IAV focus

of these cases. I argue that Lubukusu provides strong evidence that it utilizes a version of the strategy in Figure 2(a) and not Figure 2(b). In so far as Zulu does employ the dislocation strategy shown in Figure 2(b), this means that Bantu-IAV focus can be realized differently.

My second objective is to argue that IAV-focus in Lubukusu is not a purely focus related phenomenon but something that is partly motivated by case. I propose that Lubukusu has an F head (similar to a Foc head) which is not just sensitive to focus features but also to the case features of the phrase in its specifier. I argue that this F head is a focus sensitive version of the Linker head (**Baker2006**). The main evidence for this claim comes from focused adjuncts in Lubukusu. I then review some evidence that indicates that focused nominals in Zulu also move to this Spec, FP. I then argue that the difference between Zulu and Lubukusu can be boiled down to whether dislocation of non-focused elements in the VP is optional or obligatory.

The outline of this paper is as follows. In section 2, I will look at the two different strategies that have been proposed to account for IAV-focus in different Bantu languages, namely the dislocation and non-dislocation strategies. In sections 3-5, I discuss and analyze IAV focus in Lubukusu where I show that Lubukusu does not utilize a dislocation strategy and that IAV focus in Lubukusu is unlikely to

be a purely focus phenomenon. I also provide a formal account for Lubukusu IAV focus. In section 6, I revisit Zulu and show that there is data from focused locatives that indicate that Zulu too has this Spec, FP. I then conclude.

2 A (brief) history of IAV-focus

hyman1979nounstructure and **watters1979** noticed that focused phrases must occur immediately after the verb in Aghem. Since then, many Bantu languages have been noticed to exhibit this phenomenon. This has been documented quite prominently in Zulu (**Buell2009**; **chengdowning2012**) and Makhuwa (**vanderwal2006**). There have been two types of analyses that have been proposed for IAV-focus; non-dislocation and dislocation strategies.

In the dislocation strategy, the IAV-focused element is argued to remain in situ with other elements in the VP being moved out of the VO. **chengdowning2012** provide strong evidence for such an analysis (at least for Zulu). They argue that in Zulu IAV-focus, it is not the focused element that moves, but rather it is the non-focused elements within the VP that move. First note that in neutral contexts, the word order between the direct object (DO) and the indirect object (IO) is IO-DO in Zulu.[1] However, when the DO is focused, for example, as an answer to a question, the DO has to be immediately post-verbal.

(1) Zulu (**chengdowning2012**))

    a. bá-níké   ú-Síphó í-mà:li.   IO-DO
       2SUBJ-give 1-Sipho 9-money

      "They gave Sipho money."

    b. Q: bá-m-níké:-ni   ú-Sî:phó?
         2SUBJ-1OBJ-give-what 1-Sipho

      "What did they give to Sipho?"

      A1: bá-m-níké: í-ma:li ú-Si:pho. DO-IO
         2SUBJ-1OBJ-give 9-money 1-Sipho

      "They gave money to Sipho."

      A2: #bá-níké ú-Síphó í-mà:li IO-DO

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[1] I use the term 'neutral context' to refer to a context which is not associated with any obligatory discourse information, such as topic or focus. This is in line with what appears to be standard practice (**Diercks2013**; **diercks2015**).

(1a) shows the canonical IO-DO order in neutral contexts in Zulu. (1b) is a question-answer pair in Zulu where the DO is questioned and A1 and A2 show the two potential answers. Of these, only A1 with DO-IO order is judged fully acceptable. A2 with IO-DO order is judged infelicitous. This shows that Zulu does have what looks like IAV-focus.

The strongest evidence that **chengdowning2012** provide for their claim that Zulu IAV focus follows the dislocation strategy in Figure 2(b) is the fact Zulu IAV requires an obligatory object marker (OM) on the verb corresponding to the non-focused arguments. This OM is commonly analyzed as a dislocation marker as **vanderSpuy1993**, **Buell2005**; **Buell2006**, **Halpert2012** show that in Zulu, a left-dislocated phrase is obligatorily accompanied by an OM.

(2) Zulu
　　Q: ízi-vakâ:shi u-zi-phekéla:-ni?
　　　　8-visitor　　you-8obj-cook.for-what
　　　'What are you cooking for the visitors?'
　　A: ízi-vakáshi ngi-zi-phekél'　í-nya:ma.
　　　　8-visitor　　I-8obj-cook.for 9-meat
　　　'I am cooking visitors some meat.'

shows that an indirect object *ízi-vakâ:shi* 'visitor' which usually occurs post-verbally, can be dislocated to the sentence-initial position. The dislocation of this object to a pre-verbal position must be accompanied by the appearance of the marker *zi* on the verb. This marker must have the same class marking as the fronted indirect object. Interestingly, in IAV-focus contexts, the verb must have an OM that is associated with the *non-focused* post-verbal phrase.

(3) Zulu (**chengdowning2012**)
　　Q: bá-m-níké:-ni　　　ú-Sî:phó?
　　　　2subj-1obj-give-what 1-Sipho
　　　'What did they give to Sipho?'
　　A: bá-m-níké:　　í-ma:li　ú-Si:pho. DO-IO
　　　　2subj-1obj-give 9-money 1-Sipho
　　　'They gave money to Sipho.'

(3) shows a question-answer pair where the direct object is focused. As can be seen in the answer, not only must the order between the post-verbal elements be DO-IO, the verb must also carry an OM that matches the class of the non-focused IO. We can compare this with (1a) where we can see that in neutral

contexts, there are no markers on the verb that matches the class of the post-verbal arguments. This OM also appears even if the focused phrase is a IO and the post-verbal elements are in an IO-DO order.

(4) Zulu (**chengdowning2012**)

    Q: Ú-si:pho ú-yí-phékéla   ba:ni ín-ku:khu?
       1-Sipho 1SUBJ-9OBJ-cook.for who 9-chicken

       'Who is Sipho cooking the chicken for?'

    A: Ú-síph' ú-yí-phékél'   ízí-vakâ:sh' ín-ku:khu.
       1-Sipho 1SUBJ-9OBJ-cook.for 8-visitor   9-chicken

       'Sipho is cooking the chicken for the visitors.'

(4) shows a question that places focus on the IO. The corresponding answer to this question will thus have an IO-DO order as seen in the answer. Additionally, the verb must have an OM that corresponds to the non-focused DO. In summary, Zulu appears to have an OM that indicates dislocation of a post-verbal argument. In addition, such an OM appears in IAV-focus contexts, but one that matches the non-focused post-verbal argument. These facts are taken by **chengdowning2012** to be an indicator that Zulu IAV-focus is realized by the strategy in Figure 2(b). Namely, the non-focused argument is dislocated out of the VP such that the focused argument appears to be in an IAV configuration.[2]

Alternatively, **vanderwal2006** proposes a non-dislocation account of IAV-focus in Makhuwa. In this approach, a focused phrase direct object acquires an IAV configuration in the following way.

In this analysis, the focused direct object is moved to the specifier of a FocP that is a complement of little v. In doing so, this focused phrase moves higher past the non-focused indirect object (I.OBJ). This results in an IAV configuration for the focused phrase as the verb is further assumed to move to little v. Such an account is appealing because such a projection has cross-linguistic support as it has been proposed by **belletti2001**; **belletti2004** for Italian, **Ndayiragije1999** for Kirundi, and **Jayaseelan1999**; **Jayaseelan2001** for Malayalam among others.

In the two accounts we have seen, there is one core difference characterizing each approach. In the dislocation approach, the focused phrase remains in situ and it is the non-focused post-verbal elements that are dislocated out of the VP. In the non-dislocation approach, it is the focused phrase itself that moves.

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[2]However, note that even if dislocation of non-focused elements is obligatory as Cheng & Downing note, it is still compatible with the view that the focused phrase still moves to a low Spec, FocP as a reviewer notes.
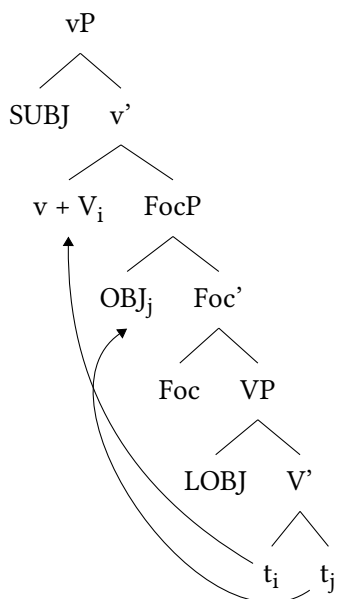
Figure 2: Non-dislocation approach to IAV-focus

3 IAV-focus in Lubukusu

In this section, I describe how the IAV-focus configuration is achieved in Lubukusu. In doing so, my objective is to show Lubukusu does not utilize the dislocation approach thus arguing for an approach in which the focused phrase is moved. First, I will show that Lubukusu too realizes IAV-focus. Consider the following base sentences.

(5)   Lubukusu

    a.   ba-saani ba-rum-ir-a   Maria bi-tabu   IO-DO
            c2-men   c2.TNS-send-APPL-FV Mary c8-book

         'The men sent Mary books.'

    b.   ba-saani ba-rum-ir-a bi-tabu Maria DO-IO

(5) shows a ditransitive clause and my informant notes that either order between

the direct object and indirect object is possible in neutral contexts.[3] In such contexts, the sentence is a simple declarative statement with neither the direct object nor the indirect object being focused. Thus (5a) and (5b) are both possible. In focus contexts, however, this is not the case.

(6) Lubukusu

    Q: Naanu ni-ye   ba-saani ba-rum-ir-a   bi-tabu?
       who   that-AGR C2-man C2-send-APPL-FV C8-book

      'Who did the men send the books to?'

    A1: ba-saani ba-rum-ir-a   Maria bi-tabu   IO-DO
       c2-men C2.TNS-send-APPL-FV Mary c8-book

      'The men sent Mary books.'

    A2: #ba-saani ba-rum-ir-a bi-tabu Maria DO-IO

(6) shows a question-answer pair where the question places focus on the indirect object. In such contexts, A1, where the indirect object is IAV is fully acceptable whereas A2, where the direct object intervenes between the verb and the indirect object is infelicitous. This illustrates that Lubukusu does exhibit IAV-focus. When the post-verbal elements consist of one argument and one adjunct, we also see IAV-focus.

(7) Lubukusu

    Q: Naanu ni-ye   ba-saani ba-a-pa   lukali?
       who   that-AGR C2-man C2-TNS-beat fiercely

      'Who did the men beat fiercely?'

    A1: Ba-saani ba-a-pa   Yohana lukali   DO-ADV
       c2-man C2-TNS-beat John   fiercely

      'The men beat John fiercely.'

    A2: #Ba-saani ba-a-pa lukali Yohana ADV-DO

(7) shows a question-answer pair in which the direct object is focused. In such a configuration, the direct object must occur in an IAV configuration. Thus, A1 is possible but A2 is infelicitous. Note that in A2, the adverb intervenes between the verb and the focused direct object. This is in contrast to neutral contexts

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[3]As mentioned above, I assume that such contexts are not associated with any topic/focus information. Below, I discuss briefly the afterthought reading that dislocated elements in Lubukusu have (**Diercks2013**).

where either order between the direct object and the adjunct is possible. In addition, when the adverb is focused, it can occur immediately after the verb, i.e. intervening between the verb and the direct object.[4] In that context, A2 is fully acceptable. What this shows, again, is that Lubukusu exhibits IAV-focus.

Note that in all the cases of IAV focus, especially in (6), there is no evidence by way of verbal marking that there has been any dislocation of any post-verbal element at all. Of course, this could just mean that Lubukusu does not mark dislocated elements with an OM, but this is not true as **Sikuku2012** argues that Lubukusu does employ such marking.

(8)   Lubukusu (**Sikuku2012**)

    a.   Mayi   a-siima ba-ba-ana
        1mother 1SM-like 2-2-children

        'The mother likes the children.'

    b.   Babaana,   mayi   a-*(ba)-siima
        2-2-children 1mother 1SM-*(2OM)-like

        'The children, the mother likes them.'

(8a) shows a simple SVO clause with only a marker corresponding to the subject on the verb. This is similar to all the Lubukusu sentences above. While each sentence requires a subject marker, there is no OM corresponding to the direct or the indirect object. (8b) shows that when the DO is dislocated (in this case through fronting), an OM corresponding to the dislocated phrase is obligatory. Thus, this shows that dislocation of the direct object is accompanied with verbal marking. It appears that Lubukusu is just like Zulu in this regard. If it is true that Lubukusu is like Zulu in marking dislocated arguments with an OM, then one wonders why such an OM is not seen in A1, the felicitous answer for the question in (6). A dislocation analysis for Lubukusu IAV-focus seems unlikely.

One could argue that perhaps left-dislocation (like in (8)) is different from right-dislocation seen in IAV-focus. Perhaps, right-dislocation is realized without a dislocation marker. But this can be shown to be false as well. Recall from A1 in (6) that there is no OM corresponding to the non-focused indirect object. However, such a marker is possible.

(9)   Lubukusu

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ba-saani ba-bi-rum-ir-a   Maria bi-tabu   IO-DO

c2-men   c2.TNS-c8-send-APPL-FV Mary c8-book

'The men sent Mary books.'

(9) shows that an OM is compatible with IAV focus in Lubukusu, such that the answer to the question 'Who did the men send the books to?' could look like (9). (9), thus, shows that the non-focused direct object can be dislocated, although crucially, dislocation is not necessary to realize IAV focus in Lubukusu.

Perhaps, the strongest evidence that indicates that Lubukusu IAV-focus does not require dislocation but can co-occur with it comes from instances where the focused phrase is an adjunct. A surprising fact about IAV-focus in Lubukusu (also discussed previously in **Carstens2013**, and **safirforthcoming**) is the fact that Lubukusu adjuncts, even when focused, do not need to be IAV.

(10) Lubukusu

Q: Wekesa e-ra   embeba aryeena?

Wekesa SM-kill the rat   how

'How did Wekesa kill the rat?'

A1: Wekesa e-ra   kalaha embeba ADV-DO

Wekesa SM-kill slowly the rat

A2: Wekesa e-ra embeba kalaha DO-ADV

More will be said about this argument-adjunct asymmetry in Lubukusu with respect to IAV-focus later but for now note that when the focus is on the adjunct, it can occur either in an IAV position or after the non-focused DO. Thus, the question in (10) can be answered with A1 or A2. Either order between the direct object and the adjunct is possible. However, it is also possible to add an OM to A1 but in this case the order becomes fixed. Compare the following.

(11) Lubukusu

a. Wekesa a-ki-ra   kalaha embeba ADV-DO

Wekesa SM-OM-kill slowly the rat

'Wekesa killed the rat slowly.'

b. *Wekesa a-ki-ra   embeba kalaha *DO-ADV

Wekesa   SM-OM-kill the rat   slowly

'Wekesa killed the rat slowly.'

(11a) is a possible answer to the question in (10). Here, there is an OM corresponding to the DO. However, if there is such an OM, then the order between the adjunct and direct object must be the one shown in (11a), i.e. ADJ - DO. The DO-ADJ order in (13b) becomes impossible.

What these facts show is that dislocation (as evidenced by an OM on the verb) is compatible with IAV-focus in Lubukusu as long as it is the non-focused phrase that is being dislocated. However, (6) shows that IAV-focus of an argument in Lubukusu can be attained even without dislocation. I conclude that Lubukusu IAV-focus can be achieved without using the dislocation strategy but compatible with it. I propose that the reason why dislocation is compatible with the movement strategy in Lubukusu is because dislocated elements in Lubukusu are associated with an after-thought reading (**Diercks2013**). Thus, in a VP in which there is a focused element which is moved to a special position, the non-focused element (if it is an object) can be further backgrounded through dislocation. What the comparison of dislocation facts in Zulu and Lubukusu indicate is that a non-dislocation strategy is used by languages like Lubukusu to realize IAV-focus.

4 IAV-focus is not a purely focus phenomenon

Now that we have seen that the IAV-focus configuration is realized through movement of a focused phrase in Lubukusu, I will now argue that Lubukusu IAV-focus is partly motivated by case-considerations. First, I describe briefly how the two strategies to realizing the IAV-focus configuration have been hypothesized to feed focus interpretation in the literature.

In the non-dislocation strategy where the focused element moves to a focused projection (as in Figure 2(a)), this is quite obvious. Following in the footsteps of the cartographic approaches to clause peripheries (**rizzi1997**), interpretation of the moved element as focus is a direct result of it being in a position reserved for such an interpretation. On the other hand, in the dislocation strategy advanced by **chengdowning2012** (as in Figure 2(b)), dislocation of the non-focused elements out of the VP is driven by prosodic requirements. In **chengdowning2012** Optimality Theoretic (OT, **Prince1993**) analysis, a focused element occurs in an IAV position because of the twin requirements of prosodic prominence and structural prominence. In short, non-focused post-verbal elements are dislocated out of the VP because of the requirement to ensure that the prosodically prominent focused phrase is also structurally prominent, i.e. the highest element within the vP.

However, we have already seen some Lubukusu facts that suggest that IAV-

focus cannot be purely a focus phenomenon. For one, if this was the case, then the fact seen in (10) where focused adjuncts in Lubukusu need not be in an IAV-position is surprising for both approaches. In the non-dislocation approach, if a focused phrase has to move to Spec, FocP, then why doesn't a focused adjunct need to? Such data is problematic for Cheng & Downing's account of the dislocation approach as well. If a focused element has to be structurally prominent, then why doesn't a focused adjunct have to be structurally prominent as well? One cannot put these aside by claiming that adjuncts are in general exempt from IAV-focus. For one, Zulu focused adjuncts are required to occur in the IAV position as seen below.

(12) Zulu (**chengdowning2014**)

  a. ú-Si:pho úphéké   í-só:bho kamná:ndi DO-Adv
      1-Sipho 1SUBJ-cooked 5-soup   deliciously
      'Sipho cooked the soup deliciously.'

  b. ú-lí-phéké   kánja:n' í-só:bh' Adv-DO
      1SUBJ-5OM-cooked how   5-soup
      'How did s/he cook the soup?'

  c. *ú-lí-phéké í-só:bh' kánja:n' *DO-Adv

In the representative example above, (12a) shows that an adverbial adjunct occurs after the DO in a neutral context. However, when the adjunct is focused, as in (12b), it has to occur in an IAV position. Note that there is an obligatory OM on the verb indicating dislocation of the direct object. Thus, (12c) as an answer to (12b) is not acceptable. (12) shows that Zulu adjuncts when focused must be IAV as well. I take this to indicate that focused adjuncts can require the IAV configuration. This makes the fact that Lubukusu focused adjuncts need not be in an IAV-position all the more surprising. I conclude that this indicates that IAV-focus is not purely a focus based phenomenon, at least in Lubukusu.[5]

5 The analysis of Lubukusu IAV-focus

In this section, I propose an analysis of the Lubukusu facts. I claim that Lubukusu does have a head similar to a Focus head as a complement of v as proposed by

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[5]Later in the paper, I discuss focused locative adjuncts in Zulu which suggest that IAV-focus may not be a purely focus phenomenon in Zulu either.

vanderwal2006, but this head is a variation of a Linker head (Lk, **Baker2006**). This head must be in the derivation when there is a focused phrase in the structure. However, this head does not require a focused phrase to be in its specifier, as AGREE (**Chomsky2000**; **chomsky2001**) is sufficient to delete the uninterpretable focus features on this F head. I propose that this head is hybrid in the sense that it checks focus features but is also sensitive to case assignment. In order to place my proposal in the correct setting, it is necessary to see my assumptions first. I do this by describing the structure of a ditransitive in the neutral context first.
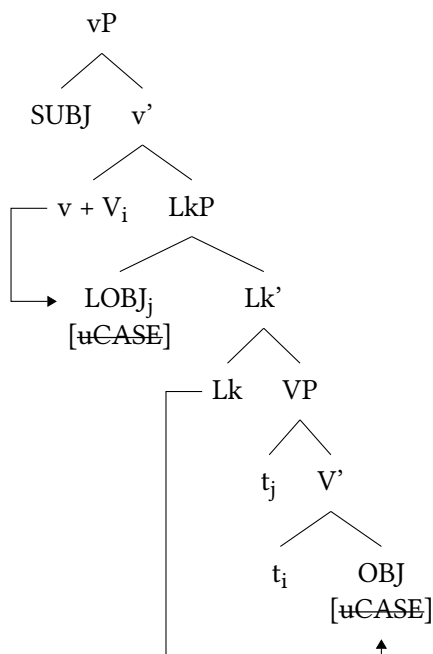

Figure 3: Ditransitive in neutral context

Figure (3) shows the proposed structure of a ditransitive in canonical IO-DO order. I assume, following **Baker2006** account of Kinande and other Bantu languages, a linker phrase (LkP) that facilitates case assignment to the two internal arguments. This assumption is supported by the fact that Lubukusu is an object symmetry language **Diercks2013** just like Kinande for which **Baker2006** propose a LkP. I also largely adopt their assumptions about case assignment which is along the lines of feature checking (**Chomsky1995**; **Chomsky2000**, etc.). DPs have uninterpretable case features that can be checked off by heads such as v, preposition heads and Lk (unlike V). An uninterpretable feature that is to be

deleted is at the end of the arrow head as seen in Figure (3) (I do not show the corresponding interpretable features to reduce clutter in the diagram). Thus in Figure (3), little v deletes the case feature of the indirect object whereas Lk deletes the case feature of the direct object. I also assume following **Baker2006** that Lk provides a specifier position to a DP such that v can access it for the purposes of deleting a DP's uninterpretable case feature, in this case, the indirect object's.

A simple way to understand the F head I propose for focused structures is to think of it as a head like Lk but one which is also responsible for facilitating the focus reading. Thus, like the Lk head, it can delete the uninterpretable case features of a DP and provide a specifier position to which a DP can move to in order for v to delete this DP's uninterpretable case features. But this F head also has uninterpretable focus features that has to be deleted. The best way to understand what this F head does is to see some derivations, so we will now see how Lubukusu IAV-focus is derived, starting with a focused direct object in ditransitive constructions. Recall that in Lubukusu, the focused direct object must be in an IAV position.
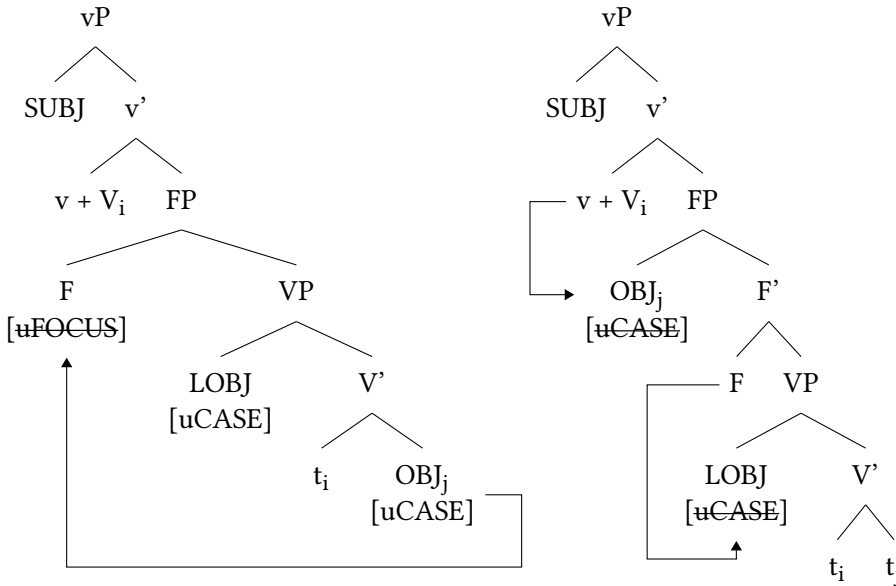
Consider the following.

Figure 4: Ditransitive with focused direct object: Step 1 & Step 2

Figure 4 shows the two steps of uninterpretable feature deletion involved. In

step 1, instead of a LkP, the FP is generated. The F head has uninterpretable focus features which is deleted by Agree between the F head and the focused direct object. However, there are still two DPs that have uninterpretable case features which have to be deleted and this can be seen in step 2. Here, the DP that the F head deletes its uninterpretable focus features with moves to Spec, FP. For now, I will assume that the F head has an EPP feature that must be checked by the DP that F has agreed with.[6] This allows v to assign case to the focused object by deleting the object's uninterpretable case features. F, itself, deletes the uninterpretable case features of the lower indirect object.

We can also see how this analysis accounts for transitive clauses which have an adjunct. First, recall that an adjunct in Lubukusu can occur in either order with a direct object in neutral contexts.

(13) Lubukusu

    a. Wekesa e-ra   kalaha embeba ADJ-DO
       Wekesa sm-kill slowly the rat
       'Wekesa killed the rat slowly.'

    b. Wekesa e-ra   embeba kalaha DO-ADJ
       Wekesa sm-kill the rat   slowly

(13a) and (13b) show the two possible orders which I account for by assuming that the Lubukusu adjunct can either be right or left-adjoined to the VP. In addition, I assume that there is no Linker Phrase in transitives. This follows **Baker2006** who also argue that Kinande transitives do not have a LkP. Thus, Figure 5 has the following structures.

In Figure 5 the case feature of the objects is deleted by v. The adjunct in Lubukusu (whether left-adjoined or right-adjoined) does not intervene in case feature checking because it does not have any interpretable case features which v can check since *kalaha* 'slowly' is not nominal.[7] Given this basic picture, we can now discuss the structures in which the direct object is focused and the ones in which the adjunct is focused. We start with the case where the direct object is focused. In this sentence, recall that the object must be IAV. I will use the instance where the adjunct is left-adjoined although the main point holds even if the adjunct is right-adjoined.

Figure 6 shows a structure in which the direct object is focused. Since there is a focused phrase, FP is projected and the uninterpretable focus features on F

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[6]Below I discuss why it has to be the focused DP that moves to Spec, FP.

[7]In cases where the adjunct is arguably nominal, such as *yesterday, today* etc, it could be that such adjuncts have a null P that assigns case.

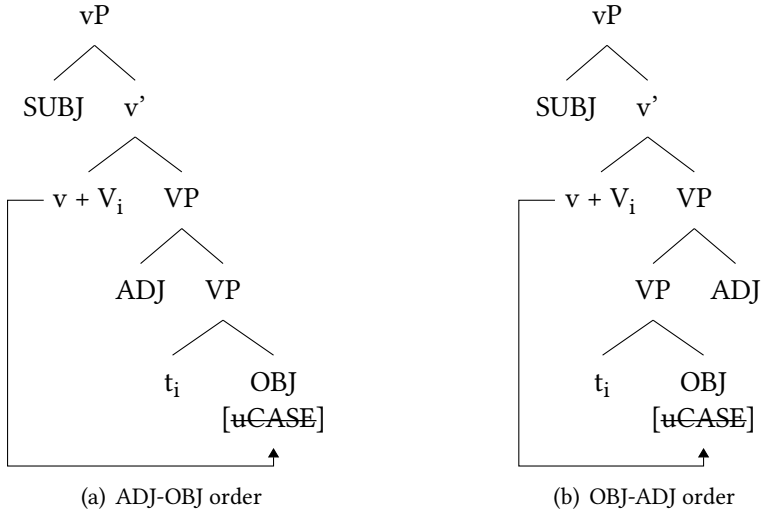(a) ADJ-OBJ order

(b) OBJ-ADJ order

Figure 5: Transitives in a neutral context with an adjunct
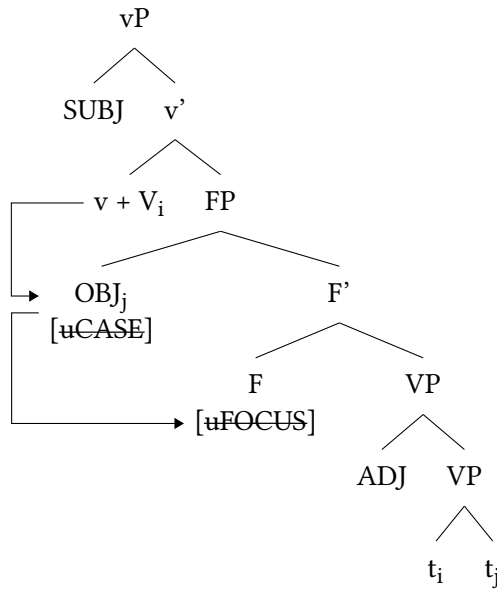

Figure 6: Transitive with a focused direct object

are deleted through Agree with the focused direct object. Since the object is in an agree relation with F and it needs case, it moves to Spec, FP to check the EPP feature of the F head. This allows v to be in the right configuration to delete the uninterpretable case features of the raised focused object. This also gives the right order for a focused object and an adjunct.[8] Now let's move on to see what happens when it is the adjunct in a transitive that is focused.
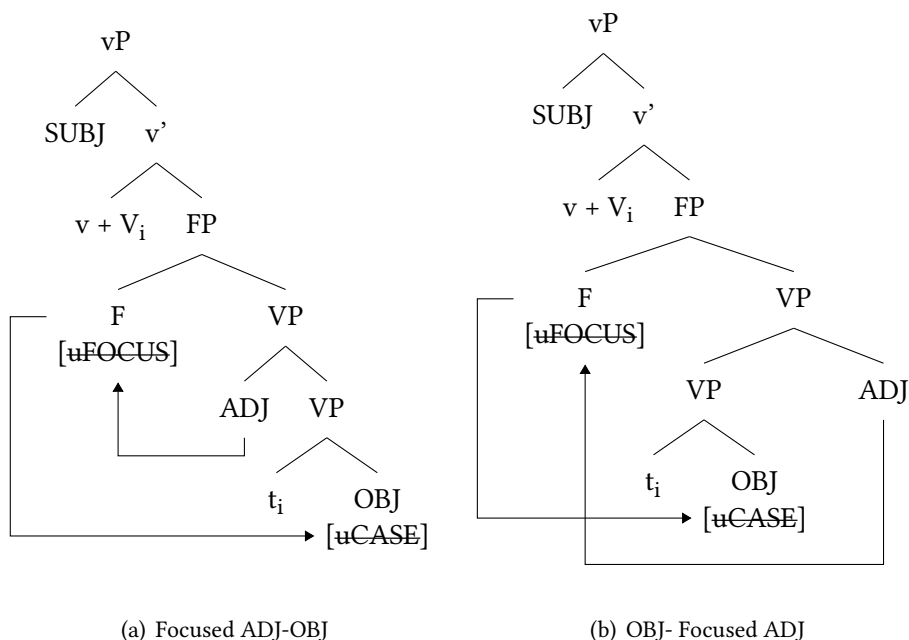

(a) Focused ADJ-OBJ   (b) OBJ- Focused ADJ

Figure 7: Transitives with a focused adjunct

Figure 7 shows the two different orders that are possible when the adjunct is focused. Since there is a focused phrase in these constructions, there is an FP. The uninterpretable focus features on F are deleted through Agree with the focused adjunct. The case features of the object are deleted by the F head since it is the closest head to the direct object that can do so. Crucially, there is no movement of the adjunct to Spec, FP because the adjunct does not require case and as such need not be in a configuration in which v can assign case to it.

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[8]F has interpretable case features too but it does not have any DP to check. This does not matter because I assume that interpretable case features that do not take part in a checking relation do not induce a crash at LF, unlike uninterpretable features.

Figure 7 reveals two peculiarities of what I have proposed to be an EPP feature of the F head. The first is that the phrase that checks the EPP feature must be focused. In my analysis, this translates to a previously established AGREE relationship between the F head and the focused phrase. The second is that the phrase must be an element that requires case. These two properties mean that only focused DPs move to Spec, FP. Focused adjuncts do not. The implication of this is that the EPP feature of F cannot be formalized as an uninterpretable feature. If this were the case, then derivations like Figure 7 where the focused adjunct does not move to Spec, FP should lead to a crash. Instead, I recharacterize the EPP feature as the following.

(14) Recharacterizing the EPP feature of F[9]
      The F head triggers movement of some XP to its specifier iff

      1. An independently established AGREE relation holds between F and XP, and,
      2. Doing so facilitates case assignment to XP by v.

In the Lubukusu IAV facts, a focused DP satisfies both (i) and (ii) and thus has to move to Spec, FP. A non-focused DP cannot move to Spec, FP because it satisfies (ii) but not (i). A focused adjunct cannot move to Spec, FP either as it satisfies (i) but not (ii).

The above shows how IAV-focus is realized in Lubukusu, including an account for why focused adjuncts need not occur in an IAV-configuration. The account provided here fares better than existing accounts. In a non-dislocation approach such as **vanderwal2006**, a focused phrase must move to Spec, FocP which is clearly not the case with Lubukusu focused adjuncts. A dislocation approach such as **chengdowning2012** faces the same problem. In my proposal, the F head is not only sensitive to focus features, but also sensitive to the case features of the phrase in question.

6 Reconsidering Zulu IAV-focus

While my objective here is not to propose a detailed reanalysis of Zulu IAV-focus, I will review some data which indicates that Zulu IAV-focus is not purely a focus phenomenon either. In fact, there is evidence that indicates that something like the FP is present in Zulu as well. Some very suggestive evidence that indicates

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[9]My thanks to an anonymous reviewer who suggested an alternative analysis along these general lines.

that Zulu IAV-focus is not just a focus phenomenon comes from locatives in Zulu which do not need to be IAV.

(15) Zulu (**Buell2009**)

 a. U-leth-e   izimpahla zami [$_{PP}$ ku-liphi   ikamelo]?
  2s-bring-PERF 10.stuff   10.my   to-5.which 5.room

 b. U-leth-e   [$_{PP}$ ku-liphi   ikamelo] izimpahla zami?
  2s-bring-PERF   to-5.which 5.room   10.stuff   10.my

 'To which room did you take my stuff to?'

(15) shows a construction which has a focused locative argument. Notably, (15) shows that the locative argument need not be IAV as seen in the fact that the direct object can intervene between the verb and the PP, specifically in (15a). If a prosodically prominent phrase has to be structurally prominent as Cheng & Downing claim, then why isn't the prosodically prominent locative argument in (15a) required to be structurally prominent as well?

In fact, the FP analysis I propose can capture this fact. Under my analysis, the reason why the locative need not be IAV is because it does not have case features. There is suggestive evidence that indicates that this is correct. For one, note that the locatives in (15) have a preposition-like element *ku*. Interestingly, when such a locative occurs as a subject, there is no such preposition head. Consider the following alternation.

(16) Zulu (**Buell2007**)

 a. Abantu abadala ba-hlala [ku-lezi   zindlu]
  2people 2old   2-stay   at-10these 10houses

 'Old people live in these houses.'

 b. [Lezi   zindlu]   zi-hlala abantu   abadala.
  10these 10houses 10-live   2people 2old

 'Old people live in these houses.'

(16a) shows a clause with a locative in a post-verbal position. (16b) shows an inverted clause where the locative occurs in the subject position (as seen in subject agreement). Notably, the locative does not have a P head anymore.[10] (16) suggests that *ku* is a P head. If true, then this P head would check the case features

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[10]It is possible to realize the P head even in a fronted PP as in the following, but the fronted locative would then be better analyzed as a fronted topic, as **Buell2007** does. a) Zulu (**Buell2007**) *[Ku-lezi zindlu] ku-hlala abantu abadala.* At-10these 10houses 17-live 2people 2old "Old people

of the nominal in the locative but the PP itself would not have case features like PPs in general. In my analysis, this means that the locative does not need to be IAV.

If the locative facts in Zulu are showing that only phrases with case features need to move to Spec, FP and this is what IAV-focus is even in Zulu, then we also need to answer why focused adjuncts in Zulu, unlike their Lubukusu counterparts, must be IAV (see (12)). If my FP analysis is correct, this must mean that Zulu adjuncts have case features. At first, it seems unusual to analyze adjuncts as having case features, but as it turns out, **Halpert2012** and **chengdowning2014** actually argue that Zulu adjuncts are nominal. Part of the evidence they provide for this claim is that Zulu adjuncts are compositionally made up of pronouns and nouns.

(17) Zulu

    a. ngo-kushesha
       NGA.AUG-15speed
       'quickly'

    b. ngo-buhlungu
       NGA.AUG-14pain
       'painfully'

If these authors are right, it is not a stretch to say that these have case features as well.

I will make a final point with respect to Zulu IAV-focus. While I have discussed some ways in which my FP analysis could account for Zulu-IAV focus, this still leaves the question of why dislocation is necessary in Zulu in IAV-focus constructions. To answer this, recall that while Lubukusu does not require dislocation, it can exhibit dislocation in IAV-focus contexts.

(18) Lubukusu
    Q: Wekesa e-ra   embeba aryeena?
       Wekesa SM-kill the rat   how

       'How did Wekesa kill the rat?'
    A1: Wekesa e-(ki)-ra   kalaha embeba ADJ-DO
       Wekesa SM-OM-kill slowly the rat

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live in these houses."(a) has a fronted locative but has the *ku* affix. However, I will follow **Buell2007** claim that the agreement we see in (a) is not subject agreement but a default marker that shows up even in subject-expletive contexts.

Thus, the answer to the question in (18) can be optionally dislocated. I take this to mean that dislocation in Lubukusu as seen in A2 is actually orthogonal to the issue of IAV-focus in Lubukusu. I propose that the difference between Lubukusu and Zulu is the following.[11]

Table 1: Difference between Lubukusu & Zulu

	Lubukusu	Zulu
Focused nominal	Must move to prominent position	Must move to prominent position
Non-focused elements	Optionally move out of VP	Must move out of VP

Table 1 shows that in both Lubukusu and Zulu, only focused phrases that require case (i.e. nominal) move to Spec, FP. The difference between the two pertains to how they treat non-focused elements within the VP. While Lubukusu tolerates such elements within the VP, Zulu does not.

7 Conclusion

In this paper, I have argued that Lubukusu provides good evidence that IAV focus does not require dislocation in order to be realized. Based on the fact that Lubukusu focused adjuncts do not require to be in an IAV-position, I argued that IAV-focus is not purely a focus phenomenon. Instead I claim that the case features of the focused phrase also determine whether the IAV-position is required. Finally, I argued that the same analysis can be extended to Zulu IAV-focus.

Acknowledgements

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[11]Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for suggesting that the difference between Zulu and Lubukusu is better characterized as shown.

Abbreviations

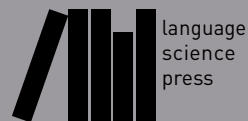|			
AGR	Agreement	OM	Object marker
APPL	Applicative marker	PERF	Perfective
AUG	Augment	SM	Subject marker
C1, C2 etc	Class marker	SUBJ	Subject marker
FV	Final vowel	S	Subject marker
OBJ	Object marker	TNS	Tense

Part III

Areal features and linguistic reconstruction

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