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Focus in EkeGusii

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ABSTRACT

This paper deals with how focus, which is mapped to a Focus Phrase(FP), is encoded in simplex EkeGusii declarative sentences. Quantifiers and arguments realized in the subject position seem to be sructurally ambiguos between a an in situ and ex situ focus marking, however in this paper the ex situ pattern in which all the focssed constructions in the Determiner Phrase are moved to the CP, which is a criterial position, is preffered. The main verb and the predicate complements (objects, oblique, adverbials etc.) in EkeGusii are displaced from the complement of the v'P position to a FocP in the CP, or to a hijacked/stranded position, a FocP within the IP Phase, imediately before the verb (IBV) position. The focus displacement patterns to the two stipulated positions are monosemous, that is, they receive the same interpretation and obey the principles of focus projection and the minimal link condition by responding to the operation *attract,* with the exception of the *in situ* case of the indirect object, whose movement blocked by the realization of a focus marked element in IBV position. The *in situ* and the stranded focus pattern exhibit interpretational mismatches.

1. Introduction

Interest in the configuration of word order in contemporary literature led to the postulation of two major word order systems in natural language, namely fixed word orders and free word orders. The patterns of word order in Bantu are assumed to be free, especially as exemplified by the case of Chichewa[1] (Mchombo, 1985). The examination of structural considerations, topic and

[1] The Chichewa language is considered to be a free word order language on the basis of the sentences:

a. Njuchi zi-na-wa-lum-a alenje (svo)

focus, however reveals the fact that the presumed notion of free word orders is not attested across all Bantu languages. An examination of linguistic data drawn from EkeGusii indicates that focus projection is basically induced by semantico-pragmatic interpretations that optionally trigger movement upon the application of focal interpretations.

The EkeGusii language utilizes morphological means to express focus and thus requires a reformulation of the focus rules, or further underspecification in order to expand the empirical coverage of the rules. Once the data is availed, revising the rules may establish it the better by confirming its universal nature. This paper aims at giving an analysis of focus constructions in EkeGusii, an E41 Bantu language spoken in Kenya, with specific reference to the notion of focus. This paper focuses on focus marking in declarative and wh-interrogatives sentences that is realized in situ or that which induces movement whenever an element of the complement is moved out of its verb internal position due to the information structural consideration, focus. The examination of the manner focus marking patterns are distributed in declarative senences reveal the full range of strategies that the language has in marking focus. It uses some new self-generated (introspective) data by the authour to study the patterns of focussed constructions in EkeGusii which are analysed using insights from the Minimalist Program (Chomsky, 1993et. Seq.).

2. Preliminaries

The major study of information structure in the EkeGusii is Mecha (2013) which gave analysis of how topic and focus interactions influence the surface structure and the interpretation of informationally structured constructions in dynamic discoursal contexts using a Bidirectional Optimality Theoretic Approach built from three base theories, Minimalist Syntax, the semantics for static sentences based on Vennenman (197) and the notions of topic and focus as per Lambrecht's Constructional Theory of (1994). The work focussed on how the syntax of clause interacts with the semantico-pragmatic aspects but did not give the patterns of focus as realized in EkeGusii. Using data recorded from conversation with one speaker of EkeGusii, this paper examines the how focus is encoded in EkeGusii using a Minimalist approach (Chomsky, 1993 et. Seq.) and the semantics are given using Rooth's (1995) Alternative Semantics.

In EkeGusii focus is realized by modulation of pitch, or by the nasal morphemic unit {*n*-} which is typically singular or {*m*-} which is in plural.Focus is realized by modulation of pitch, or by the nasal morphemic unit {*n*-} which is typically singular or {*m*-} which is plural. Most of the

Bees SA-PST-bite-INDIC hunters

"The bees bit the hunters"

b. Zinawaluma alenje njuchi (VOS)

c. Alenje zinawaluma njunchi (OVS)

d. Zinawaluma njuchi alenje (VSO)

e. Njunchi alenje zinawaluma (SOV)

f. Alenje njunchi zinawaluma (OSV)

research on focus projection and the generalizations on the construct are based on accentual or stress languages (cf. Selkirk,1995; Arregi, and Buring, 2006 to mention some). The rule for focus projection by Selkirk (1995: 555) in Buring is given based on English as stated in (1) below:

(1) **Focus Projection** (Buring 2006: 322-323)

Either

(i) F-marking of the head of a phrase licences F-marking of the phrase,

or (or both)

(ii) F-marking of an internal argument of a head licenses the f-marking of the head.

The notion of f-marking in EkeGusii, which is a tone language that marks focus morpho-syntactically, is costrained by a set of rules that is distinct from that of English, a stress language, as we will demonstrate in the analyses in this paper. The focus markers, for instance, surface in neutral focus constructions, which is a curious phenomenon we have not observed in English. Whereas the f-marking is driven by a revised form that is given by Buring (2006) of the focus projection principle, that accounts how the how the morphological markers are asssigned, the behaviour of displaced elements that is induced by focus marking is accounted for using the the Minimal Link Condition (MLC) proposed by Chomsky (1995: 311), which is given in (2) below:

(2) Minimal Link Condition (MLC)

K *attracts* α only if there is no β, β closer to K than α, such that K *attracts* β,

Hence the movement (internal merge) induced by focus considerations is driven by the attract operation, and may fail if there is an intervenor. The derivation process of the constructions will be based on the suggestions given in Chomsky (2013 and 2015) in which the Merge process driven by the transfer process to the articulatory-perceptual interface is which is separated from the labelling process that is driven by the conceptual-intentional interface. The derivational process assumed in this paper involves a Probe and Goal computational process that involves an elaborate copy and move operation on features during internal merge, that apply cyclically to some of the possible critical positions on their way to their landing sites.

3. Interactions betweeen Wh-questions and Focus

The use of question-answer contexts is the paradigmatic mode of determining the focussed elements in constructions. The question context is realized in two forms: with the wh-question operator in the fronted and stranded positions and the answers can replicate the questions word order or not.

(3.) Question: *Ni-nki* *O-mo-geni* *a-nyenye-rw-a?*

FOC-what **AUG-1SG-visitor** **1SG-slaughter-PASS-FV**

'What visitor slaughtered for?'

O-mo-geni *ni-nki* *a-nyeny-e-rw-a?*

AUG-1SG-visitor FOC-what 1SG-slaughter-PASS-FV

‘ Visitor what slaughtered for?’

Answer: a. *Omo-geni ni-igo a-nyey-e-rw-a e-ngoko.*
1SG-Visitor FOC- PTL 1SG-slaughter-PASS-FV 9SG-hen
“Visitor was slaughtered for a chicken”

b. (i.) *E-ngoko Omo-geni a-nyenye-rw-a*
9SG-hen 1SG-Visitor 1SG-slaughter-PASS-FV
“Chicken visitor was slaughtered for”

(ii.) *N’-e-ngoko Omo-geni a-nyenye-rw-a.*
FOC-9SG-hen 1SG-Visitor 1SG-slaughter-PASS-FV
“Chicken visitor was slaughtered for”

c. (i) *Omo-geni n-’e-ngoko a-nyenye-rw-a.*
1SG-Visitor FOC- 9SG-hen 1SG-slaughter-PASS-FV
“Chicken visitor was slaughtered for”

(ii) **Omo-geni ni-igo e-ngoko a-nyenye-rw-a.*
1SG-visitor FOC-PTL 9SG-hen 1SG-slaughter-PASS-FV
“Visitor was chicken slaughtered for”

The position of the wh-element does not constrain the placement of the morphologically marked focussed arguments in the output, the focused word can be positioned at the front as in 3b(ii) above or after the subject as in 3c(i) above on being displaced from the complement position of the projected construction. However, the symmetry between where the question word and the focus realization positiion is a tendency (or is accidental) in the language because a number of construction exhibit assymetry as the placement of the question word and the focus position.

The realization of focus has interpretational effects on the answer construction, with the exeption of the neutral focus construction. The meaning of the focussed elements generally have a sense similar to that of the cleft, in that they can be paraphrased as meaning ‘It is *x* that…’. consider the example in (4) below.

(4) Question: *Ni-nki omo-geni a-nyey-e-rwa*
Foc-what 1SG-visitor 1SG-slaughter-APPL-PASS-FV
‘What was slaughtered for the visitor’

Answer: *N-e-ngoko omo-geni a-nyeny-e-rwa*
Foc-9SG-chicken 1SG-visitor 1SG-slaughter-APPL-PASS-FV
‘It is chicken the visitor was slaughtered for’

The focus in the construction in (4)above involves a symmetrical realization of focus in relation to the Wh-question construction, in which both are in Focus Phrase of the sentence initial

Complementizer Phrase (CP) domain of the clause as represented in (4') below. The focussed object is copied in the complement of the v'P and raised to the focP of the CP. The movement does not happen in one step as it is here indicated, but involves successive cyclicity, given that the is a low focus position in the language (but let us reserve the discussion of that till later in the paper). The movement (internal merge) of the focussed consituent is motivated in the conceptual-intentional interface in order to meet the constraint that induces scope shift. Focus induces an interpretational scope shift, in which the focussed sense is interpreted in a sentence initial position. In the case of in situ focus, the sense moves covertly but the f-marked lexeme remains in it initial position

(4') [CP[FocP Nengoko [IP [DP omogeni [I' [FocP <nengoko>[v'P anyenyerwa [DP<nengoko>]]]]]]]

The cleft-like meaning of the focussed phrase in (4') is due to the function of particularization of the answer that is induced by scope shift. The scope shift Condition states that:

(5) **Scope Shift Condition** (see Neeleman & van de Koot, 2012:43)
No node can inherit two scope indices

The in situ construction is rendered marked because it violates the scope shift condition. Though, it does carry a focus reading which is given in this work following Rooth (1985, 1992) alternative semantics. In alternative semantics focus is associated with a set of alternative propositions which is included in the focus value of a sentence alongside the the focus and the function as rendered in (6) below. In the example (4) above, the focus is the *engoko* 'chicken' and the set of alternatives are the kind of animals one may be regaled with if they paid someone a visit.

(6) <λx [nyenyerwa x omogeni], Engoko, [embata, ekurukuru, ….>
<λx [slaughter x for visitor], Chicken, [duck, turkey, >

4. Focus Patterns in EkeGusii

In this section we give an overview of focus patterns in Ekegusii. The patterns are examined in relation to whether they are realized *in situ* or *ex situ* . The EkeGusii language exhibits two *ex-situ* focus patterns, and an *in situ* pattern in which the focussed element is not displaced, mostly in the case of focussed quantifier in the subject position, but the quantifiers in the object position induce movement to a higher position in the clause. The language forbids the realization of focus marking on any postverbal constituent , even adverbials. The rest of the elements move out of their canonical position to a higher designated position, either to a sentence initial position or a hijacked or stranded focus preverbal position. Verbal constituents only move to a preverbal position with the exeption of the focused particle which marks new informatin in out-of-the blue ccontexts. The two patterns of focus movement: fronting of focussed element, which a species of movement to the left periphery of the clause treated in section (4.2), and stranding/ hijacked pattern, which is a species of an IP- phase internal movement are given in section 4.3.

4.1 In Situ Focus Marking in the Complement

The *In Situ* focus pattern is realized by highly marked constructions in EkeGusii in which the focus marker is realized twice in the sentence. For the indirect object to be marked insitu, the focus in either the immediately before verb position particlle of verb are defocussed in the articulatory-perceptual interface and the interpreted focus reading is accorrded to the object.

(7) Question: *Ni-ngo* *o-e-t-e* *omw-ana* *ama-beere*?

FOC-who **1SG-give-PST-FV** **1SG-child** **16PL-milk**

'Who gave the child milk*?'*

Answer: a. *Omw-aana* *ni-igo* *a-e-tw-e* *ama-beere*

1SG-child **FOC-PTL** **1SG-give-PST-FV** **16PL-milk**

n'-omo-reri.

FOC-1SG-maid

'It is the maid who gave the child milk'

b. *Omw-aana* *n-a-e-tw-e* *ama-beere*

1SG-child **FOC-1SG-give-PST-FV** **16PL-milk**

n'-omo-reri.

FOC-1SG-maid

'It is the maid who gave the child milk

c. *****Omw-aana* *a-e-tw-e* *ama-beere* *n'-omo-reri*.

1SG-child **1SG-give-PST-FV** **16PL-milk** **FOC-1SG-maid**

'It is the maid who gave the child milk

d. *****Omw-aana* *a-e-tw-e* *n'-omo-reri* *ama-beere* .

1SG-child **1SG-give-PST-FV** **FOC-1SG-maid** **16PL-milk**

'It is the maid who gave the child milk

4.2 The Left Periphery

The notion of displacement, which is prevalent in the Generative tradition due to the assumption of transformational operations, in the derivational process, has been one of the key concerns that were put into question at the onset of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky, 1993). Displacement was initially considered as an imperfection, but with further research in the first decade it was entrenched within the Minimalist as one of the 'conceptually necessary' aspects of the derivation processes which is the product of a Copy and Merge operations which are aspects of Internal Merge.

The displacement of the Object in the early phase of developing the minimalist Program (Chomsky, 1993 et.seq.) was considered to be driven driven by a focus feature which necessitates its being internally merged either to sentence initial position with its landing position

being the Specifier of the Complementizer Phrase (Spec-CP). The object can also surface in a preverbal position after the Specifier of the Inflectional Phrase in Past Perfect Aspectual clauses. The merge process in Ekegusii does not exactly occur as assumed for the English language which is used to model the generative enterprise. The movement to the Focus position in the construction only involves some of the features that are realized in the CP phase, hence the construction does not merely consist of a mere replication of the moved element, perhaps that is the reason some theoreticians have re-baptized Internal Merge as Remerge. Consider the derivation of the fronted Focussed object in (8) below. The focus movement to the CP consists to further merge of the object with the Focus and their cyclical displacement to the left-periphery as shown in (8b) below which induces an additional conjunct to the logical form:

(8) a. *A-ma-ache* ***n-a-ma-ange*** *twa-taach-et-e* *igoro*

AUG-16PL-water FOC-AUG-NC-lot Bosire 1PL- fetch-PERF-FV yesterday

"It is a lot of water we fetched yesterday"

b. [$_{CP}$[$_{focP}$ Amache naamnge [$_{IP}$ [$_{DP}$ twa- [focP ~~amache amange~~ [$_{I'}$ [$_{I}$[$_{v'P}$ -taachete[DP ~~Amache amange~~ [$_{AdvP}$ [$_{Adv}$ igoro]]]]]]]]]

<λx [Amaache x twataaachete], amange, [amaake, igatwa, ….>
<λx [water x we fetched], much, [little, some (moderate),…>

(9.) a. * ***N-ama-nge*** *ama-che* *Bosire* *a-tach-et-e* *igoro*

Foc-16PL-lot 16PL-water Bosire 1SG-fetch-PERF-FV yesterday

"It is a lot of water Bosire fetched yesterday"

The question as to which landing site a given focussed elements has been rife in Generativist literature, in a bid to resolve the issue whether there are such notions as A(rgument) positions, preverbal subjects as arguments (Costa,2004) as opposed to A'-positions. Preverbal subjects as non-argument positions (cf. Ordonez and Trevino, 1999) in the study of Germanic languages. The extended CP is positioned in the left periphery and the focus phrase is one of the functional projections in it as illustrated in (10) below. In EkeGusii there is a low focus position, the stranded focP position, which is a landing position for the neutral focus marked particle *Niigo* as illustrated in (10) below:

(10) a. *N-iigo* *omw-ana* *a-nywe-et-e* *ama-beere*.

Foc-PTL Child SM-drink-PERF-FV SM-milk

The child drank milk

[$_{CP}$[$_{FocP}$ Niigo [$_{IP}$ omwana [$_{I'}$[$_{I}$[$_{v'p}$ [$_{v}$anyweete[$_{DP}$ amabeere]]]]]]]]

(11.) *a.* *Omw-ana ni-igo a-nywe-et-e ama-beere*

1SG-Child FOC-PTL SM-drink-PERF-FV 16PL-milk

'The Child drank milk'

b. [$_{CP}$ [$_{IP}$ [$_{DP}$ Omwana [$_{FocP}$ ni-igo [$_{I'}$ [$_{v'P}$ [focP ~~nigo~~ [v a-nywe-et-e [$_{DP}$ ama-beere]]]]]]]

The examination of Bantu languages reveals a more tantalizing phenomena as will be attested by the data.

(12.) **Focus Fronting**

a. *Ama-beere* *omwa-ana* *a-nyw-φ-a.* [Focus by Fronting]
16PL-milk **1 SG-child** **1SG-drink-PERF-Fv**
'MILK child has drunk.'

b. *N-'ama-beere* *omwa-ana* *a-nyw-a.* [Focus *N*-marking + Fronting]
Foc-16Pl-milk **1SG-child** **1SG-drink-PERF-Fv**
'MILK child has drunk.'

(12') **Syntactic Derivation Process:**

Numeration [OMWANA +N, NYWA +V,+ numb: 2sg, 1 PL….]

a. [$_{v'P}$ [$_{DP}$ omwana [$_{v}$ √-nywa]]]]

b. [$_{I'}$ [$_{I}$ Pres. [$_{v'P}$ [$_{DP}$ omwana [$_{v}$ √nywa]]]]]

c. [$_{IP}$[$_{DP}$ owana [$_{v'P}$ omwana [$_{v}$ √nywa]]]]]]]

d. [$_{IP}$[$_{DP}$ owana [$_{v'P}$ omwana [$_{A}$ [v anywa]]]]]]]

e. [$_{IP}$[$_{DP}$ owana [$_{v'P}$ omwana [$_{AgrSP}$ a- [$_{v}$ a-nywa]]]]]]]

f. [$_{IP}$[$_{DP}$ owana [$_{v'p}$ omwana [$_{AgrSP}$ a- [$_{v}$ a-nywa]]]]]]]

g. [$_{IP}$[$_{DP}$ owana [$_{v'p}$ omwana [$_{AgrSP}$ a- [$_{v}$ a-nywa [$_{DP}$ amabeere]]]]]]]

h. [$_{IP}$[$_{DP}$ owana [$_{v'p}$ omwana [$_{AgrSP}$ a- [$_{v}$ a-nywa [$_{DP}$ n-amabeere]]]]]]]

i. [$_{CP}$ [$_{FocP}$ n-amabeere [$_{IP}$[$_{DP}$ owana [$_{v'p}$ [$_{DP}$ omwana [$_{AgrSP}$ a- [$_{v}$ a-nywa [$_{DP}$ n-amabeere]]]]]]]

j. **Spellout**: [$_{CP}$ [$_{FocP}$ namabere [$_{IP}$[$_{DP}$ omwana[$_{I'}$[$_{I}$ Pres.[$_{DP}$ ~~omwana~~ [$_{AgSP}$ a- [$_{v'P}$[~~a~~nywa
[$_{DP}$ ~~n-amabeere~~]]]]]]]

k. **A-P**:[$_{CP}$ [$_{FocP}$ namabere [$_{IP}$[$_{DP}$ omwana[$_{I'}$[$_{I}$ Pres. [$_{AgSP}$ a- [$_{v'P}$[~~a~~nywa]]]]]]]

C-I: It is milk the child drank.

The fronted object in (12) above is base generated and then its copy overtly displaced to the left periphery of the clause to be realized as a focus Phrase in the extended coplimentizer Phrase

(CP). the focused morpheme can surface with or without an overt focus marker {*n*-}. The reading in (12'k) above is of what the focus induces, without considering the possible permutation due to ambiguity[2] of the clause.

4.2.1 Focus in Subject Position

It can be argued that the focussed elements in the subject position can be analysed as being structurally ambiguous between an *in- situ* and *ex situ* focus projection. In section 4.1.1 we consider some determiner phrase constructions and in 4.1.2 proonouns which are considered to exhibit the said structural ambiguity. I n this paper we argue that the focussed Determiner Phrase is moved to the FocP of the CP from the the specifier position.

4.2.1.1 Focus of Determiner Phrases

The focus marker may be realised on the modifiers of the Determiner phrase in the subject position in EkeGusii. The quantifiers project a quantifier phrase (QP) which when focused involves the raising of the focused quantifier to a focus phrase in either within the Determiner Phrase or is moved to CP pied piping the rest of the elements without altering their internal order (which for some generativists may be an indication that the phrase should be considred a full phase).

The Quantifier Phrase (QP) is projected in Ekegusii wihin the Determiner Phrase projection the following generalized D-Structure if the functional projections as per the lexical senses of the word are factored in as shown in (3a) below for most of the quantificational phrases. However, in the case of the quantifier kera 'every', it has a distinct word oder as given in (13 b.)

(13,) a. [DP [Det'[NP [QP [Det^0 […

b. [DP [Det' [QP [NP [Det^0 […

The determiner Phrase, without any focussed subconstituent, has a distict internal order as can be demonstrated using the examples in (14) below.

(14.) a. i. *Omw-ana o-yo omo-mwamu…*

` **1SG-child AUG-1SG-one 1SG-black**

'One black child..'

ii. [DP[Det'[NP[N Omwana [Det^0 Oyo [AdjP omomwamu…

b. i. *Kera Omw-ana omo-mwamu...*

Every 1SG-child 1SG-black

[2] The reading given in the sentence can be considered to be the de dicto reading, which is as per the words in the clause, as opposed to the de re reading whhich involves assumption of the existential commitment that calls for quantification, that is determining thhe scope of the existential quantifier.

‘Every black child…**’**

ii. [DP[Det’[QP[Q kera [NP Omwana [Det^0 Ø [AdjP omomwamu…

The typical projection of the determiner phrase realizes the quantifier on the left of the noun, hence the determiner phrase is head last, with the noun complement preceding the head Det^0. The noun is then internally merged by its copy being moved from a lower position in the determiner phrase. Given that EkeGusii has no independent morphemes to mark determination, definite or indefinite, lexical forms meant to realize other functions such as demostratives *oyo* ‘this*’*, and *ori* ‘that’ are sometimes used as determiners that mark definiteness and specificity. The determiner is then omitted in the surface because it is homophonous with the lexemes which denote other senses like number (e.g *-mo* ‘one’), ostantiveness (demonstratives e.g *-ke., -ye/yo* ‘this’), quantity (e.g *-nge* ‘many,) The modifiers of noun in the language syncretically realize determiners.

(15.) a. *O-mw-ana* *n-oyo*

AUG-1SG-child **FOC-this**

‘A Child is this’

b. i. [$_{DP}$ [$_{NP}$ [$_{N}$ omwana [Det’ [Det^0 ~~noyo~~ [FocP noyo [$_{DemP}$ [$_{Dem}$ <~~noyo>~~ [$_{NP}$ <~~Omwana>~~]]]]]]

ii. [CP[FocP <noyo>[$_{DP}$ [$_{NP}$ [$_{N}$ omwana [Det’ [Det^0 ~~noyo~~ [$_{DemP}$ [$_{Dem}$ <~~noyo>~~ [$_{NP}$ <~~Omwana>~~]]]]]]

(16) a. *Oyo* *n’ o-mwa-na*

This is AUG-1SG-child

“This is a child”

b. [$_{IP}$ [$_{DP}$ [$_{Pron}$ Oyo [$_{Cop}$ no [$_{DP}$ omwana]]]]

(17) a. *N-oyo n’ omwana*

FOC-this is AUG-1SG-child

“Even this is a child**”**

b. [$_{CP}$[$_{FocP}$ noyo[$_{IP}$[$_{DP}$ [$_{Pron}$ ~~noyo~~[$_{I'}$[$_{Cop}$ no [$_{DP}$ omwana]]]]]]]

The EkeGusii language only lecenses one focus projection in sentences. Any movement of the modifier, which may be an adjective or a quantifier is rendered ungrammatical on the surface as illustrated in the sentences in (18) below.

(18.) a. ***N-kera*** *o-mw-ana* *o-e-tw-e* *a-ma-beere*

FOC-every **AUG-1SG-child** **SAGR-give-PST-FV** **AUG-16PL-milk**

ama-ange.

16-PL-lot

'It is every child who was given a lot of milk.'

b. **N-Kera* *omw-ana* *o-e-tw-e* *a-ma-bere*

FOC-Every AUG-1SG-child SAGR-give-PST-FV AUG-16PL-milk

n-ama-ange

Foc-16PL-lot

'Every child was given milk it is alot.'

c. **Kera* *o-mw-ana* *o-e-tw-e* *ama-bere*

Every AUG-1SG-child SAGR-give-PST-FV AUG-16PL-milk

n-ama-ange

Foc-16PL-lot

'Every child was given milk it is alot.'

(18') [CP [FocP Nkera omwana [IP [DP Nkera Omwana [I' [v'P oetwe [DP amabeere]]]]]

The quantified determiners in the subject position in sentences ((18a and c) above are focused *ex situ*, whereas the quantifier in (18b) above in the object position is not moved and that induces the sentence to crash. The sentence in (18b) does not converge at the interfaces due to multiple focus marking. The sentence in (18 a) as illustrated in labelled syntactic projection in (18') converges when the focussed DP nke*ra omwane* 'every child' is displaced to FocP in the CP.

4.2.1.2 Focus Marking of Pronouns

Pronouns in EkeGusii are focuss marked morpho-syntacticall as any other lexeme in the language though considered to be topical constructions. In the sentences given below the pronominal in the subject pposition is focussed by enclicizing the focus marker {n-} before the it.

(19) Question: *Ni-ngo* *o-e-t-e* *omw-ana* *ama-beere*?

FOC-who 1SG-give-PST-FV 1SG-child 16PL-milk

'Who gave the child milk?'

Answer: a. N-inche n-a-e-t-e omwana ama-beere

Foc-I FOC-1SG-give-PST-FV 1Sg-child 16PL-milk

'It is I who gave the child milk'

b. N-aye n-a-e-t-e omwana ama-beere

Foc-you FOC-1SG-give-PST-FV 1Sg-child 16PL-milk

'It is you who gave the child milk'

4.2.1.3 Focus of Bare Nominals

All arguments that serve as subjects can be focussed. In Ekegusii The most marked form in the subject position are the personal names which in most languages are focused by some use of high pitch. Ekegusii caequally mark focsu by using high pitched phonation on the first syllable (given in capitals of proper names as in (20 a) below. Focus marking on personal names depends on the type of phoneme at the beginning of the word as illustrated in (20) below. Personal proper nouns that begin with the bilabial fricative / b/ are marked with the focus marker /m-/ which is also used in pluralized lexemes whereas /n/ is precliticized before words that begin with the alveolars /t, tj,/ , the palatals /g, k/, and the the tap /r/ which is substituted with the homo-organic affricate /nd/ .

(20.) **Normal form Morphologically Marked Focussed form**

Kereera	*N-kereera*	'it is Kereera'
Ragogi	*Nd-agogi*	'it is Ragogi'
Barare	*M-barare*	'it is Barare'

The usage of the two forms are equally distinct in spoken discourse, the bare proper name is used to designate and in isolation can be used to call someone, but the focussed form is used in diourse to specify with the reading 'it is *x*'.

In EkeGusii, the personal names have two distinct ways in which they can be focussed and moved to the left perphery; by use of pitch (21a.); by overt realization of the focus marking morpheme {n-} before the proper noun as shown in (21b) below in the subject position.

(21.) Question: *Ni-ngo o-nyw-a ama-beere?*

` **Foc-who 1SG-drink 16PL-milk**

'Who drank milk?'

a. ***BOsiire*** *o-nyw-a ama-beere.*

Bosiire 1SG-drunk-FV 16PL- milk

"It is Bosiire drunk milk"

b. ***M-bosiire*** *o-nyw-a ama-beere.*

Foc-Bosiire 1SG-drink-FV 16PL-milk.

"It is Bosire drank milk "

For giving the plural focused colletive subject, the language uses the lexical form *mbabo* as given in (22) below.

(22) Question: *M-ba-rabi ba-nyw-a ama-beere?*

Foc-1PL-who 1SG-drink-FV 16PL-milk

'Who drunk milk?'

a ***M-baabo*** *Bosiire ba-nyw-a ama-beere*

Focus-Poss Bosiire 1PL-drink-FV 16PL-milk

'It is the Bosiires' drunk milk'

b. *Bosiire M-bara-bwo ba-nyw-a a-ma-beere*

Bosiire Foc-are-PL 1PL-drink-FV AUG-16PL-milk

'Bosiire are the ones who drunk the milk'

4.2.1.4 Object Preposing

The movement of the object to a sentence initial position in Ekegusii is triggered by the information structural feature, Focus. Consider the sentences in which the movement involves crossing from the IP Phase, considering that a phase in a minimal domain that a moving element can cross, to CP phase, which is in the sentence initial position. Consider the example of object preposing given in (23) below.

(23) a. Question: *Ni-nki omwa-ana a-nywe-et-e?*

Foc-what 1SG-child 1SG-give-PST-PERF-FV

'What did the child drink?'

Answer: (i) *Ama-beere omwa-ana a-nywe-et-e.*

16PL-Milk 1SG-Child 1SG-drink-PST-FV

'Milk child drank.'

(ii) *N'- ama-beere omwa-ana a-nywe-et-e.*

Foc-16PL-Milk 1SG-Child 1SG-drink-PST-FV

'It is Milk child drank.'

The movement in sentence which have two objects is similar to the one represented for sentences with only one object as illustrated in (24) below.

(24) Question: *Ni-nki Maria a-e-t-e omw-ana*?

Foc-what Maria 1SG-give-PST-PERF-FV 1SG-child

'What Maria gave child?'

Answer: (a) *N'-ama-beere Maria a-e-Φ-t-e omw-ana*.

Foc-16PL-milk Maria 1SG-give-PST-PERF-FV 1SG-Child

'Its milk Maria gave child'

(b) **N'-ama-beere omw-ana Maria a-e-Ø-t-e*

Foc-16PL-milk 1SG-Child Maria 1SG-give-PST-PERF-FV

'Its milk child Maria gave'

(25) Question: *Ni-ngo Maria a-e-Φ-t-e ama-beere*?

Foc-Who Maria 1SG-give-PST_PERF-FV 16PL-milk

'who Maria gave milk?'

Answer: (a) *N'-omwa-ana Maria a-e-Φ-t-e ama-beere*

Foc-CL1-Child Mary 1SG-give-PST-PERF-FV 16PL-Milk

'Its child Maria gave milk.'

(b) **N'-omwa-ana ama-beere Maria a-e-Φ-t-e*

Foc-1SG-Child 16PL-Milk Mary 1Sg-give-PST-PERF-FV

' Its child Milk Maria gave'

In the examples given above, the focus marker is optionally realized on the moved object in the sentence initial position. However, in the contexts of long distance movement, the focus marker is obligatory as illustrated in the sentences given in (26) below.

(26) Question: *Ni-nki e-ra-tooke omo-geni o-och-et-e inka*

Foc-What It-might-be 1SG-guest 1SG-come-Φ-PERF-FV home

Igoro a-nyenye-re-tw-e?

Yesterday 1SG-slaughter-PST-APPL-FV

'What might it be the vistor who came yesterday was slaughtered for?'

Answer a. *N'- e-ngoko e-raabe omo-geni o-och-et-e*

Foc-9SG-chicken it-might-be 1SG-guest 1SG-come-Φ-PERF-FV

Inka igoro a-nyenye-re-tw-e.

home yesterday 1SG-slaughter-PST-APPL-FV

'Chicken might be the visitor who came yesterday was slaughtered for'

b. * *E-ngoko e-raabe omo-geni o-och-et-e*

9SG-chiken it-might-be 1SG-guest 1Sg-come-Φ-PERF-FV

inka igoro a-nyenye-re-tw-e.

home yesterday 1SG-slaughter-PST-APPL-FV

'Chicken might be the visitor who came yesterday was slaughtered for'

4.2.1.5 Preposed Adverbials

The temporal element and the locative element can be focussed by being cyclically moved to the sentence initial focus landing site (the left periphery). Consider the sentence in (27) which bears neutral focus and the focussed ones in (28 & 29) below.

(27) *Moraa ni-igo a-ache-t-e sei-to igoro.*

Moraa foc-PTL 1SG-come-PERF-FV home-our yesterday

'Moraa came to our home'

When the temporal element is focused it is moved to a sentence initial position, whereas the in situ focussed construction crashes.

(28) a. *N'-igoro Moraa a-chich-et-e sei-to.*

Foc-yesterday Moraa 1SG-come-PERF-FV home-our

'It is yesteray Moraa came to our home'

b. **Moraa ni-igo a-chich-et-e sei-to n'-igoro.*

Moraa foc-PTL 1SG-come-PERF-FV home-our Foc-yesterday

'It is yesteray Moraa came to our home'

The same behaviour is observed when the locative is focussed.

(29) a. *N-seito Moraa a-chich-et-e igoro.*

Foc-home Moraa 1SG-come-PERF-FV yesterday

'It is to our home Moraa came yesterday'

b. **Moraa ni-igo a-chich-et-e n-seito igoro.*

Moraa foc-PTL 1SG-come-PERF-FV Foc-home yesterday

'It is to our home Moraa came yesterday'

4.3 Focus Hijacking in EkeGusii

The movement of focused elements to a sentence internal position affects every element that occurs in the predicate. The verbal elements, auxiliaries, verbal complements and the verb either move to the focus phrase position below the subject this includes the copying and movement of the focus marker out of the verb phrase to the default focus position. The internal merge of the focused elements involve an intricate process in which the focus particle *Niigo* is deleted and replaced by new focussed element at the A-P interface and assigned the pragmatico- semantic features that render it interpretable at the C-I inteface. For example the movement of a constituent.. an argument or adverbial, that occurs from within the complement of the verb in SVO, SVOO, SVA and SVOA constructions does not go all the way to the front of the clause (the preposed CP) but can be stranded within the Inflectional phrase or in what Hyman (2007) dubs the immediately before the verb (IBV) in the Ekegusii language. Consider the construction given in (30) below for which an illustration of the syntactic derivation is given in (30 b).

(30) a. *Omwa-ana n-' ama-beere a-nyw-a.*

1SG-child FOC-16Pl-milk 1SG-drink-PERF-FV
'Child it's milk has drank'.

b. **Syntactic Derivation**

Numeration = {omw-, √-ana1 'child', √-nyua 1 'drink', ama- √beere 'milk'}

a. Merge: (omwana, nyua) →{nyua{omwana nyua}

b. Merge:(o (Agr), omwana nyua) →{nyua{omwana onyua}

c. Merge: (omwana onyua, amabeere) →{NYUA {omwana onyua amabeere}

d. External Merge: (omwana, omwana onyua amabeere) → {nyua{omwna omwana onyua amabeere}}

e. Merge: (n-(FOC), omwana omwana onyua amabeere) → {nyua{omwna omwana onyua namabeere}}

f. Internal Merge: (namabeere, omwana omwana onyua naamabere)→
{nyua{omwana omwana <namabeere>onyua namabeere}}

g. Internal Merge: (Agr, omwana omwana namabeere onyua naamabere)→
{nyua{omwana omwana <namabeere> anyua namabeere}}

h. Spell Out: [IP [DP Omwana[I' [FocP namabeere [v'P anyua]]]]

It is milk the child drank.

4.3.1 Object Stranding

The arguments that appear as objects of clauses in EkeGusii do exhibit structural ambiguity, that is, they have two landing sites, one within the the IP (which is a form of A-movement), and the other is to the left periphery (an A'-movement). The former aspect is evident in most matrix constructions with an SVO word order. Consider (31) below.

(31) Question: *N-inki* *omw-ana* *a-nyw-a?*

FOC-what **1SG-child** **1SG-drink-FV**

'What did the child drink?'

Answer: *O-mwa-ana* *n-'ama-beere* *a-nyw-a.*

CL1 SG-child Foc- CLPl-milk **SM-drink-PERF-Fv**

Child MILK has drunk.

'It is milk the child drank.'

(31(A-P (PF): $[_{CP}\ [_{IP}[_{DP}$ omwana $[_{FocP}$ namabere $[_{I'}[_{I}$ Pres. $[_{AgSP}$ a- $[_{v'P}[_{V}$ ~~a~~nywa $[_{DP}$ ~~namabeere~~]]]]]]]]

<λx [omwana anywa x], amaberee [amaache, erongoori, ….>
<λx [child drank x], milk [water, gruel…, >

The construction in (31) above converges because there is no other focussed constituent in the IBV position as in the examples in (32) below which crash because they are not interpretable at the interfaces.

(32) a. **Omw-aana* *ni-igo* *ama-beere* *a-nywa*

1SG-child **Foc-PTL** **16Pl-milk** **1SG-drink-PERF-FV**

"Child it's milk has drank."

[IP Omwana [Foc P niigo [FocP amabeere [I'[v'P anywa [DP a~~mabeere~~]]]]]]

b. **Omw-aana* *ni-igo* *n'-ama-beere* *a-nyw-a*
1SG-child **Foc-PTL** **FOC-16Pl-milk** **1SG-drink-PERF-FV**
"Child it's milk has drank."
[IP Omwana [Foc P niigo [FocP namabeere [I'[v'P anywa [DP ~~namabeere~~]]]]]]

The focused object is blocked from getting to the sentence initial position because there is a focal position between the specifier of the IP and the inflection (verb) in which its focal features can be valued. In (32 a) above the object is not focus marked for it to be realized in the FocP besides the structural problem of doubling of projections. Construction (32 b) above crashes due the restriction against multiple focus projections in the IBV position.

The stranding of the displaced is possible because there is a focus position between the specifier and the verb. This is evident because of the realization of the focused particle {*-igo*} that is used in EkeGusii sentences in neutral focus constructions as in (33) below, and in cases where the focused object is in situ, the position has to be filled with a pro-form in order for the construction to surface (see example (33) below). In EkeGusii, the canonical declarative, in cases where an action has been completed, typically is derived with a verb initial particle that is optionally focus marked in sentences with an empty past perfective feature as shown in (33b) below.

(33) a. Omwa-*ana* *igo* *a-nyw-φ-a* *ama-beere*
1**SG-child** **PTL** **SM-drink-PL** **16PL-milk**
"Child has drank milk"

b. *Omwa-ana* *ni-igo* *a-nyw-a* *ama-beere*
1SG-child **fOC-PTL** **1SG-drink-PERF-FV PL CL** **16PL-milk**
Child has drank milk

Thus the construction has a focus position within the IP phase which is externally merged when the subject is moved to the specifier position where it triggers the particle *igo* 'so' to be inserted with an optional focus marker. The so created focus position has been grammaticalized in the language, making it possible for a focused object to be legible in the sensory-motor interface in EkeGusii.

(34) a . *Omw-aana* ***n-ama-beere*** ***ama-ange*** *a-nyw-et-e*

1SG-child Foc-16PL-milk 16PL-1umch 1SG-drink-PERF-FV

'Child a lot of milk drunk '

b. **Omw-ana* ***ni-igo*** ***ama-beere ama-nge*** *a-nyw-et-e*

1SG-child Foc-PTL 16PL-milk 16PL-lot 1SG-drink-PERF-FV

'Child a lot of milk drunk'

c. **Omw-ana ni-igo a-nyw-et-e n-ama-beere ama-nge.*

1SG-child Foc-PTL 1SG-drink-PERF-FV FOC-16PL-milk 16PL-much

'A child drunk a lot of milk'

The sentences in (35) above illustrate the preference of the before the verb or object stranding pattern in (35a) over cases where the focus particle surfaces alongside focussed object in (35b),

(35) a. *Omw-ana ama-beere n-ama-ange a-nyw-et-e* .

1SG-child 16PL-milk FOC-16PL-much 1SG-drink-PERF-FV

'Child milk is a lot drunk'

Stranding is also possible in ditransitive contexts as shown in (36) below.

(36) Question: Ni-nki Maria a-e-t-e omw-ana?

FOC-what Maria 1SG-give-PST-FV 1SG-child

'What did Maria give the child'

Answer: (a) *Maria n'-ama-beere a-e-t-e omw-ana.*

Maria FOC-16PL-Milk 1SG-give-PST-FV 1SG-child

'It is milk Maria gave the child'

(b.) * *Maria n'-ama-beere omw-ana a-e-t-e*

Maria FOC-16PL-Milk 1SG-child 1SG-give-PST-FV

'It is milk Maria gave the child'

The particle {*-oka*} is pied piped with the object in the process of moving to the intermediate focus position as in (37) below.

(37.) a. *Omo-reri ni-igo a-e-t-e omw-aana bweka*
1-SG-nurse FOC-PTL 1SG-give-PST-PERF-FV 1SG-Child only

ama-beere.

16PL-Milk

'The maid gave only the child milk'

b. *Omo-reri n'-omw-aana bweka a-e-t-e ama-beere.*

1SG-nurse Foc-1SG-Child only 1SG-give-PST-PERF-FV 16PL-Milk

'It is only the child the maid gave milk to'

(38) a. *Omo-reri ni-igo a-e-t-e omw-aana ama-beere*

1SG-nurse FOC-PTL 1SG-give-PST-PERF-FV 1SG-Child CL-PL-Milk *oka*.

Only

'The maid gave the child only milk**'**

b. *Omo-reri n'-ama-beere oka a-e-t-e omw-aana*.

1SG-nurse FOC-CL-PL-Milk only 1SG-give-PST-PERF-FV 1SG-Child

'It is milk only that the maid gave to the child**'**

The IP Phase internal position is not available in some constructions if it is not interpretable in one of the interfaces as demonstrated in the examples with an overt past perfect Marker and a Subject Marker agreeing with the subject as in (39) below. The displaced Object construction in (39a(ii)) below crashes because it is not legible at the Conceptual-Intentional interface (or is semantically uninterruptable) but can be legible when the Sensory-Motor interface licences a different subject marker, {a-} instead of {o-} as in (39a(iv.)) below, hence the operation Agree acts as a repair strategy for the construction to converge. This is the case because the construction with the agreement marker {a-} in (39a(iii)) equally crashes.

(39) a. (i.) *Omw-ana O-nyu-ur-e ama-beere*.

Cl1SG-child SM-drink-PERF-FV

'Child has drank'

(ii.) **Omw-ana n'-ama-beere O-nyu-ur-e*.

Cl1SG-child Foc-CLPL-milk SM-drink-PERF-FV

Child has drank

(iii.) **Omw-aana a-nyu-ur-e ama-beere*.

Cl1SG-child SM-drink-PERF-FV CLPL-Milk

Child has drank

(iv) *Omw-ana n'-ama-beere a-nyu-ur-e*.

Cl1SG-child Foc-CLPL-MILK SM-drink-PERF-FV

Child has drank

The Agree component seems to have a phonological feature that involves vowel harmony as a prerequisite for agreement that prevents some constructions from converging in the interfaces. Therefore, the locality conditions are fulfilled by the immediately antecedent argument, the object, inducing vowel replacement, without actually inducing a semantic shift of the vowel. The process is anomalous since we have two agreement relations which are induced by both interfaces applying on one morpheme, that is, there arises a case of partial or shared Agree in which the sensory-motor interface licenses Object agreement and the Conceptual-Intentional interface Subject Agreement.

Consider the sentences in which more than one object is realized in the convergent construction as in (40) below.

(40) a. *Omo-reri n'-ama-beere a-e-t-e Omw-aana*

1SG-nurse Foc-16PL-Milk 1SG-give-PST-PERF-FV 1SG-Child

'It is MILK the maid gave to the child'

c. ?**Omo-reri ama-beere a-et-e omw-aana*

1SG-nurse 16PL-Milk 1SG-give-PST-PERF-FV CL1-SG-Child

'It is MILK the maid gave to the child'

(41) a. *Omo-reri n'- omw-aana a-e-t-e ama-beere.*

1SG-nurse FOC-1SG-Child 1SG-give-PST-PERF-FV 16PL-Milk

'It is the child Omweri gave milk'

b. **Omo-reri omw-aana a-e-t-e ama-beere.*

1SG-nurse 1SG-Child 1SG-give-PST-PERF-FV 16PL-Milk

'It is MILK the maid gave to the child'

Consider the SVOO sentences, in which more than one object is realized in the convergent construction, as in (42) below. In such sentences

(42) a. *Omo-reri n'-ama-beere a-e-t-e Omw-aana*

1SG-nurse Foc-16PL-Milk 1SG-give-PST-PERF-FV 1SG-Child

'It is MILK the maid gave to the child'

b. ?**Omo-reri* *ama-beere* *a-et-e* *omw-aana*

1SG-nurse **16PL-Milk** **1SG-give-PST-PERF-FV** **CL1-SG-Child**

'It is MILK the maid gave to the child'

(43) a. *Omo-reri* *n'- omw-aana* *a-e-t-e* *ama-beere.*

1SG-nurse **FOC-1SG-Child** **1SG-give-PST-PERF-FV** **16PL-Milk**

'It is the child Omweri gave milk'

b. **Omo-reri* *omw-aana* *a-e-t-e* *ama-beere.*

1SG-nurse **1SG-Child** **1SG-give-PST-PERF-FV** **16PL-Milk**

'It is MILK the maid gave to the child'

4.3.2 Term Focus Stranding

The analysis of term or verb focus in Bantu is problematic in the context where the immediately before verb (IBV) low focus position is assumed (such as in Hyman, 2007). Whether the verb is focussed in situ or it involves movement to the IBV position is a question that has never been addressed in previous studies of term focus in Bantu language. In this paper we argue that it is the case that the verb moves from the light verb (v'P) to the IBV or the stranded position within the inflection (I') for focus features to be interpretable. Consider the sentence in (44) below:

(44) a. *Ni-nki* *o-mw-ana* *a-kore-Φ-re-tw-e?*

Foc-what **AUG-1SG-Child** **1SG-Do-PAST-PERF-APPL-FV**

'What was done for the child?'

b. *O-mw-ana* *n-a-e-tw-e* *ama-beere.*

AUG-1SG-child **FOC-1Sg-givem-PST-PERF-FV** **16PL-Milk**

'The child was GIVEN milk.'

The verbal element undergoes focus marking by taking the focus marking morpheme then it is copied in light verb (v'P) position and internally merged in IBV position (FocP) as illustrated in (44') below.

(44') a. $[_{IP}\ [_{DP}$ omwana [I' $[_{FocP}$ <naetwe> $[_{v'P}$ <naetwe> $[_{DP}$ amabeere]]]]

This analysis gives credence to the idea that focus induces movement in the language and *in situ* focus marking is a marked syntactic process.

The auxiliary is focussed and moved to the IBV position too as exemplified in (45) below

(45) *Bosiire* ***n-e-re*** *o-nyw-a* *ama-beere.*

Bosiire FOC-NC1-is 1SG-drank-FV AUG-16PL-milk.

"Bosire is the one drunk milk"

(45') Syntax: [IP [DP Bosiire [FOCP nere [I' [CopP nere [v'p nere onywa [DP amabeere]]]]]]]

Semantics:

The sentence can be understood by comparing it with a neutral focus sentence in (46) below.

(46) *Bosiire n-igo* *e-re* *a-nyw-a* *ama-beere*

Bosiire Foc-PTL 1SG-is 1SG-drink-FV 16PL-milk

'Bosiire has drank milk'

(46') [IP [DP [FocP nigo [I' [CopP ere [v'P anywa [DP amabeere]]]]]]]

The focus marker in the neutral focus does not induce a focus reading because the particle does not have a meaning changing function as is the case of the other lexemes in focus constructions.

4.3.3 Stranding of Focussed Adverbials

The adverbials typically are adjoined after the main verb in EkeGusii. The constructions that play the role of adverbials include temporals (adverbs of time), llocatives (adverbs of place) etc. The adverbs that will be used to illustrate stranding in this section will be limited to adjuncts that occur immediately after the verb. The word igoro 'yesterday' can function as a sentential adjunct, by being adjoined to the presentential position, this will involve a derivational process that moves the focussed form down into the stranded or IBV position. This study assumes this process to be uneconomical, and hence rejects the notion of roll-down that is advocated in Aboh (2007), who posits tthat in relation to information structure anything moves anywhere.

(47) a. *Omo-ibi* *ni-igo* *a-bwat-et-w-e* *igoro.*

1SG-thief FOC-PTL 1SG-catch-PERF-PASS-FV yesterday

''A thief was caught yesterday**'**

b. i. *Omo-ibi n'-igoro a-bwat-etw-e*

1SG-thief FOC- yesterday 1SG-catch-PERF-PASS-FV

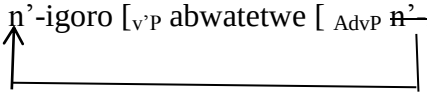
' It was yesterday a thief was caught'

ii. *Omo-ibi* *a-bwat-etw-e* *n'-igoro*

1SG-thief 1SG-catch-PERF-PASS-FV FOC-yesterday

‘ It was yesterday a thief was caught’

(47’) $[_{CP}\ [_{IP}\ [_{DP}[_{NP}$ omoibi [I’ $[_{FocP}$ n’-igoro $[_{v'P}$ abwatetwe [$_{AdvP}$ ~~n’ igoro~~]]]]]]]]



<λx[omoibi abwatetwex] igoro (x) [reero, moisonde…>

<λx[a thief was caught on x] yesterday (x) [today, yesterday but one…>

In (47’) the temporal adverb *igoro* is merged with the focus marker *n-* in its post-verbal position which induces the phrase to be copied and moved to the focus position imediately before the verb (IBV)- hence it is stranded. The lower copy is then transfered and deleted in the A-P interface. The de re reading of the sentence is replaced by the ‘It is x’ reading in the conceptual-intentional interface.

The same process of derivation is exhibited in relation to the adjunct locative. The locative is moved into the focus hijacked position, that is immediately before the verb position and the first syllable is focus marked by high pitched phonation. The pattern is given in (48 b) below.

(48) a. *Omo-ibi ni-igo a-bwate-re-tw-e Menyinkwa*

1SG-thief FOC-PTL 1SG-catch-PERF-PASS-FV in Menyikwa

‘ A thief was caught in Menyinkwa’

<λP [P happened] A thief was caught in menyinkwa [A tailor cut cloth in menyikwa,….]>

b. *Omoibi* ^{m}*Menyinkwa a-bwate-re-tw-e*

1SG-thief FOC-Menyikwa 1SG-catch-PERF-PASS-FV

‘ It is in Mennyinkwa the thief was caught’

<λx[a thief was caught in x] Menyinkwa (x) [Bosongo, Keroka…>

The constructions realized Adverbials are copied in the complement position of the verb and internally merged in the immedigately before the verb position because the immediately after the verb position is not available to focus marking. This is a general constraint that operates in the language affecting all constituents that are focussed in the immediately after the verb position.

5. Conclusion

The EkeGusii llanguage has an immediate before verb low focus position (IBV) but no immediate after verb focus position as exhibted by Bantu languages such as Aghem (Hyman,2007). The examination of the focusssed constructions in EkeGusii demonstrates that

focus movement is not obligatory in the language.The Ekegusii focus induced movement fronting can either involve movement to a sentence initial position, a form of Ā movement, or it is stranded within the IP Phase because of a lower focus position in which it is possible for the focus feature to be checked. The MLC is met because the latter is the shortest movement possible in the given configuration, however it induces partial Agree in some constructions. Modificational elements of the subject, i.e the adverbs, and adjectives in the complex Determiner Phrase, induce movement for the entire phrase from the specifier in the IP to the CP (also reffered to as A'-movement), whereas those realized in the object position or as complements of the verb induce copy and movement out of their position within the light verb phrase to higher focus positions in the immediate before the vern (stranded position in the IP or A-movement). The stranding of the object is however not possible in some constructions in which long distance movement is possible. EkeGusii falls does not under type B discourse-configurationality languages, in which movement is driven by the "(discourse-) semantic function "focus" (cf. Kiss, 1995:6), because it has some constructions which are not moved overtly to any of the two landing positions stipulated in this paper .

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Appendix A: Syntactic Derivation of EkeGusii Sentences

1. N: ∧ = {<PRE-PFX,N>,<PRE-PFX,Num>, <PRE-PFX,CL>, <CL,N>, <CL, Num>,…}

   a. Merge (mwa-, √*ana*) = {{ *mwaana*}}

      . Label {{*mwaana*}}=N (Root Labelling)

   b. Merge (o, mwa*ana*) = {{{o*mwaana*}}}

   . Label ({{{*omwaana*}}})=D

   c. Merge (,*oko-*, √*nywa*) = { { *Φ-nywa*…}}

      . Label {{*Φ-nywa*}}=VP

   f. Merge {{*Φ-nywa*}}, ete) = {{{nywete}}}

      Label ({{{nywete}}})

   G. Merge ({{{*omwaana*}}} and{{{nywete}}}) = {{{{*omwaana*}}},{{{nywete}}}}

      Label ({{{{*omwaana*}}},{{{nywete}}}})= v*

   H External Merge ({{{{*omwaana*}}}, a, {{{nywete}}}})={{{{*omwaana*}}},
      {{{{anywete}}}}}

   I. Primary Merge (*ma,* √*beere*) = {{ *amabeere*…}}

      Label {{*mabeere*}}=CL

   J. Primary Merge (a, {{*mabeere*}}) = {{{ *amabeere*}}}

      Label {{{*amabeere*}}}=D

   K. External Merge{{{{*omwaana*}}},{{{{anywete}}}}}and{{{*amabeere*}}}=
      {{{{*omwaana*}}},{{{{anywete}}}}} , {{{ *amabeere*}}}

      Label ({{{*omwaana*}}},{{{{anywete}}}}} , {{{ *amabeere*}}})= v*

   L. Merge ({{{*omwaana*}}},{{{{anywete}}}}} , N, {{{ *amabeere*}}})=
      {{*omwaana*}}},{{{{anywete}}}}} , {{{ *namabeere*}}}

      Label {{{*omwaana*}}},{{{{anywete}}}}} , {{{ *namabeere*}}}= v*

   M. Merge ({ *namabeere*},{{{*omwaana*}}},{{{{anywete}}}}} , {{{ *namabeere*}}})

      Label {{ *namabeere*},{{{*omwaana*}}},{{{{anywete}}}}} , {{{ *namabeere*}}}}=TP