<v,t>-type Complementation in Kipsigis

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1. Introduction

In Driemel & Kouneli (2024), we investigate verbal complementation in Kipsigis (Nilotic; Kenya), and we show that clausal complements in the language are best analyzed as $\langle v, t\rangle$-type complements, unlike $\langle e, t\rangle$-type complementation in European languages. Our data, thus, support recent semantic theories which propose that embedded clauses are underlyingly nominal or verbal (e.g. Kratzer 2006, Özyıldız et al. 2018, Moulton 2019). On the syntactic side, we argue that what has been described as a 'say'-based complementizer in Kipsigis is actually the lexical verb 'say', and no (obvious) C head mediates the complementation relation in the language. Such an analysis draws a direct connection between the lexical category of the embedder and its semantic type, and has the additional advantage of providing an alternative account for a surprising pattern of upwards-oriented complementizer agreement which has been reported for Kipsigis (Diercks & Rao 2019, Diercks et al. 2020).

In this paper, we briefly summarize the analysis in Driemel & Kouneli (2024) and focus on one of its predictions concerning hyperraising. More specifically, $\langle v, t\rangle$-type CPs have been linked to the possibility of hyperraising in the literature (Moulton 2019, Bondarenko 2020). Kipsigis has been reported to display hyperraising to object (Jake & Odden 1979), and we examine whether these are true instances of raising. While our evidence is not conclusive, we argue that the data point against movement as the right analysis, and we discuss their implications for Moulton's 2019 and Bondarenko's 2020 analyses of hyperraising.

The remainder of the paper is structured as follows: in section 2, we summarize the analysis in Driemel & Kouneli (2024); in section 3, we discuss the predictions that Moulton (2009) and Bondarenko (2020) make for hyperraising in Kipsigis and we present an investigation of raising to object in the language; in section 4, we conclude and provide an outlook.

2. Kipsigis has <v,t>-type complementation

2.1. The Kipsigis "complementizer" is the lexical verb 'say'

Kipsigis is the major variety of Kalenjin, a cluster of dialects of the Southern Nilotic branch of Nilo-Saharan. It is spoken by approximately 2 million speakers in Kenya (Eberhard et al. 2020). The language is pro-drop, it has VSO word order (Bossi & Diercks 2019), and a marked nominative case system (Toweett 1979, Kouneli & Nie 2021). Unless otherwise indicated, data come from original fieldwork.[1]

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Glossing abbreviations follow the Leipzig glossing rules with the addition of C = complementizer, IT = itive, and VENT = ventive. Tone is transcribed whenever possible, but some transcriptions are incomplete because of sound difficulties in Skype elicitations. Additionally, the tone on *le* is always transcribed as H, but it should be noted that it sometimes becomes low when followed by a word that starts with a H tone. The details of this sandhi phenomenon are currently not well-understood.

[1] The bulk of the data come from elicitation interviews with 5 native speakers conducted over Skype by both authors and in Nairobi, Kenya by the second author in 2021.

Kipsigis has been reported to display upwards-oriented complementizer agreement, as shown in (1): the complementizer, glossed transparently, consists of the root of the lexical verb *le* 'say' and a person/number agreement prefix, which in these examples tracks the phi-features of the matrix subject (Diercks & Rao 2019, Diercks et al. 2020).

(1) a. â:-ŋgén [**à:-lé** ∅-rú-è Kíbê:t].
1SG-know 1SG-LE 3-sleep-IPFV Kibeet.NOM
'I know that Kibeet is sleeping.'
b. Kà-ɔ́-mwá [**ò:-lé** ∅-rú-è Kíbê:t].
PST-2PL-say 2PL-LE 3-sleep-IPFV Kibeet.NOM
'You(pl) said that Kibeet is sleeping.'

In Driemel & Kouneli (2024), we argue that the Kipsigis pattern does not constitute a genuine case of complementizer agreement. We argue instead that what we observe is agreement between the verb *le* 'say' and its local subject, which acts as a logophoric source. In other words, we argue that *le* is the verb 'say', and not a complementizer, and the agreement prefix tracks the logophoric source, and not the matrix subject (*contra* Diercks & Rao 2019, Diercks et al. 2020).

The arguments that we provide in favor of the verbal analysis of *le* are the following: it can act as a matrix verb (see (4-a)), it can inflect for mood (indicative vs. subjunctive) and aspect (perfective vs. imperfective), and it can bear applicative and/or reflexive verbal morphology. We illustrate the last property in (2), where *le* appears with an applicative and a reflexive morpheme, which are verbal suffixes in the language.[2]

(2) Koː-∅-tʃɑːm-**tʃi-kɛː** Kíbê:t [**ko-leːn-tʃi-kɛː** ŋâːm].
PST-3-whisper-APPL-REFL Kibeet.NOM 3-LE-APPL-REFL clever
'Kibeet whispered to himself that he's intelligent.

We also briefly discuss here the subjunctive inflection of *le*, which will become relevant in the next section. All verbs in Kipsigis distinguish between indicative and subjunctive mood (Toweett 1979, Rottland 1982, Creider & Creider 1989): the former is used in root clauses, while the latter in subordinate clauses (the language lacks infinitives of the European type). Morphologically, the subjunctive differs from the indicative in the vowel length of the subject agreement prefix and in the tonal melody of the stem (see Toweett 1979 for detailed conjugation paradigms). Thus, we see that in (3) below, the verb *ru* 'sleep' has a short-voweled subject agreement prefix in its indicative (matrix) form in (3-a), but a long-voweled prefix in its subjunctive (embedded) form in (3-b).[3]

(3) a. Kìː-**kí**-rú.
PST-1PL-sleep(.IND)
'We slept.'

b. Kí-mátʃ-é [**kèː**-rú].
1PL-want-IPFV 1PL-sleep(.SBJV)
'We want to sleep.'

We observe in (4) that the inflection of *le* 'say' in matrix vs. complementation contexts shows the same contrast between indicative and subjunctive that we see in lexical verbs like *ru* 'sleep' in (3): it inflects for indicative in matrix uses, but for subjunctive in complementation uses.

(4) a. Kìː-**kí**-lé [kìː-∅-tʃɔ́ːr Kíbê:t rabɪːnɪk].
PST-1PL-LE(.IND) PST-3-steal Kibeet.NOM money
'We said that Kibeet stole the money.'
b. Kɪː-kì-mwá [**kèː**-lé kìː-∅-tʃɔ́ːr Kíbê:t rabɪːnɪk].
PST-1PL-say 1PL-LE(.SBJV) PST-3-steal Kibeet.NOM money
'We said that Kibeet stole the money.'

Moving on to our claim that agreement on *le* is best described as agreement with the logophoric source and not with the matrix subject, the strongest evidence comes from examples like (5). We see in (5-a) that *le* can agree not only with the subject but also with the source of information (introduced by an applicative

[2] *Le* has the allomorph *leːn* in the context of an applicative; see Driemel & Kouneli (2024) for details.
[3] For 3rd person subjects, the prefix is ∅ in most cells of the paradigm, while it is always *ko-* in the subjunctive.

morpheme on the verb). If the source of information is inanimate, however, agreement with the source is no longer possible, as shown in (5-b). Logophoricity is generally sensitive to animacy (e.g. Charnavel 2020), and we take this as evidence for a logophoric requirement.

(5) a. Ka-a-kas-ɛːn **Alice** [àː-lé/**ko-le** ka-kɔ-ɪt làːgôːk].
PST-1SG-hear-APPL Alice 1SG-LE/3-LE PST-3.PERF-arrive children.NOM
'I heard from Alice that the children have arrived.'

b. Ka-a-kas-ɛːn **kurgeːt** [àː-lé/***ko-le** ka-kɔ-ɪt làːgôːk].
PST-1SG-hear-APPL door 1SG-LE/3-LE PST-3.PERF-arrive children.NOM
'I heard from the door that the children have arrived.'

Further evidence in favor of agreement with the logophoric center comes from examples like (6). The verb *wuːt* 'to forget' appears in a syntactic frame in which the grammatical subject is invariably 3^{rd} person, and the experiencer is expressed as an indirect object introduced by the applicative.[4] In this case, *le* agrees with the experiencer-indirect object, and not with the grammatical subject.[5]

(6) Kɑ-∅-wuːt-u-**ɑn** [**ɑː-le** kɔ̀ː-∅-kɛ́r Kíbêːt kurgeːt].
PST-3-forget-VENT-1SG 1SG-LE PST-3-close Kibeet.NOM door
'I forgot that Kibeet closed the door.'

Summing up, we will be assuming in the remainder of the paper that agreement on *le* reflects agreement between a lexical verb 'say' and its local (logophoric) subject. We refer the interested reader to Driemel & Kouneli (2024) for extensive discussion and more evidence supporting the claims presented in this section.

2.2. The analysis

We take the syntactic evidence given in section 2.1 to indicate that *le* is not a complementizer but a verbal category. By adopting an eventuality-based framework where the relation between the attitude holder and the proposition is mediated by contentful eventualities (Kratzer 2013, Özyıldız et al. 2018, Moulton 2019, Demirok et al. 2020), we propose that embedded clauses headed by agreeing forms of *le* constitute sets of contentful saying events of type $\langle v, t \rangle$. *le* being a verb, it will introduce its own subject, which we analyze as *pro*. The strongest evidence for the presence of a local subject comes from cases where the subject is overt (7). More evidence for the *pro* analysis is provided in Driemel & Kouneli (2024).

(7) Context: *We are having a conversation and I keep saying that Kibeet stole the money but you don't want to believe me. So finally, I say:*
Ka-a-mwa [àː-lé **anɛː** kà-∅-tʃɔ́ːr Kíbêːt rabiːnik].
PST-1SG-say 1SG-LE 1SG.NOM PST-3-steal Kibeet.NOM money
'I said that Kibeet stole the money.'

We will illustrate the main points of the analysis based on the example in (8). Perception verbs such as *kas* 'hear' allow for an agent and a source of information to be introduced, where *le* can track the ϕ-features of either. In (9), we provide the underlying co-reference relations responsible for the agreement options on *le*. Prefixal agreement on *le* follows straightforwardly, as the ϕ-features of *pro* vary with its denotation. The form *iːle* is chosen if *pro* points to the addressee of the utterance (9-a), whereas *kole* appears if *pro* points to Kiplangat (9-b), that is the source argument from the matrix clause.

(8) Ka-i-kas-ɛːn Kɪplàŋgàt [**ìː-lé** / **kò-lé** kà-∅-tʃɔ́ːr Kíbêːt rabɪːnɪk].
PST-2SG-hear-APPL Kiplangat 2SG-LE / 3-LE PST-3-steal Kibeet.NOM money
'You heard from Kiplangat that Kibeet stole the money.'

[4] In the context of a local person indirect object, the applicative has the allomorph *-u*, which is the ventive suffix in the language.

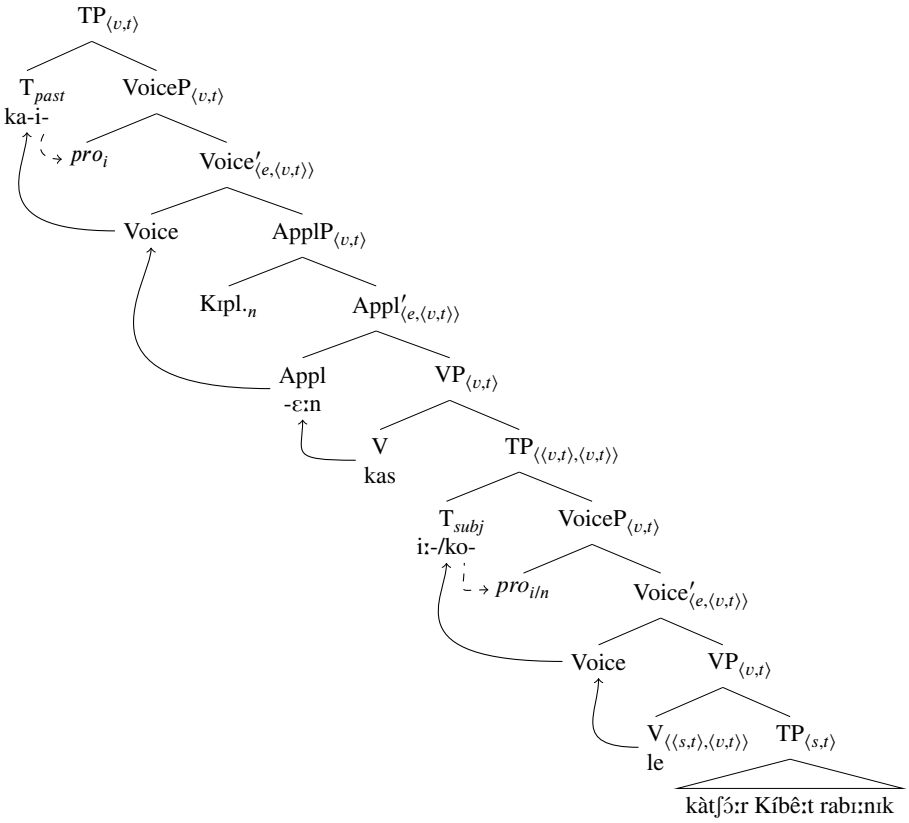
[5] This type of syntax for the verb 'forget' is attested in other languages as well (e.g. it is one of the possible case frames for *olvidarse* 'to forget' in Spanish, Rivero 2004).

(9) a. Ka-i-kas-ɛːn *pro*$_1$ Kɪplaŋgat$_2$ [**ìː-lé** *pro*$_1$ kà-Ø-tʃɔ́ːr Kíbêːt rabɪːnɪk.]
PST-2SG-hear-APPL ↓ ↓ 2SG-LE ↓ PST-3-steal Kibeet money
Addr Kiplangat **Addr**

b. Ka-i-kas-ɛːn *pro*$_1$ Kɪplaŋgat$_2$ [**kò-lé** *pro*$_2$ kà-Ø-tʃɔ́ːr Kíbêːt rabɪːnɪk].
PST-2SG-hear-APPL ↓ ↓ 3-LE ↓ PST-3-steal Kibeet money
Addr **Kiplangat** **Kiplangat**

The structure in (10) illustrates both agreement options as well as the verbal status of *le*. As we saw in section 2.1, subjunctive marking is obligatory in embedded contexts. We will encode subjunctive on T heading the *le*-clause. To account for the verb initiality of Kipsigis, we assume that V moves via Voice to T (or a higher projection, see Bossi & Diercks (2019)), indicated by the arrows in (10). The dashed arrows show that the subjunctive T head probes for the ϕ-features of the logophoric subject – a free pronoun serving as a goal for a local Downward Agree operation.

(10)



For the denotation of *le* (11-a), we adopt the content function CONT (Kratzer 2006, 2013) which if applied to an event returns a set of possible worlds. Thus, *le* applied to TP denotes a set of saying events the content of which is that Kibeet stole the money (11-b). To capture the logophoric effects, we propose that *le* presupposes that the agent of the eventuality is the logophoric SOURCE (Sells 1987) of the proposition *le* embeds. Voice combines with VP via *Event Identification* (Kratzer 1996), see (11-c).

(11) a. $[\![\text{ le }]\!]^{w,g} = \lambda p_{\langle s,t\rangle} \lambda e_v [say(e) \wedge \text{CONT}(e) = p]$,
defined iff AG(e) qualifies as the logophoric SOURCE of p

b. $[\![\text{ VP }]\!]^{w,g} = \lambda e_v [say(e) \wedge \text{CONT}(e) = \{w : \text{Kibeet stole the money at } w\}]$

c. $[\![\text{ VoiceP }]\!]^{w,g} = \lambda e_v [say(e) \wedge \text{CONT}(e) = \{w : \text{Kibeet stole the money at } w\} \wedge \text{AG}(e) = g(n)]$

Subjunctive is the mood used in subordinate clauses, and we take this to mean that the subjunctive T head serves as a causal linker between the event introduced by the embedded predicate and the event introduced by the matrix predicate. We give the denotation in (12-a) for subjunctive, a function from a set of events to another set of events where $\sim$ indicates a bidirectional causal relation (Özyıldız et al. 2018). Since we

introduce the subjunctive on the embedded T head, the first argument it takes are the saying events in (11-c), while the second argument are the hearing events in (12-b), resulting in the denotation of matrix VP, shown in (12-c).

(12) a. $[\![\text{SUBJ}]\!]^{w,g} = \lambda P \lambda Q \lambda e''.\exists e'[e' \sim e'' \wedge P(e') \wedge Q(e'')]$
b. $[\![\text{kas}]\!]^{w,g} = \lambda e_v[hear(e)]$
c. $[\![\text{kole kàtʃɔ́ːr Kíbêːt rabɪːnɪk}]\!]^{w,g}([\![kas]\!]^{w,g})$
$= \lambda e''.\exists e'[e' \sim e'' \wedge say(e') \wedge \text{CONT}(e') = \{w : \text{Kibeet stole the money at } w\}$
$\wedge \text{AG}(e') = g(n) \wedge hear(e'')]$

This concludes our discussion of the evidence for $\langle v, t\rangle$-type complementation in Kipsigis. We will now turn to the investigation of hyperraising, a property which has recently been tied to say-based complementation.

3. Hyperraising

Jake & Odden (1979) argue for the presence of hyperraising in Kipsigis based on pairs like (13), where the subject of the embedded clause can appear either in its canonical position in the embedded clause, as in (13-a), or preceding *le*, as in (13-b).

(13) a. ɑ-mɑŋ-u [ɑ̀ː-lé ∅-tíl-è **Kíbêːt** pèːndá].
1SG-expect-IPFV 1SG-LE 3-cut-IPFV Kibeet.NOM meat
'I expect Kibeet to cut meat.'
b. ɑ-mɑŋ-u **Kìbêːt**$_1$ [ɑ̀ː-lé ∅-tíl-è __$_1$ pèːndá].
1SG-expect-IPFV Kibeet 1SG-LE 3-cut-IPFV meat
'I expect Kibeet to cut meat.'

The subject of the embedded clause can cliticize on the matrix predicate, as shown in (14). Furthermore, matrix adverbs can intervene between the moved element and *le* and VOS orders are possible, as shown in (15) and (16), respectively (see also Jake & Odden 1979). This excludes analyses where the raised DP is located in SpecCP (Massam 1985, Bruening 2002 a.o.).

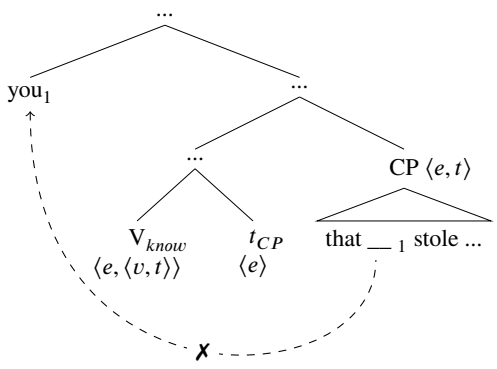
(14) ɑːŋgen-**in**$_1$ [ɑ̀ː-le kaɪ-tʃɔːr __$_1$ rabɪːnɪk].
1SG-know-2SG 1SG-LE PST-2SG-steal money
'I know that you stole the money.'

(15) ɑ-mɑŋ-u **Kìplàŋgàt**$_1$ pêːtùːsjék tóɣòl [ɑ̀ː-lé ∅-tíl-è __$_1$ pèːndá].
1SG-expect-IPFV Kiplangat days all 1SG-LE 3-cut-IPFV meat
'Every day I expect Kiplangat to cut the meat.'

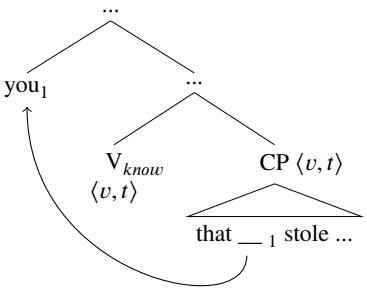
(16) Ka-ɪ-taːm **Kìbêːt**$_1$ làːɣôːk sòmók-ú [ko-le kà-∅-tʃóːr __$_1$ rabɪːnɪk].
PST-3-accuse Kibeet children.NOM three-NOM 3-LE PST-3-steal money
'Three children (falsely) accused Kibeet of stealing the money.'

Currently, there are two theories that tie $\langle v, t\rangle$-type CPs to the availability of hyperraising and $\langle e, t\rangle$-type CPs to the lack thereof. Moulton (2015, 2019) provides a movement-based account, which is illustrated in (17). As shown in (17-a), $\langle e, t\rangle$-type CPs undergo type-driven movement, leaving a trace of type e, so that the matrix verb can compose with the trace. The movement creates a freezing effect and blocks subextraction. In contrast, $\langle v, t\rangle$-type CPs are in-situ saturators, see (17-b). They can compose directly with the attitude verb via Event Identification. Hence, extraction is permitted.

(17) a.

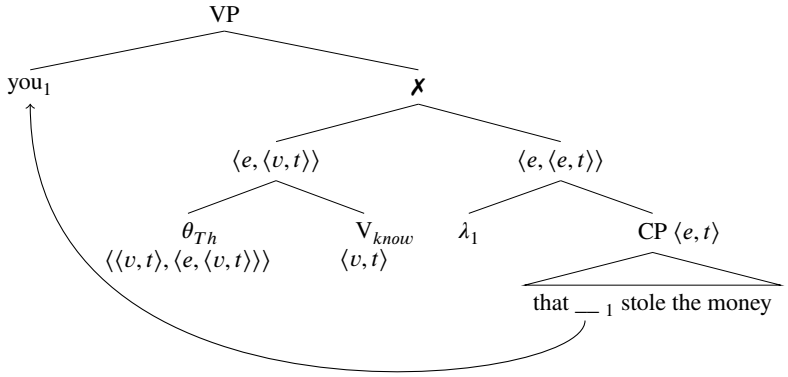


b.



Another approach, proposed by Bondarenko (2020), is based on the assumption that all arguments are introduced by θ-heads including the theme (Lohndal 2014, Elliott 2016, 2017). In hyperraising scenarios, this θ_{Th}-head shifts the matrix verb from $\langle v,t\rangle$ to $\langle e,\langle v,t\rangle\rangle$ and merges the raised DP into Spec,VP, see (18). The movement trace creates abstraction, which happens, per assumption, at the edge of CP. For $\langle v,t\rangle$-type CPs, as shown in (18-b), this creates a function of the same type as matrix V + θ_{Th}. The CP and the complex matrix verb V + θ_{Th} combine via Generalized Conjunction (Partee & Rooth 1983). For $\langle e,t\rangle$-type CPs, however, abstraction at the CP edge leads to a type clash (18-a): A semantic object of type $\langle e,\langle e,t\rangle\rangle$ does not combine with matrix V + θ_{Th}.[6]

(18) a.



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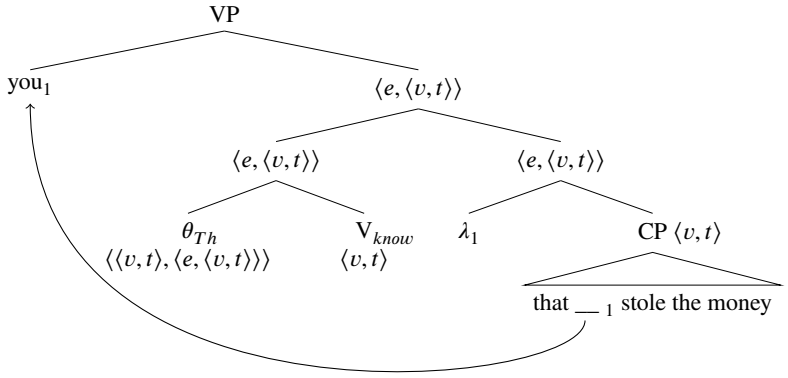
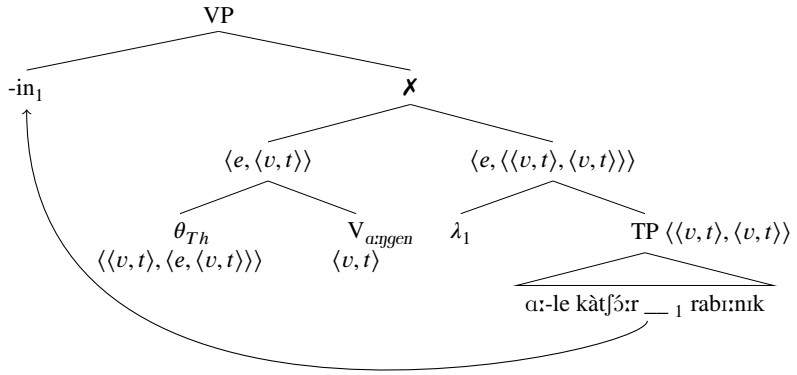


[6] For $\langle e,t\rangle$-type CPs to combine with matrix verbs in non-raising scenarios, a dedicated θ-head θ_{Cont} is introduced. Matrix V combined with θ_{Cont} is of type $\langle\langle e,t\rangle,\langle v,t\rangle\rangle$ and thus compatible with $\langle e,t\rangle$-type CPs.

Based on the semantics we have given for the subjunctive in Kipsigis, the account proposed by Moulton (2015, 2019) predicts hyperraising to be an option. Bondarenko (2020), however, predicts a type clash for *le*-complementation, due to abstraction over the subjunctive, illustrated in (19).

(19)



Preliminary data from raising diagnostics applied to Kipsigis seem more compatible with accounts that do not involve movement from inside the embedded clause (e.g. base generation accounts such as prolepsis or control, or a version of an analysis along the lines of Yoon 2007), but further diagnostics are needed for conclusive evidence. If indeed hyperraising is not attested in Kipsigis, Bondarenko (2020) can account for this restriction without further assumptions, but Moulton (2015, 2019) would need an independent (possibly syntactic) mechanism to rule it out (e.g. Chomsky 2001, Carstens & Diercks 2013, Halpert 2016, Deal 2017, Halpert 2019).

Moving on to the concrete results of the diagnostics, we look at the interpretation of idioms, possibility of an overt pronoun in the embedded clause, raising of non-subject DPs, and island effects to determine whether the DP in the matrix clause (see (15) for evidence that it is located in the matrix) has moved there from the embedded clause or is base-generated instead. So far we have identified 4 potential hyperraising predicates that take a *le*-complement: *ŋgen* 'to know', *ja:n* 'to believe', *ta:m* 'to falsely accuse', *maŋ* 'to expect'.[7] The diagnostics were applied to all four predicates, and while their behavior is mostly similar, there were some small differences which will be noted when necessary.

First, we observe that embedded idioms consistently lose their idiomatic interpretation when their subject appears in the matrix, illustrated in (20): when the subject *kɪplɛkwa* 'hare' of the idiom in the embedded clause appears in the matrix, only the literal interpretation is possible. This argues against raising analyses, which involve A-movement, and thus predict that the idiomatic interpretation should be preserved in cases like (20-b) (e.g. Davies 2005, Halpert & Zeller 2015, Zyman 2017, Fong 2019).

(20) a. ɑ:-jɑ:n-i [ɑ:-le mɑ-∅-si:r-e **kɪplɛkwa** keme:j ɑ:eŋ].
1SG-believe-IPFV 1SG-LE NEG-3-pass-IPFV hare.NOM droughts two
'I believe that you cannot fool someone multiple times.' (*lit*: I know that a hare does not exceed two dry seasons)

b. ɑ:-jɑ:n-i **kɪplɛkwa**$_1$ [ɑ:-le mɑ-∅-si:r-e __$_1$ keme:j ɑ:eŋ].
1SG-believe-IPFV hare 1SG-LE NEG-3-pass-IPFV droughts two
'I believe that a hare does not exceed two dry seasons.'
'I believe that you cannot fool someone multiple times.'

The pair in (21) below is another example of the loss of idiomatic interpretation in raising constructions, this time with a different matrix predicate and embedded idiom.

(21) a. ɑ-mɑŋ-u [ù:-lé ∅-tíŋ-è **ìnà:t** î:tí:k].
1SG-expect-IPFV 1SG-LE 3-have-IPFV wall.NOM ears
'I expect that people might be listening.' (*lit*: I expect the wall to have ears)

[7] There are more potential hyperraising predicates in the language (e.g. *matʃ* 'to want'), but those take subjunctive complements, and are not discussed here.

b. ɑ-mɑŋ-u **ɪmaːt**$_1$ [àː-lé Ø-tíɲ-è __$_1$ îːtíːk].
1SG-expect-IPFV wall 1SG-LE 3-have-IPFV ears
'I expect the wall to have ears.'
#'I expect that people might be listening.'

Second, an overt pronoun matching the raised element is possible in the embedded clause, as shown in (22). This diagnostic also points against raising (e.g. Davies 2005, Zyman 2017, Fong 2019), and possibly towards prolepsis (see Salzmann 2017 for an overview).

(22) a. ɑː-jɑːn-i **Kìbêːt**$_i$ [àː-lé kà-Ø-tʃɔ́ːr (**ìnéːndèt**$_i$) rabɪːnɪk].
1SG-believe-IPFV Kibeet 1SG-LE PST-3-steal 3SG.NOM money
'I believe that Kibeet stole the money.'
b. Ka-a(ː)-taːm **Kìbêːt**$_i$ [àː-lé kà-Ø-tʃɔ́ːr (**ìnéːndèt**$_i$) rabɪːnɪk].
PST-1SG-accuse Kibeet 1SG-LE PST-3-steal 3SG.NOM money
'I falsely accused Kibeet of stealing the money.'

Third, raising of non-subject DPs is possible, as illustrated in (23): for an embedded clause with a benefactive argument as in (23-a), either the subject, see (23-b), or the benefactive argument, see (23-c), may move to the matrix clause. The same pattern is shown in (24), but this time with the possibility of raising an instrument introduced by the instrumental applicative. Since raising to object is a type of A movement, non-subject DPs are predicted to not be able to move over subjects in raising analyses; this diagnostic thus also argues against raising and in favor of base generation (e.g. Davies 2005, Zyman 2017, Fong 2019). It should be noted, however, that there is some variation among the four raising predicates with respect to this diagnostic. While subjects can always raise, there are restrictions when it comes to non-subject DP which vary by predicate (see also Davies 2005 for similar restrictions in other languages).[8]

(23) a. ɑː-jɑːn-i [àː-lé koː-Ø-til-tʃi Tʃèːbêːt Kíbêːt pèːndá].
1SG-believe-IPFV 1SG-LE PST-3-cut-APPL Cheebeet Kibeet.NOM meat
'I believe that Kibeet cut the meat for Cheebeet.'
b. ɑː-jɑːn-i **Kìbêːt**$_1$ [àː-lé koː-Ø-til-tʃi Tʃèːbêːt __$_1$ pèːndá].
1SG-believe-IPFV Kibeet 1SG-LE PST-3-cut-APPL Cheebeet meat
'I believe that Kibeet cut the meat for Cheebeet.'
c. ɑː-jɑːn-i **Tʃèːbêːt**$_1$ [àː-lé koː-Ø-til-tʃi __$_1$ Kíbêːt pèːndá].
1SG-believe-IPFV Cheebeet 1SG-LE PST-3-cut-APPL Kibeet.NOM meat
'I believe that Kibeet cut the meat for Cheebeet.'

(24) a. ɑː-jɑːn-i [àː-lé kɔː-Ø-tɪl-ɛːn Kíbêːt pèːndá rôːtwéːt].
1SG-believe-IPFV 1SG-LE PST-3-cut-APPL Kibeet.NOM meat knife
'I believe that Kibeet cut the meat with the knife.'
b. ɑː-jɑːn-i **Kìbêːt**$_1$ [àː-lé kɔː-Ø-tɪl-ɛːn __$_1$ pèːndá rôːtwéːt].
1SG-believe-IPFV Kibeet 1SG-LE PST-3-cut-APPL meat knife
'I believe that Kibeet cut the meat with the knife.'
c. ɑː-jɑːn-i **rôːtwéːt**$_1$ [àː-lé kɔː-Ø-tɪl-ɛːn Kíbêːt pèːndá __$_1$].
1SG-believe-IPFV knife 1SG-LE PST-3-cut-APPL Kibeet.NOM meat
'I believe that Kibeet cut the meat with the knife.'

Finally, island diagnostics run so far were unfortunately inconclusive, with significant variation in reported judgments. Extraction out of a complex DP, illustrated in (25), was generally judged grammatical by the three speakers consulted on this question (which would point against movement analyses), but two of them had judged the same sentence as ungrammatical in a different elicitation session. Because-adjunct island violations as in (26) were less tolerated, but again there were conflicting judgments. It is not clear to us at this point why island judgments were difficult for our consultants, but we note that, perhaps unsurprisingly,

[8] For *taːm* 'to falsely accuse' any non-subject DP from the embedded clause can raise, for *jaːn* 'to believe' only benefactive and instrument applied arguments (but not direct objects) can raise, while for *ŋgen* 'to know' only benefactive arguments can appear in the matrix clause; the verb *mɑŋ* 'to expect' does not allow raising of any non-subject DP. The reasons for this variation among predicates are currently not well-understood, and are left as a topic for further research.

in cases like (25) the presence of an overt pronoun in the gap in the embedded clause seems to improve judgments for island-violating structures.

(25) ɑː-jɑːn-i **làːkwàː-nì**$_i$ [ùː-lé kòː-∅-mé [$_{DP}$ ŋôːktù né kòː-∅-tʃám-è
1SG-believe-IPFV child-this 1SG-LE PST-3-die dog.NOM REL.SG.NOM PST-3-like
(**ìnéːndèt**$_i$)]].
3SG.NOM
'I believe the child that the dog he/she likes died.'

(26) ??*ɑː-jɑːn-i **Kìbêːt**$_i$ [ùː-lè ∅-rìːr-é làːkwèːt [ɑmun kà-∅-tʃɔ́ːr (**ìnéːndèt**$_i$)
1SG-believe-IPFV Kibeet 1SG-LE 3-cry-IPFV child.NOM because PST-3-steal 3SG.NOM
rabɪːnɪk]].
money
Intended: 'I believe that the child is crying because Kibeet stole the money.'

Even though a more systematic investigation of island effects should be carried out in future work, the results of the remaining diagnostics support base-generation accounts.

4. Outlook

We have analyzed clausal complements in Kipsigis as complements of type $\langle v, t\rangle$, supporting theories in which the semantic type of CPs varies by language (e.g. Özyıldız et al. 2018, Moulton 2019, Bondarenko 2020, Demirok et al. 2020). We have also explored the relationship between $\langle v, t\rangle$-type complementation and hyperraising. We argued that the diagnostics point towards base-generation as the correct approach to raising to object in Kipsigis, which would mean that hyperraising is not attested in the language.

The evidence against raising, however, is not conclusive yet, in particular in light of a potential complication with regard to the A/A'-distinction in Kipsigis. More specifically, most of the evidence against raising presented in this paper crucially relies on the analysis of raising to object as a type of A movement. van Urk (2015), however, shows that in Dinka, a Nilotic language related to Kipsigis, all instances of movement show mixed A/A' behavior. If Kipsigis turns out to be like Dinka in never displaying pure A-movement, and if island violations are detected in future investigations, it is possible that some of the diagnostics can be explained in a raising account (e.g. raising of non-subject DPs should be possible in a Dinka-like system, and idiomatic interpretations may be lost in mixed-type movement more generally). We leave this as a topic for further research.

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