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Preverbal Domain(s)

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Introduction[*]

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1 Preverbal Domain(s) in Bantu Languages

The papers in this volume take up some aspects of the preverbal domain(s) in Bantu languages. They were originally presented at the Workshop BantuSynPhonIS: Preverbal Domain(s), held at the Center for General Linguistics (ZAS), in Berlin, on 14-15 November 2014. This workshop was co-organized by ZAS (Fatima Hamlaoui & Tonjes Veenstra) and the Humboldt University (Tom Güldemann, Yukiko Morimoto and Ines Fiedler).

Bantu languages have been at the heart of the research on the interaction between syntax, prosody and information structure. In these predominantly SVO languages, considerable attention has been devoted to postverbal phenomena. By addressing issues related to Subjects, Topics and Object-Verb word orders, the goal of the present papers is to deepen our understanding of the interaction of different grammatical components (syntax, phonology, semantics/pragmatics) both in individual languages and across the Bantu family. Each paper makes a valuable contribution to ongoing discussions on the preverbal domain.

Cheng & Downing's paper focuses on the relation between subjecthood and topicality. Based on the careful examination of the interpretational properties of indefinite subjects, they argue that Durban Zulu (S42) preverbal subjects primarily come with an existential presupposition. Contrary to what has been claimed for other Bantu languages, Zulu preverbal subjects can thus neither be reduced to being topics, nor analyzed as being simply non-focused. The authors propose that the presuppositional reading of Zulu preverbal subjects can be connected to how high the verb moves in this language.

Aborobongui, Hamlaoui and Rialland's paper deals with left and right dislocation in Embɔsi (C25). They provide a basic description of this syntactic process and show that in this language, left and right dislocation do not mirror each-other, as right-dislocation is much more restricted. Based on the study of a corpus of elicited read speech, they also offer a description of the prosodic realization of simple and multiple dislocations. Hiatus avoidance processes,

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boundary tones distribution and register manipulations indicate that both left and right-dislocated phrases sit outside of the core Intonational Phrase but only right-dislocated constituents form their own Intonational Phrase. Various groupings of multiple dislocations are also observed and discussed.

Mous, Koni Muluwa & Bostoen, and De Kind's papers concentrate on issues relating to preverbal focusing and the Immediately Before the Verb (IBV) position. Mous discusses Nen (A44) and Nyokon (A45), two neighbouring Mbam languages of Cameroon which, contrary to the vast majority of Bantu languages, allow full nominal objects to occur between the tense/aspect marker and the verb. Whereas this position only hosts objects in certain tenses in Nyokon, no such restriction is found in Nen. Mous further shows that despite their close relation, the two languages make a different use of the IBV position. Preverbal objects are the default in Nen, which however places quantified and contrastive objects postverbally. The latter also tend to occur postverbally in Nyokon, but the two object positions seem functionally equivalent.

De Kind provides a detailed overview of various preverbal focusing strategies in Kisikongo (H16a). Based on the careful study of diverse corpora and grammars, as well as elicited data, he shows that Kisikongo locates focused constituents preverbally, either in the IBV position or by means of various types of cleft-sentences. Additionally, the common distinction between informational and contrastive focus is not syntactically encoded in this language.

Koni Muluwa and Bostoen's paper discusses the preliminary results of a corpus study of Nsong (B85d). The authors show that Nsong is yet another SVO Bantu language that focuses nominal (and verbal) categories preverbally. They argue that just like Mbuun (B87), a closely related language, it places foci in the IBV position. The location of an argument in the IBV position often goes together with the topicalization of another non-focused argument to the clause-initial position and, contrary to Mbuun, Nsong does not restrict the IBV to arguments, as adjuncts too can occupy this position.

Guérois and Marten's papers concentrate on inversion constructions, with a special focus on the preverbal position(s) in Marten's paper. Guérois provides a survey of locative inversion constructions (LI) in Cuwabo (P34) and shows that, contrary to existing predictions, both semantic inversion and formal LI can be found in one language, thus enriching the typological debate on these constructions. Furthermore, she proposes that, in this language, the source of the

use of disjoint forms in LI is to be found in the avoidance of the relative reading associated with the conjoint forms.

Marten's paper offers an overview of recent analyses of the preverbal domain in LI, instrument inversion and "subject-object reversal", and highlights their conceptual and empirical similarities and differences. Whereas there is little controversy about the information-structural properties of the preverbal and the postverbal NPs, which are respectively viewed as topical and focal, their syntactic status is still debated. The author also connects the different analyses with comparative studies of Bantu inversion constructions, and discusses how the various approaches fare in accounting for the attested cross-linguistic variation and the high degree of micro-variation.

Hamlaoui's paper deals with bare-passive strategies in Bantu (Bàsàá (A43), Mbuun (B87), Bemba (M42), Kinyarwanda/Kirundi (JD 61)) and in Western Nilotic languages (Dholuo and Lango). She argues that impersonal passives, zero-coded passive left-dislocations and "subject-object reversal" passives occur in languages in which topicality and subjecthood are clearly split. They allow to pragmatically promote a non-agent, without departing from the default mapping between agent and grammatical subject (Spec,TP). Together, the languages considered provide evidence for an inflectional-domain internal, argumental, Topic projection, which hosts fronted non-agent arguments in bare-passives and hosts the verb too in the Kinyarwanda/Kirundi-type of OVS structures.

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Indefinite Subjects in Durban Zulu*

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It has long been observed that subjects cross-linguistically have topic properties: they are typically definite, referential and/or generic (Givón 1976). Bantu languages are said to illustrate this generalization: preverbal position for NPs is equated with both subject and topic status and postverbal position with focus (and non-subject). However, there is a growing body of work showing that preverbal subjects are not necessarily syntactically or semantically equivalent to topics. For example, Zerbian's (2006) careful study of preverbal position in Northern Sotho shows that preverbal subjects meet few of the semantic tests for aboutness topics. The study of restrictions on preverbal subjects in Durban Zulu presented in this paper builds on Zerbian (2006) and Halpert (2012). In particular, we investigate the interpretational properties of preverbal indefinite subjects. These subjects show us that preverbal subjects carry a presupposition of existence. We explore an analysis connecting the "strong reading" of preverbal subjects with how high the verb moves in Zulu (following Tsai's 2001 work on Mandarin).

1 Introduction

Work since, at least, Givón (1976) has noted that subjects cross-linguistically have topic-like properties: they are typically definite, referential and/or generic. Bantu languages with SVO word order are said to illustrate this generalization: preverbal position for NPs is equated with topic status and postverbal position with focus (Bresnan & Kanerva 1989; Morimoto 2000: 57; Henderson 2006:

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109). Subjects are thus canonically in preverbal position because they are canonical topics.

Support for the proposal that preverbal subjects have topic status comes from a range of evidence: for example, many Bantu languages do not allow subjects to be focused in situ. The incompatibility between preverbal subject position and focus is said to follow from the inherent topicality of preverbal subjects (Morimoto 2000). However, there is a growing body of work showing that preverbal subjects are not necessarily syntactically, semantically, or prosodically equivalent to topics. Work like Cheng & Downing (2009), Morimoto (2000), van der Wal (2009) and Zerbian (2006) argues that, even in Bantu languages where subjects cannot be focused in situ, one can distinguish a syntactic preverbal Subject position (clause internal) from a clause external Topic position. Furthermore, Zerbian's (2006) careful study of preverbal position in Northern Sotho shows that preverbal subjects fail many of the semantic tests for aboutness topics. Zerbian concludes that preverbal subjects in Northern Sotho are best characterized as being [-Focus], rather than [+Topic].

This paper investigates restrictions on preverbal subjects in Durban Zulu, building on Zerbian (2006). We show that in Durban Zulu, as in Northern Sotho, weak/nonspecific indefinites (i.e., narrow scope indefinites) – e.g. *no one, someone* – cannot occur as preverbal subjects. One cannot account for this restriction by proposing that subjects must be [-Focus], because other types of [-Focus] indefinite subjects can occur preverbally. As Zerbian (2006: 189) concedes, this kind of data provides the best support for the proposal that subjects are Topic-like. We then investigate the interpretational properties of preverbal indefinite subjects. These subjects show us that preverbal subjects carry a presupposition of existence. We explore an analysis connecting the "strong reading" of preverbal subjects with how high the verb moves in Zulu (following Tsai's 2001 work on Mandarin).

The paper is structured as follows. In section 2, we review the kinds of Zulu data that illustrate topic-like properties of preverbal subjects. In section 3, we show that, in spite of this, preverbal subjects cannot be equated with Topic or aboutness topic in Zulu. In section 4 we present our analysis of the properties of indefinite preverbal subjects, and we conclude in section 5.

2 Topic properties of subjects in Zulu[1]

Word order in many Bantu languages is canonically: S V IO DO (see, e.g., Bearth 2003; Heine 1976). It is a typological generalization that in SVO languages, topics occur sentence-initially (preverbally), while focused elements occur postverbally (Güldemann 2007; Morimoto 2000). Under this view, preverbal subjects are in a canonical topic position, and there is a body of work on Bantu languages demonstrating the topic-like properties of subjects. In this section, we review the properties that are exemplified in Zulu.[2]

2.1 Morphosyntactic topic properties of subjects

In Zulu, as in many Bantu languages, the subject concord prefix on the verb is obligatory, whether the co-referential nominal is present or not (Doke 1961; Halpert 2012). This is illustrated in (1a-c). As shown in (1d), where the subject is dislocated, the subject does not need to be in a local position with the verb to trigger subject agreement. (Halpert does not indicate prosody in her Zulu data; the brackets in (1) indicate optionality):

(1) Optional overt subject/obligatory subject prefix (Halpert 2012: 34)

a. (uZinhle) u-xova   u-jeqe
    1.Zinhle   1SUBJ-make   1-steamed.bread
    'Zinhle is making steamed bread.'
    *uZinhle xova u-jeqe (ungrammatical with the above intended meaning)
b. (omakhelwane) ba-xova   u-jeqe
     2.neighbor   2SUBJ-make 1-steamed.bread
    'The neighbors are making steamed bread.'

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[1] The accent marks on vowels in the data indicate tone; long vowels are indicated by doubling the vowel. In the morpheme glosses, numbers indicate noun class agreement, following the standard Bantu system adopted in work like Mchombo (2004). The following abbreviations are used: OBJ = object marker; SUBJ = subject marker; TAM=tense-aspect marker; FUT = future; NEG = negative; INF = infinitive; COP = copula; REL = relative; LOC = locative; DJ = disjoint verbal affix.

[2] See Morimoto 2000, van der Wal 2009 and Zerbian 2006 for detailed discussion of tests defining the topic properties of subjects in selected Bantu languages.

   c. (iqhawe)   li-xova   u-jeqe
       5.hero   5SUBJ-make   1-steamed.bread
       'The hero is making steamed bread.'
   d. li-xova   u-jeqe   kahle]*VP*   iqhawe
       5SUBJ-make   1-steamed.bread well   5.hero
       'The hero makes steamed bread well.'

As Bresnan & Mchombo (1987: 755) argue, this range of facts implies that all preverbal subjects are functionally ambiguous. A preverbal subject could either be a true subject and the subject prefix reflects grammatical agreement, or it could be a Topic and the subject prefix functions like a resumptive pronoun.[3] As work like Frascarelli (2007) argues, this same ambiguity is found in other *pro-drop* languages. Although we will see in the next section that there are syntactic tests distinguishing subject and topic positions, they do not resolve the ambiguity in the function of an immediately preverbal subject.

    A positional property aboutness topics share with subjects (when in their canonical position) is that they must be preverbal, as Cheng & Downing (2009) and Halpert (2012) show. Right-dislocations do not have the status of discourse topics. The data in (2) from Cheng & Downing (2009: 224-225) illustrates this asymmetry in a discourse context. Right-dislocating the subject in (2b) is unacceptable in the context provided because it is then not interpreted as the (newly-introduced) discourse topic. (*ízo:lo* 'yesterday' is in IAV position as it is the new information in the response, answering the indirect question):

(2) Context:
  Speaker A: I wonder when they bought the bicycles. (Several people bought bicycles.)
  a. í-bhaiyisékííl'   ú-Síph'   ú-**yí**-théngel'   ízoolo
     5-bicycle   1-Sipho 1SUBJ-5OBJ-buy yesterday
     'Sipho bought the bicycle yesterday.'
  b. # í-bhaiyisékííl' ú-**yí**-théngel' ízoolo ú-Siipho.

The following example makes the same point. The sentence in (3a) gives an acceptable follow-on to the context-providing sentence. The alternative follow-on in (3b) shows that it is unacceptable for the subject to be right-dislocated

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3   Halpert (2012) argues that Zulu subject marker is an agreement marker rather than a pronominal element.

when it is also the topic. In contrast, as we see in (3c), right-dislocation of the subject is possible when it is not the discourse topic but rather an after-thought:

(3) Ú-Siiphó í mí-fiino   ú-**yí**-phékél'   ízi-ngáane
    1-Sipho   4-vegetable 1SUBJ-4OBJ-cook.for 10-child
    hháyi ízí-vakáashi
    not   8-visitor
    'Sipho is cooking vegetables for the children, not for the visitors.'
  a. ízí-vakásh' a-zí-**yí**-dl-i   ímí-fiino
      8-visitor   NEG-8SUBJ-4OBJ-eat-NEG   4-vegetable
      'The visitors don't eat vegetables.'
ízí-vakáshi 'visitor' dislocated:
  b. #imi-fino   a-zi-**yi**-dl-i   izi-vakashi
      4-vegetable NEG-8SUBJ-4OBJ-eat-NEG 8-visitor
cf. non-discourse topic subject:
  c. í-théng'   imí-fiin'   é-mákéth'   ín-kósíkaazi
      9SUBJ-buy   4-vegetable LOC-market   9-woman
    'The woman bought vegetables at the market.'
    [Context: answers, *What did the woman buy at the market?*]

Work like Vallduví (1990) has demonstrated that cross-linguistically left-dislocated elements typically function as discourse topics (or 'links', in his terminology), while right-dislocated elements are normally discourse 'tails': i.e., non-focus, non-link parts of the sentence. Zulu fits this cross-linguistic pattern. Zerbian (2006: 92-95) shows that the same asymmetry in the function of left vs. right dislocations holds for Northern Sotho and suggests it might be more widespread in Bantu languages. In fact, she notes that right dislocations are very rare in her corpus and proposes that this is because they function as afterthoughts, not as discourse topics.

2.2 Preverbal subject position is incompatible with focus

If preverbal subjects are Topics, then they should not be able to be focused in their canonical position. We do find evidence for this incompatibility in Zulu and other Bantu languages. For example, *wh*-questions on subjects and their

answers – elements with inherent focus – must be clefted in Zulu, as Sabel & Zeller (2006) and Cheng & Downing (2012) show:[4]

(4) Cheng & Downing (2012: 252)

   Q u-báán'   ó-thólé   ín-dándatho e-bí-kú-láhlékééle
       COP1-who REL.1SUBJ-find 9-ring   REL.9SUBJ-TAM-2sgOBJ-lost
       'Who is it that found the ring that you lost?'

   A <u>um-fúndíísi   ó-thólê:</u>   índándatho e-bí-ngi-láhlékééle
       COP1-teacher REL1SUBJ-find 9-ring   REL.9SUBJ-TAM-1sgOBJ-lost
       'It is the teacher who found the ring that I lost.'

 #A <u>úm-fúndíísi ú-thólê:</u>   ín-dándatho e-bí-ngi-láhlékééle
       1-teacher   1SUBJ-find 9-ring   REL.9SUBJ-TAM-1sgOBJ-lost
       'The teacher found the ring that I lost.' *(ungrammatical as answer to Q)*

Subjects can also be focused if they are postverbal (*v*P internal), as Halpert (2012), Buell and de Dreu (2013) and Zeller (2013) demonstrate.[5] The following example shows that the focus operator *kuphela* 'only' cannot appear with a preverbal subject but is licit with a postverbal one. Note in (5b) that the *v*P internal postverbal subject does not trigger subject agreement on the verb; instead, the verb has expletive class 17 agreement:

(5) (Halpert 2012: 39)

   ngi-mem-e   wonke   umuntu, kodwa…
   I-invite-TAM 1.every 1.person   but
   'I invited everyone, but…'

   a. *uJohn   kuphela u-fik-ile
      1.John   only   1SUBJ-come-TAM

   b. ku-fik-e   uJohn kuphela
      17SUBJ-come-TAM 1.John only
      'only John came.'

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[4] Cheng & Downing (2012), Morimoto (2000), van der Wal (2009), and Zerbian (2006) provide detailed discussion of other Bantu languages where *wh*-questions on subjects and their answers must be clefted. See Cheng & Downing (2013) for a syntactic analysis of the structure of Zulu clefts.
   Note that the copula in these clefted sentences has no segmental realization. It is the depressor Low tone on the initial syllable of the clefted nominal that realizes the copula.

[5] See work like Bresnan & Kanerva (1989), Zerbian (2006) and van der Wal (2009) for discussion of the focus properties of postverbal subjects in other Bantu languages.

In short, two strategies – clefts or *v*P internal position – allow subjects to be placed in narrow focus in Zulu. Preverbal subject position is incompatible with narrow focus. Indeed, as Cheng & Downing (2012) and Zeller (2013) observe, it is not possible to focus elements outside *v*P in Zulu.

2.3 Preverbal subjects have topical semantic properties

As Morimoto (2000) and Zerbian (2006) argue, if preverbal subjects are aboutness Topics, then certain operators (*no one, someone, about #*) connected with weak indefinites – a property incompatible with an aboutness topic – should not be able to occur in preverbal position. Zerbian (2006) demonstrates that in Northern Sotho *no one* and *about #* must occur postverbally (following a copular construction in these examples) when they function as subjects:

(6) Northern Sotho (Zerbian 2006: 182-183)

a. Ga   go   mang a   tseba-go gore mo-lato   ké   eng
   NEG 17SUBJ who 1SUBJ know-REL that 3-problem COP   what
   'Nobody knows what the problem is.'

b. Ké   ba-ithuti ba   e-ka-abago ba   ba-raro ba
   COP 2-student 2DEM about   2.QUAL   2-three 2DEM
   ba   be-go   ba   dir-ile mo-šomo wa   gae
   2SUBJ TAM-REL 2SUBJ do-TAM 3-work   3.of home
   'About three students had done their homework.'
   (answering the question: 'How did your class go yesterday?')

Our recent pilot elicitations testing these operators in Zulu yields similar data: the equivalents of *someone* and *no one* occur postverbally (following an existential predicate *-khona*) when they function as subjects:[6]

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[6] The *-khona* construction is discussed in detail in section 4, below. See Buell & de Dreu (2013) and Zeller (2013) for discussion of other uses of this construction.

(7) a. Context: The office kitchen is a mess.

    (k)ú-khoona ó-shíyée   ízinkómishi zéékoofi
    17SUBJ-there REL.1SUBJ-leave 10.cup   10.of.coffee
    zí-nga-washííwe   fúúthi
    10SUBJ-NEG-wash.PASSIVE.TAM   again
    'Someone left unwashed coffee cups again.'
    [Lit. 'There is one who left…]

    b. Context: Laura came to the office, and asks:

        Q. lú-khoona   ú-cingo lwaámi   ólú-ngen-íile
           11SUBJ-there 11-call 11.mine   REL.11SUBJ-come.in-TAM
           'Did I get any phone calls?'
           [Lit. 'Is there a call of mine that came in?']

        A. kú-khoona   ó-shay-ííle   kódwá ang-ázi   úkúthí
           17SUBJ-there REL.1SUBJ-call-TAM but   NEG.I.SUBJ-know that
           békú-(ng)ubáani
           COP.TAM-who
           'Someone called, but I don't know who it was.'

    c. Context: A woman and her children arrived at the station.

        (k)úngekhó   muuntu   ó-bá-land-iíle
        17.NEG.there   1.person   REL.1SUBJ-2OBJ-meet-TAM
        'No one met them.'

The restriction that weak indefinite subjects must be postverbal (*v*P internal) follows if preverbal subjects are Topics.

3   Problems with equating Topics and Subjects

Even though preverbal subjects and topics have many properties in common in Zulu, they also can be distinguished, as we show in this section. The data presented here comes from a recent pilot study on Durban Zulu, building on Zerbian's (2006) work on Northern Sotho as well as Halpert's (2012) work on Zulu subject properties.[7]

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[7]   See Morimoto (2000) for discussion of Bantu languages where preverbal topics and subjects cannot be easily distinguished.

3.1 Syntactic distinction between topic and subject

One important distinction between subject and topic is that they demonstrably occupy two different syntactic positions in many Bantu languages. (See e.g., Bresnan & Mchombo 1987, Morimoto 2000, van der Wal 2009.) This is also true for Zulu, as work like Cheng & Downing (2009) and Halpert (2012) demonstrates. One argument for this distinction from Halpert (2012), following van der Wal (2009) for Makhuwa-Enahara, is that universal quantifiers are permitted as a preverbal subject (8a), but not with a left dislocated (topicalized) subject. As Halpert (2012) argues, in (8b), the subject must be considered to be left-dislocated, as it precedes a left-dislocated object. In (8c), we see that it is not the SOV word order in (8b) that makes the sentence ungrammatical; such a word order is fine if the subject is not a universal quantifier:

(8) a. wonke   umuntu   u-ya-**wa**-thanda   amaswidi
     1every   1.person   1SUBJ-DJ-6OBJ-like   6.candy
     'Everyone likes candy.'
BUT
  b. *wonke   umuntu   amaswidi u-ya-**wa**-thanda
     1every   1.person   6.candy   1SUBJ-DJ-6OBJ-like   (Halpert 2012: 39)
  c. Context: Who did the woman buy the greens from?
     ín-kósíkaazi   ímí-fín'   í-**yí**-thengée   kú-m-liimi
     9-woman   4-vegetable   9SUBJ-4OBJ-buy   LOC-1-farmer
     'The woman bought the greens from a farmer.'

                             (Cheng & Downing 2009)

As Cheng & Downing (2009, 2012, to appear) have shown, prosody confirms the distinction between these two positions in Zulu.[8] A prosodic break follows a clause-external preverbal Topic, whereas no break follows a clause-internal subject. This is illustrated by the example below, where right parentheses indicate prosodic phrase boundaries, cued by long penult vowels:

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[8] See Downing & Mtenje (2011) for similar prosodic arguments for the subject/topic distinction in Chichewa.

(9) Left dislocated object (underlined), followed by preverbal clause internal subject (Cheng & Downing 2009: 234)

[_{CP} <u>ámá-pheeph')</u> [_{CP} [_{IP} úm-mél' [_{vP} ú-wá-sayín-ííle)]]]
    6-paper   1-lawyer   1SUBJ-6OBJ-sign-TAM
  'The lawyer signed the papers.'

Indeed, it is often assumed that preverbal Topics cross-linguistically must be followed by a prosodic break, while subjects need not be. (See e.g., Rizzi 1997, Frascarelli 2000.)[9]

3.2 Preverbal subject position is compatible with all-new focus

According to Sasse's (1987) definition, thetic sentences do not show topic-comment structure. Rather, the subject (like the rest of the sentence) is new information. Zerbian (2006) shows that the subject can occur preverbally in thetic sentences in Northern Sotho, even though, by definition, it cannot be a topic of the sentence:

(10) No. Sotho thetic sentence (Zerbian 2006: 184)
    Letšatši le   hlaba ka 6 a.m.
    5.sun   5SUBJ rise   at 6 a.m.
    'The sun rises at 6 a.m.'

Halpert (2012) and our recent data demonstrate the same holds for Zulu.

(11) Zulu thetic sentences
a. Halpert (2012: 40)
    Context: What's happening?
    uZinhle   u-xova   u-jeqe
    1.Zinhle 1SUBJ-make 1-steamed.bread
    'Zinhle is making steamed bread.'

---

[9] This assumption finds many counterexamples in Bantu languages, however. In Northern Sotho and Haya, preverbal topics and preverbal subjects both phrase with the verb. In contrast, in Luganda, preverbal topics and preverbal subjects both phrase separately from the verb (Pak 2008). See Zerbian (2007), Downing (2011) for recent surveys of dislocation prosody in Bantu languages.

b. Cheng & Downing (elicitation notes)
    Context: What are you waiting here for?
    í-tékiisi li-y-éeza   lí-zo-ngi-lánda   khona máánje.
    5-taxi   5SUBJ-DJ-come 5SUBJ-FUT-me-pick.up here   soon
    'A taxi is coming to pick me up soon.'

Since the subject, like the entire sentence, has all-new focus, we would not expect it to occur in its canonical position if a preverbal subject is equivalent to an aboutness topic.

3.3 Preverbal subjects lack topical semantic properties

Zerbian (2006) shows that indefinite subjects commonly occur in preverbal position in Northern Sotho, even though topics are considered inherently definite.[10]

(12) Indefinite subjects in No. Sotho (Zerbian 2006: 185-186)
    a. Context: When reporting that my car was stolen.
        ma-hodu a   utsw-itše koloi ya   ka
        6-thief   6SUBJ steal-TAM 9.car 9.of mine
        'Thieves stole my car.'
    b. Context: possible response to a cry from outside
        ngwana   o a hwa   mo   ntle
        1.child   1SUBJ-DJ-die LOC   outside
        'A child is dying outside!'

Halpert (2012) and our recent data demonstrate that the same holds for Zulu. We already saw one example in (11b), above. Below are more:

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[10] See Reinhart (1981) and Endriss and Hinterwimmer (2010) for discussions of indefinite noun phrases as topics. As Reinhart (1981) notes, such indefinites are specific. Endriss and Hinterwimmer (2010) show that indefinite aboutness topics have wide scope reading (see their paper for further discussion concerning a reading involving an adverbial quantifier in the sentence). These are not the readings we are interested in here. Instead, we are interested in non-specific, weak, and narrow scope indefinites.

(13) Indefinite subjects in Zulu

    a. Halpert (2012: 40)

namhlanje	aba-ntu	aba-thathu	ba-zo-li-wina	i-loto
today	2-person	2-three	2SUBJ-FUT-5OBJ-win	5-lottery

       'Today three people will win the lottery.'

    b. Cheng & Downing (elicitation notes)

       [Context: 'What happened to the orange?']

úm-fána	ú-lí-dl-iile
1-boy	1SUBJ-5OBJ-eat-TAM

       'A boy ate it.'

To sum up these sections, we have extended Zerbian's tests for aboutness topic properties of subjects to Zulu and shown that, as in Northern Sotho, preverbal subjects do not consistently have topic properties. While they do have some properties in common, subjects are prosodically, syntactically and semantically distinct from topics. Zerbian's (2006) conclusion about the distribution of preverbal subjects in Northern Sotho is that they are best characterized as [-Focus] rather than [+Topic]. As she acknowledges, though, the postverbal requirement on weak indefinites (*someone; no one)* presented in section 2.3, above, is problematic for this generalization. Equating preverbal subject with topic makes the right prediction for these operators, as they are semantically incompatible with an aboutness topic. Halpert's (2012) claim that indefinites are compatible with preverbal subject position in Zulu also cannot account for why weak indefinites cannot occur preverbally. In the next section we develop an analysis that appeals to the notion of presupposition of existence to account for constraints on the occurrence of different types of indefinite preverbal subjects in Zulu.

4   Towards an analysis

In Zulu, nouns with an augment can be interpreted either as a definite or an indefinite. There is no formal marking of a definiteness distinction. Below we choose to concentrate on the indefinite interpretation of nouns/noun phrases, because it can steer us away from the notion of givenness-topic properties. As we have argued above, they are not satisfactory when it comes to explaining preverbal subject properties.

4.1 Background re presuppositional indefinites

Indefinites have been the center of debate for a long time. We only concentrate on the issues related to indefinite subjects. Diesing (1992) discusses two readings of indefinites. Consider (14a,b):

(14) a. There are some ghosts in my house.

    b. Some ghosts are in the pantry; the others are in the attic.

Diesing states that (14a) is a non-presuppositional reading of the indefinite. The sentence simply asserts the existence of ghosts. On the other hand, in (14b), we find a presuppositional reading of the indefinite. In this reading, the sentence presupposes the existence of ghosts and asserts that some of them are in the pantry, while the others are in the attic. Though Reinhart (2006) considers Diesing's arguments inconclusive (see also Kratzer 1998)*,* von Fintel (1998) shows that presuppositional indefinites do exist. Von Fintel uses various environments to test the presence of presuppositional indefinites. In particular, he uses yes-no questions as well as conditionals to show that indefinite subjects of individual-level predicates induce an existence presupposition.[11] Consider the sentences in (15).

(15) a. If some ghosts were Dutch, Holland would be a strange place.

    b. If some Dutchmen were ghosts, Holland would be a strange place.

It is clear that (15a) carries an existence presupposition concerning ghosts, and if one does not believe in the existence of ghosts, (15a) is problematic. (15b), on the other hand, is not a problem since it does not carry an existence presupposition concerning ghosts; rather, it carries an existence presupposition concerning Dutchmen.

4.2 Sentences with and without (*ku*)*khona*

In our attempts to elicit preverbal indefinite subjects, often sentences with *(ku)khona* followed by the indefinite subject are offered. (The *-khona*

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[11] Individual-level predicates denote more or less permanent states, for example, *intelligent, wise, tall*. They contrast with stage-level predicates which are temporary states, such as *sad, tired* and *bored*. (See Carlson 1977.)

construction can be considered to be comparable to existential sentences with *there* in English.) Below we discuss these sentences and compare them with preverbal indefinite subjects, without *(ku)khona*.

4.2.1 (ku)khona

Buell & de Dreu (2013), following Doke (1961), note that the adverbial *-khona* 'there' can be used as a predicate meaning 'be present'. The sentences in (16a,b) show the positive and negative forms of *khona*.

(16) a. uSipho u-khona
  1.Sipho 1SUBJ-be.present
  'Sipho is here/there/present/in.'
 b. uSipho a-ke-kho
  1.Sipho NEG-1SUBJ-be.present
  'Sipho isn't here/there/present/in.'

Further, they show that *khona* with class 17 (expletive) subject-marking is used to form sentences comparable to existential sentences, as shown in (17a,b).

(17) Examples from Buell & de Dreu (2013) of existential use of *khona*

 a. ku-khona   imali   eningi lapha
  17SUBJ-be.present 9.money 9.much here
  'There is a lot of money here.'
 b. A-ku-kho   mali   eningi lapha
  NEG-17SUBJ-be.present 9.money 9.much here
  'There isn't a lot of money here.'

Aside from *khona, -na* 'with' can also be used in expletive/existential sentences, as in (18) (example adapted from Buell & de Dreu 2013):

(18) ku-na-marandi   a-yikhulu
  17SUBJ-with-6.rand REL.6SUBJ-hundred
  'There are a hundred rand.'

Buell & de Dreu (2013) suggest that the subject in expletive/existential sentences is a *pro* which triggers class 17 agreement.

4.2.2 The data

Consider now the data that bear upon the question of presupposition of existence. First, both when the logical subject appears after (*ku)khona/ku-na* and when it is preverbal, it can be interpreted as carrying the presupposition of existence. This is shown in the example below:

(19) [Context: What's the news?]
  a. Kú-n'   ábá-zingeéli ábá-búlál-ê   í-bhubéesi ízoolo
      17SUBJ-with 2-hunter   REL.2SUBJ-kill-TAM 5-lion   yesterday
OR
  b. ábá-zingeéli bá-búlál-ê   í-bhubéesi ízoolo
      2-hunter   2SUBJ-kill-TAM   5-lion   yesterday
      'Hunters killed a lion yesterday.'

This contrasts with environments where there is no presupposition of existence. In such cases, the indefinite has to follow *(ku)khona* or *ku-na*. We use the conditional test discussed in von Fintel (1998), which has a preceding context to further ensure the non-presupposition of existence:

(20) Preceding sentence: I'm not sure whether there is any mistake in this book manuscript, but…
      Ngéké si-khíphe   lencwáadi, úmá   kú-n'   amá-phútha
      never we-publish this.book if   17SUBJ-with 6-error
      á-bálúlékiile
      REL.6SUBJ-be.major.TAM
      'We'll never publish the book, if there are major mistakes in it.'

In (20), the context ensures that there is no presupposition of existence with respect to mistakes. In this case, the noun *amaphutha* 'mistakes' must appear after *kuna*. On the other hand, if we assume that there are mistakes, the indefinite noun phrase can either follow *(ku)khona/kuna*, or it can be in preverbal position:

(21) a. úúma kú-khóna ámá-phútha á-bálúlékiile,
        if 17SUBJ-there 6-error REL.6SUBJ-be.major.TAM

OR b. úúma ámá-nye ámá-phutha á-bálúlékiile,
        if 6-some 6-error 6SUBJ-be.major.TAM

      ngéké sí-khíphe lencwáadi
      never we-publish this.book

      'If (some) mistakes are major, we will never publish this book.'

In (21b), *amanye amaphuta* 'some mistakes' appears preverbally. The sentence carries a presupposition of existence with respect to mistakes.

    Note that it is not a matter of specificity that determines whether the subject can be preverbal. For instance, assume a context where someone comes into the room, and sees that everyone is very quiet. The person then asks: 'Why are you so quiet?' The answer can be either (22a) or (22b), when it is not clear exactly which baby is sleeping.

(22) a. úm-ntwaana ú-lééle.
        1-baby 1SUBJ-sleep.TAM

OR b. kú-khóna úm-ntwana ó-lééle
        17SUBJ-there 1-baby REL.1SUBJ-sleep.TAM
        'A baby is sleeping.'

Crucially, in this case, there is definitely a presupposition of existence concerning the baby. Note that here, it also cannot be said that the sentence is about babies (i.e., the preverbal subject is not the topic).

    It should be noted that in the case of *no one*, the logical subject must follow the negative form of *-khona*, as in (23a,b):

(23) a. Akúkhó muuntu ó-fíkiile
        there.is.no 1.person REL.1SUBJ-come.TAM
        'No one came.'

    b. Akúkhó muuntu ó-bambê: ú-Siipho
        there.is.no 1.person REL.1SUBJ-catch.TAM 1-Sipho
        'No one caught Sipho.'

We follow Karttunen and Peters (1979) in treating the negation in (23a,b) as involving "denial" or "metalinguistic" negation, which always yields a sentence devoid of any presupposition.

4.3   Quantificational force of indefinites and its position

Leaving aside the question of whether the preverbal noun phrase can be interpreted as definite (which will necessarily carry the presupposition of existence), we turn now to the issue of the quantificational force of the indefinites. We follow Diesing (1992) and Tsai (2001) in assuming that indefinites can take up either a weak interpretation (i.e., it behaves like a variable) or a strong interpretation (i.e., it behaves like an existential quantifier). Take the indefinite noun phrase *some ghosts* in the examples in (14), repeated here as (24):
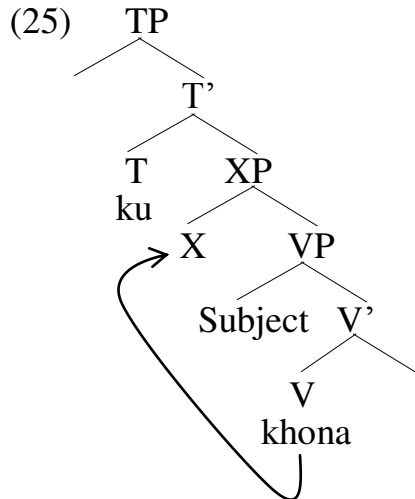
(24) a.   There are some ghosts in my house.

    b.   Some ghosts are in the pantry; the others are in the attic.

As Diesing points out, the two indefinite *some ghosts* do not have the same status in these two sentences. *Some ghosts* in (24b), the one which carries a presupposition of existence, is a "strong" indefinite. That is, it behaves like an existential quantifier (i.e., it undergoes Q(uantifier) R(aising)). On the other hand, *some ghosts* in (24a) is a weak indefinite, which does not carry an existence presupposition. It behaves like a variable. Since it is a variable, and not an existential quantifier, it cannot undergo QR; instead, it needs a binder. In the absence of any overt binder, existential closure can come to the rescue (see Heim 1982 among others) providing it with existential force.

Turning back to the data in Zulu, as we have seen in (21a,b), when there is a presupposition of existence, the indefinite noun phrase can either follow *kukhona* or it can be in the preverbal position. If we were to align the presuppositional reading with the strong reading (following Diesing 1992), it means that the indefinite noun phrase in Zulu can behave like a typical quantifier (e.g., in undergoing Quantifier Raising).

The question that arises is why the preverbal position cannot host a weak reading of indefinites. This can in fact follow from the variable property of the indefinite. As we have noted above, when an indefinite is not presuppositional, it is a variable, which needs a quantificational binder. Though such cases can rely on existential closure to provide an existential operator to bind the variable, the indefinite needs to appear in a position where the existential force associated with existential closure can bind it.

Consider now the structure of a *kukhona* sentence as in (25) (following Buell & de Dreu 2013), where *khona* is treated as a verb (see also Zeller (2013).

(25)

```
        TP
       /  \
          T'
         /   \
        T     XP
        ku   /   \
           X       VP
          /       /   \
        Subject  V'
                /   \
               V
             khona
```

Given (25), a question arises concerning the c-command domain of existential closure. To answer this question, we need to review a number of basic assumptions. First, following Julien (2002) among others, we assume that Zulu verbs do not move all the way to T, but rather to a (mood) projection between TP and VP, and we mark this project as X.[12] Second, we follow Tsai (2001), who argues that existential closure is associated with the predicate (i.e., the verb), and that the movement of the verb extends the domain of existential closure. In other words, in a typical sentence with verb movement in Zulu, anything within the VP would be bound by existential closure, because the verb has moved up to X.

Consider now (25). The movement of *khona* extends the domain of existential closure to the VP. The existential force associated with the existential closure therefore binds the post-*ku-khona* subject variable, yielding a weak reading of an indefinite. On the other hand, if the subject appears preverbally, in the Spec of TP, it is above the c-command domain of existential closure. Therefore, it cannot be bound by existential closure. If the subject is an indefinite, it can undergo QR, yielding a strong reading. But this strong reading is associated with the presupposition of existence.

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[12] The X hosts the final vowel, and that is why in Buell & de Dreu (2013), the projection is called the FSP.

5   Conclusions

We have shown in this paper that preverbal subjects are not equivalent to Topics in Zulu. Further, characterizing preverbal subjects as being [-Focus], Zerbian's (2006) proposal for Northern Sotho, also fails to cover the range of data we have. In our exploration of preverbal indefinites, we argue that the notion that matters is presupposition of existence. This differs from the standard notion of 'givenness', which requires contextually mentioned elements in the discourse.

In the case of indefinites, we see that they can be either quantificational or variable-like, and thus they can have strong and weak readings respectively. The strong reading is associated with the presupposition of existence. In Zulu, weak indefinites cannot appear preverbally, because they are not in a position which is within the domain of existential closure. We appeal to Tsai's (2001) analysis and show that the limited verb movement in Zulu leads to necessarily a "strong" subject: either a strong indefinite or a definite subject, both of which will yield a presupposition of existence concerning the element in the subject position.

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Syntactic and prosodic aspects of left and right dislocation in Embɔsi (Bantu C25)*

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This paper deals with left and right dislocation in Embɔsi, a Bantu language (C25) spoken in Congo-Brazzaville. The prosody of dislocation has gathered considerable attention, as it is particularly informative for the theories of the syntax-prosody mapping of Intonation Phrases (a.o. Selkirk, 2009, 2011; Downing, 2011). Concentrating on selected Bantu languages, Downing (2011) identifies two main phrasing patterns. She primarily distinguishes languages in which only right dislocated phrases display a lack of prosodic integration ("asymmetric" languages), from languages in which both left and right dislocations phrase separately ("symmetric" languages). Hiatus avoidance processes, boundary tones and register expansion/reduction indicate that Embɔsi displays a somewhat more intricate phrasing pattern. In this language, both left and right dislocated items sit outside of the Intonation Phrase formed by the core-clause, but only the latter form their own Intonation Phrase. We also discuss the prosody of multiple dislocations (i.e. with two dislocated arguments), which have not so far received all the attention they deserve. What we observe in Embɔsi is that either the two dislocated items phrase together and are not integrated to the core Intonation Phrase, or only the outermost dislocated element phrases separately.

1 Introduction

This paper deals with Embɔsi, a Bantu language (C25 in Guthrie's classification) spoken in Congo-Brazzaville, and more particularly in the Cuvette region by 150.000 speakers (estimation based on 2009 data of the Congo National Institute of Statistics). It is also spoken in Brazzaville as well as in the diaspora.

In the present paper, we concentrate on the variety spoken in Boundji.

Many aspects of Embɔsi (and its many dialects) were previously the object of studies, either in synchronic or diachronic perspectives. The main works are by Amboulou (1998), Embanga Aborobongui (2013), Fontaney (1988, 1989), Kouarata (2014) and Ndongo Ibara (2009). There are also articles focusing on specific questions such as relative clauses (Beltzung et al., 2010) or *wh*-questions (Embanga Aborobongui et al., 2011). However, the topic of dislocation has not yet been addressed in this language.

In the present paper, we concentrate on the syntax and prosody of dislocation in Embɔsi, more precisely in Embɔsi as it is spoken in Boundji. Dislocation is a cross-linguistically common syntactic process by which a (nominal) phrase is located outside of its canonical position, at a clausal edge, and is resumed by a pronoun within the core-clause it originates from. Dislocation serves different purposes depending on languages. Whereas in languages such as Zulu or Northern Sotho, it is used for discourse contrasting/foregrounding/backgrounding purposes (Cheng and Downing, 2009; Zerbian, 2006), in languages like Mbuun and Bàsàá, left-dislocation is functionally equivalent to passive voice (Bostoen and Mundeke, 2011; Hamlaoui and Makasso, 2013). The appropriateness conditions of dislocation in the present language are not fully understood yet, but it seems that dislocation pertains to the domain of information packaging rather than to expressing changes in diathesis. From a syntactic perspective, we show that dislocation does not apply freely, and that a number of nominal categories simply cannot be left/right-dislocated. We also show that the two types of dislocation do not syntactically mirror each-other. This asymmetry is also observable on the prosodic level. Whereas both types of dislocated phrases tend to sit outside of the Intonation Phrase formed by the core-clause, only the right dislocated ones form their own Intonation Phrase.

The paper is structured as follows. After laying out a few basic syntactic properties of Embɔsi in Section 2, we turn to the well-formedness conditions of right and left dislocation in Section 3. Section 4 introduces the phonological processes that help us diagnose left and right Intonation Phrase boundaries in the present language, that is vowel reduction/coalescence, boundary tones and register expansion/compression. In Section 5, we discuss the realization and prosodic phrasing of 77 sentences that were repeated by one of the co-authors between two and four times across four recording sessions. Section 6 concludes the paper.

2 Basic Syntax

In this section, we introduce some basic features of Embɔsi syntax. We concentrate on those features that are relevant for the investigation of the syntax and

phonology of left and right dislocation. We first discuss affirmative and negative simple sentences and we briefly introduce restrictive relative clauses.

2.1 Simple assertive sentences

From a syntactic perspective, Embɔsi simple assertive sentences display the word order that is widely attested among Bantu languages, that is Subject-Verb-Object. Adverbials normally follow objects. This is illustrated respectively in (1) and (2).

(1)   ngóo   á-bom-i   ngwɛ.
        1a.mother 1a.AGR-kill-PST 9.leopard
        'The mother cut the leopard.'

(2)   ngóo   á-bom-i   ngwɛ la o-kóró la apóa   sa kɔ́.
        1a.mother 1a.PST-kill-fv 9.leopard with 3-speed at 6.yesterday LOC 9.bush
        'The mother quickly killed the leopard yesterday in the bush.'

As can be seen in (1) and (2) the verb agrees in noun class features with its subject. Whenever the subject referent is discourse-given, it can be left unexpressed, as illustrated in (3).

(3)   á-bom-i   ngwɛ.
        1a.AGR-kill-PST 9.leopard
        'She killed the leopard.'

Subject pronouns, as in (4), are optional. They are normally used for disambiguation or emphasis purposes.

(4)   wa á-bom-i   ngwɛ.
        1a.PRO 1a.AGR-kill-PST 9.leopard
        'SHE killed the leopard.'

Note that the fact that the subject marker ({á-} in (4)) can co-occur with subject *wh*-pronouns in (5) as well as with non-specific indefinite subjects, in (6), suggests that it is an agreement marker (in Generative syntax, sitting in T) rather than a subject pronoun (sitting in Spec,TP).

(5)   nda á-tɛ́ɛ   Jumá?
        who 1-see.PST Juma
        'Who saw Juma?' (Embanga Aborobongui et al., 2011)

(6)   moro á-tɛ́-i   Juma.
        1.person 1.AGR-PST-see-REC Juma
        'Someone saw Juma.'

When it comes to ditransitive verbs like 'give', ɛmbɔsi is comparable to English, in that it displays both double object constructions, in which recipient

precedes patient (see (7)), and "dative" constructions in which the patient comes first and the recipient is expressed as an indirect object (see (8)) (i.e. with the obligatory presence of a preposition for all ditransitive verbs).

(7)　o-júlu　láa-βel-á　　　　ɔ-pɛ́　táá　　ɔ-kwáí.
　　　1-woman 1.AGR.IMPERF-can-PRES 15-give 1a.father 3-machete
　　　'The woman can give the father the machete.'

(8)　o-júlu　láa-βel-á　　　　ɔ-pɛ́　ɔ-kwáí　la táá.
　　　1-woman 1.AGR.IMPERF-can-PRES 15-give 3-machete to 1a.father
　　　'The woman can give the machete to the father.'

2.2　Simple negative sentences

Embɔsi negative sentences (which will subsequently allow us to test whether a verb and its subject phrase together) display a clause final negation marker *kaá* or *ɛ*, in what seems to be free variation. Interestingly, a copula carries subject and TAM markers, while the lexical verb appears in its non-finite form (class 15). Contrary to what is seen in many Bantu languages, the Embɔsi verb cannot carry the negative particle, and a periphrastic verbal form is thus required in negative clauses. This is illustrated with the negative counterpart of (1), (7) and (8), given respectively in (9), (10) and (11).

(9)　ngóo　a-dí　　　　o-bom-á ngwɛ　kaá/ɛ.
　　　1a.mother 1a.AGR-cop.PRES 15-kill-fv 9.leopard NEG
　　　'The mother doesn't kill the leopard.'

(10)　o-júlu　a-dí　　　　o-βel-á ɔ-pɛ́　táá　　ɔ-kwáí kaá/ɛ.
　　　　1-woman 1.AGR-cop.PRES 15-can-fv 15-give 1a.father 3-machete NEG
　　　　'The woman cannot give the father the machete.'

(11)　o-júlu　a-dí　　　　o-βel-á ɔ-pɛ́　ɔ-kwáí　la táá　　kaá/ɛ.
　　　　1-woman 1.AGR-cop.PRES 15-can-fv 15-give 3-machete to 1a.father NEG
　　　　'The woman cannot give the machete to the father.'

Note in passing that in this type of sentences, objects can either follow the entire verbal complex, or follow the copula. The latter case is exemplified below, in (12) for a transitive verb, and in (13) and (14) for the double object construction and the dative construction of a ditransitive verb, respectively.

(12)　ngóo　a-dí　　　　ngwɛ　o-bom-a kaá/ɛ.
　　　　1a.mother 1a.AGR-cop.PRES 9.leopard 15-kill-fv NEG
　　　　'The mother doesn't kill the leopard.'

(13)　o-júlu　a-dí　　　　táá　　ɔ-kwáí o-βel-á ɔ-pɛ́　kaá/ɛ.
　　　　1-woman 1.AGR-cop.PRES 1a.father 3-machete 15-can-fv 15-give NEG
　　　　'The woman cannot give the father the machete.'

(14) o-júlu a-dí ɔ-kwáí la táá o-βel-á ɔ-pέ kaá/ɛ.
      1-woman 1.AGR-cop.PRES 3-machete to 1a.father 15-can-fv 15-give NEG
      'The woman can't give the machete to the father.'

It is not however possible to locate only one of the two objects before the lexical verb and leave the other after it. More work will be needed to establish the underlying syntactic structure of these various linear orders.

2.3 Restrictive relative clauses

Before closing this section on the basic syntax of Embɔsi, let us have a look at restrictive relative clauses. We have seen above that simple sentences display a constituent order in which the subject precedes the verb and controls subject-agreement in noun-class features. Interestingly, in relative clauses, the periphrastic form of the verb observed previously in negative sentences emerges again. In relative clauses, the copula agrees with the head of the relative, be it a logical subject or the object of the embedded verb. This is illustrated in (15) and (16). Again, whenever the verb is in its periphrastic form, its object can either precede or follow the lexical verb, making the sentence in (15) ambiguous between the two indicated readings, as the phrase following the copula can either be the subject of the verb or a fronted, pre-lexical-verb object.

(15) ngwɛ jeé-dz-e ngóo la o-kjén-a
      9.leopard 9.REL-cop-PST 1a.mother to 15-cut-fv
      'the leopard that the mother killed/the leopard that killed the mother'

(16) ngwɛ jeé-dz-e lá o-kjén-a ngóo
      9.leopard 9.REL-cop-PST to 15-cut-fv 1a.mother
      'the leopard that killed the mother'

Although it is attested in a number of Bantu languages (a.o. Kimenyi, 1988; Morimoto, 2000), OVS is not an acceptable constituent order in Embɔsi matrix clauses.[1]

3 Syntactic aspects of dislocation

Let us now turn to the main topic of this study, that is, the process of right and left dislocation of nominal categories. The two types of dislocation do not mirror each-other in the present Bantu language. We start with right dislocation, as it is more restricted than its leftward counterpart.

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[1] Note in passing, that what is observed in relative clauses, that is, that the verb subject-agrees with the phrase that precedes it rather than with its post-verbal subject, is consistent with Baker's (2008) observation that asymmetric c-command is a pre-requisite in Bantu languages subject-verb agreement.

3.1 Right dislocation

Whereas in a number of languages (Bantu and beyond), subjects can be right-dislocated, this is not the case in Embɔsi. Even if a subject pronoun appears in the preverbal subject position, subjects cannot be post verbal in simple declarative matrix clauses. In this respect, Embɔsi is similar to Bàsàá (Hamlaoui and Makasso, To appear).

(17) *(wa) á-bom-i   ngwɛ   ngóo.
      1a.PRO 1a.AGR-kill-PST 9.leopard 1a.mother
      'She killed the leopard, the mother.'

(18) *(wa) á-bom-i   já-a ngóo   ngwɛ.
      1a.PRO 1a.AGR-kill-PST 9.PRO 1a.mother 9.leopard
      'She killed it, the mother, the leopard.'

(19) *(wa) á-bom-i   já-a ngwɛ   ngóo.
      1a.PRO 1a.AGR-kill-PST 9.PRO 9.leopard 1a.mother
      'She killed it, the leopard, the mother.'

Right-dislocation is however acceptable with object arguments. This is exemplified with a simple transitive sentence in (20).

(20) ngóo   á-bom-i   wa   ngwɛ.
      1a.mother 1a.AGR-kill-PST 9.PRO 9.leopard
      'The mother killed it, the leopard.'

With the ditransitive verb 'give', only the patient can be right-dislocated in the double object construction, as shown in (21) and (22). Note that in (21), the pronouns order cannot be changed.

(21) o-júlu láa-βel-á   ɔ-pɛ́ wa   mú-a ɔ-kwáí.
      1-woman 1.AGR.IMPERF-can-PRES 15-give 1a.PRO 3.PRO 3-machete
      'The woman can give him it, the machete.'

(22) *o-júlu láa-βel-á   ɔ-pɛ́ wa   mú-a i-baa.
      1-woman 1.AGR.IMPERF-can-PRES 15-give 1a.PRO 3.PRO 5-man
      'The woman can give him it, the man.'

In contrast, in the "dative" structures in (23) and (24), either of the two objects can be right-dislocated.

(23) o-júlu láa-βel-á   ɔ-pɛ́ múa la wa   ɔ-kwáí.
      1-woman 1.AGR.IMPERF-can-PRES 15-give 3.PRO to 1a.PRO 3-machete
      'The woman can give it to him, the machete.'

(24) o-júlu láa-βel-á   ɔ-pɛ́ múa la wa   la i-baa.
      1-woman 1.AGR.IMPERF-can-PRES 15-give 3.PRO to 1a.PRO to 5-man
      'The woman can give it to him, to the man.'

As illustrated in (25) and (26), a dislocated object can only follow an adjunct, and not precede it.

(25) o-júlu láa-βelá   ɔ-pέ mú-a la wa   ó   poo / sá
      1-woman 1.AGR.IMPERF-can-PRES 15-give 3.PRO to 1a.PRO LOC village / LOC
      kɔ   / ó póró ɔ-kwáí.
      9.bush / LOC Europe 3-machete
      'The woman can give it to him in the village/ in the bush/ in Europe, the machete.'

(26) *o-júlu láa-βelá   ɔ-pέ mú-a la wa   ɔ-kwáí ó
      1-woman 1.AGR.IMPERF-can-PRES 15-give 3.PRO to 1a.PRO 3-machete LOC
      poo / sá kɔ   / ó póró.
      village / LOC 9.bush / LOC Europe
      'The woman can give it to him, the machete, in the village/ in the bush/ in Europe.'

A similar pattern is found in double object constructions. Only (27) is grammatical (and a break, on the form of a pause or the simple absence of hiatus reduction, is required between the adverbial and the dislocated object). The reverse order, in (28) is unacceptable.

(27) o-júlu láa-βel-á   ɔ-pέ wa   mú-a sá kɔ   ɔ-kwáí.
      1-woman 1.AGR.IMPERF-can-PRES 15-give 1a.PRO 3.PRO LOC 9.bush 3-machete
      'The woman can give him it in the bush, the machete.'

(28) *o-júlu láa-βel-á   ɔ-pέ wa   mú-a ɔ-kwáí sá kɔ.
      1-woman 1.AGR.IMPERF-can-PRES 15-give 1a.PRO 3.PRO 3-machete LOC 9.bush
      'The woman can give him it, the machete, in the bush.'

Let us now turn to left-dislocation.

3.2 Left dislocation

The process of left dislocation seems to be more permissive than right-dislocation. First, it is acceptable to left-dislocate subjects. A subject pronoun will usually then occupy the canonical subject position, as in (29).

(29) o-júlu wa   láa-βel-á   ɔ-taβ-á o-kwáí.
      1-woman 1.PRO 1.AGR.IMPERF-can-PRES 15-forget 3-machete
      'The woman, she can forget the machete.'

Note that there is a preference for left-dislocated phrases to be definite, which is the case when they are modified by a demonstrative determiner, as in (30) and (31).

(30) o-júlu wó wa láa-βel-á ɔ-taβ-á ɔ-kwáí.
      1-woman 1.DEM 1.PRO 1.AGR.IMPERF-can-PRES 15-forget-fv 3-machete
      'This woman, she can forget the machete.'

(31) ɔ-kwáí mú o-júlu láa-βel-á ɔ-taβ-á mú-a.
      3-machete 3.DEM 1-woman 1.AGR.IMPERF-can-PRES 15-forget-fv 3.PRO
      'This machete, the woman can forget it.'

Adverbials, which normally occur (core-)clause-finally, can also separate the dislocated subject phrase from the verb. In that case, the subject pronoun is optional. This is shown in (32).

(32) i-baa sá kɔ́ (di-a) í-d-í o-βel-á ɔ-taβ-á o-kwáí kaá.
      5-man LOC 9.bush 5-PRO 5-cop-PST 15-can-fv 15-forget-fv 3-machete NEG
      'The man, in the bush, he cannot forget the machete.'

Objects can also be left-dislocated, as illustrated first in (33), with a transitive verb.

(33) ɔ-kwáí a-ána báa-βel-á o-taβ-á mú-a sá kɔ́.
      3-machete 2-children 2.AGR.IMPERF-can-PRES 15-forget-fv 3.PRO LOC 9.bush
      'The machete, the children can forget it in the bush.'

If both subject and object are dislocated, the subject must come first, as in (34). The subject pronoun but not the object pronoun can be omitted.

(34) a-ána ɔ-kwáí (bá-a) báa-βel-á o-taβ-á mú-a sá
      2-children 3-machete 2.PRO 2.AGR.IMPERF-can-PRES 15-forget-fv 3.PRO LOC
      kɔ́.
      9.bush
      'The children, the machete, they can forget it in the bush.'

Either of the two objects of a ditransitive verb can be left-dislocated in the dative structure but only the patient can be left-dislocated in the double object construction. The dative structures are given in (35) and (36). In (35), the presence of a resumptive pronoun is optional. If the resumptive is left out, the preposition *la* can be left out as well (but does not have to be).

(35) ɔ-kwáí o-júlu láa-βel-á ɔ-pέ (mú-a) (la) i-baa.
      3-machete 1-woman 1.AGR.IMPERF-can-PRES 15-give 3.PRO to 5-man
      'The machete, the woman can give it to the man.'

(36) la i-baa o-júlu láa-βel-á ɔ-pέ ɔ-kwáí.
      to 5-man 1-woman 1.AGR.IMPERF-can-PRES 15-give 3-machete
      'To the man, the woman can give the machete.' .

In (36), note that the indirect object is not resumed by a pronoun. The alternative sentence in (37) is grammatical as well, showing that resumption is here optional as well.

(37)　la i-baa o-júlu　láa-βel-á　　　　ɔ-pɛ́　mú-a ɔ-kwáí.
　　　　to 5-man 1-woman 1.AGR.IMPERF-can-PRES 15-give 5-PRO 3-machete
　　　　'To the man, the woman can give him, the machete.' .

Left-dislocation of the recipient is not possible in the double object construction, as shown in (38) (with or without resumption of the dislocated recipient).

(38)　*i-baa o-júlu　láa-βel-á　　　　ɔ-pɛ́　ɔ-kwáí
　　　　5-man 1-woman 1.AGR.IMPERF-can-PRES 15-give 3-machete
　　　　'The man, the woman can give (him) the machete'

Finally, note that the two objects of a ditransitive verb cannot be simultaneously left-dislocated (no matter the order). Multiple dislocations thus here only involve a dislocated subject and a dislocated object.

(39)　*la i-baa ɔ-kwáí o-júlu láa-βel-á ɔ-pɛ́ wa mú-a.

(40)　*ɔ-kwáí la i-baa o-júlu láa-βel-á ɔ-pɛ́ wa mú-a.

　　In this section, we have presented a few syntactic aspects of dislocation in Embɔsi. More work is needed to develop a syntactic analysis that captures the asymmetry between right and left dislocation as well the various restrictions we have laid out. Before turning to the phonological realization of dislocation in this language, let us introduce the phonological processes that will allow us to diagnose the prosodic phrasing of dislocation.

4　Basic phonology

In this section, we introduce some basic features of Embɔsi segmental and suprasegmental phonology. Main features of the tonal and intonational system will be sketched, as well as main segmental processes involved in signalling prosodic constituents, and the organization of the Embosi prosodic hierarchy will be discussed. We concentrate on features that are relevant for the phonology/syntax interface of right and left dislocation.

4.1　Tones and intonation

4.1.1　*A two-tone language without downdrift*

As many Bantu languages, Embɔsi is a two tone language. The tone bearing unit is the mora, or the syllable if long vowels are analyzed as sequences of two identical short vowels. The latter approach could be argued for, as long vowels result from various processes, such as the loss of an intervocalic consonant (Embanga Aborobongui, 2013; Kouarata, 2014).

　　In Embɔsi, the L tone does not behave as a default tone, as shown by rules associated with the loss of a vowel: after a vowel loss, a L left behind does not

simply disappear, leaving no trace as a default L tone would do, but it can be shown that it is active in contour reduction rules (see Embanga Aborobongui et al., 2012; Embanga Aborobongui, 2013).

One of the striking characteristics of Embɔsi is the fact that it does not have downstep or downdrift. Downdrift is a register-based phenomenon, triggering a progressive lowering of tonal realizations and register compression. Mathematical models of downdrift have been computed for various languages, showing that the downdrift decay is exponential, tending towards an asymptote (Liberman and Pierrehumbert, 1984; Myers, 1996; Prieto et al., 1996; Laniran and Clements, 2003).

In Embɔsi, an assertive sentence can be uttered on two tone levels (one for the H tone and the second one for the L tone) until it reaches the ending part, which is lowered due to the final assertive intonation.

An important consequence of this lack of downdrift is that speakers can modulate registers for discourse-purpose with great freedom. Thus, a word, for instance a conjunction, occurring at the beginning of a sentence can be realized on a reduced or expanded pitch compared to what follows. An example with register expansion is given in Figure 3. This variation is related to the backgrounding or foregrounding of the conjunction. Register variations are also involved in the expression of contrast and focus and their span can be just a word or a whole sentence at the discourse level.

4.1.2 *Superimposed boundary tones*

Besides lexical tones, the Embɔsi prosodic system includes boundary tones. These boundary tones are found on the right edges of Intonational Phrases. As in many languages, a L% boundary tone is a marker of assertion and a H% tone, a marker of yes-no questions. In Embɔsi, these boundary tones are not realized after the lexical tones at the end of Intonational Phrases. They are "superimposed" to the realizations of lexical tones, triggering lowering or raising of their realization (Beltzung et al., 2010; Downing and Rialland, 2012; Embanga Aborobongui et al., 2012). Let us consider three examples to illustrate this point. In the interrogative utterance in Figure 1, we can observe an extra-high realization of the last H lexical tone. We analyze this raising as the result of the superimposition of the H% boundary, which is attracted by the last H tone. The realisation of a H% following the realisation of lexical tones would have resulted in a final rise, which is not what is observed in Embɔsi.

Figure 1 : F0 curve of the utterance [swénge á-mi-sía] "Is the month finished?"
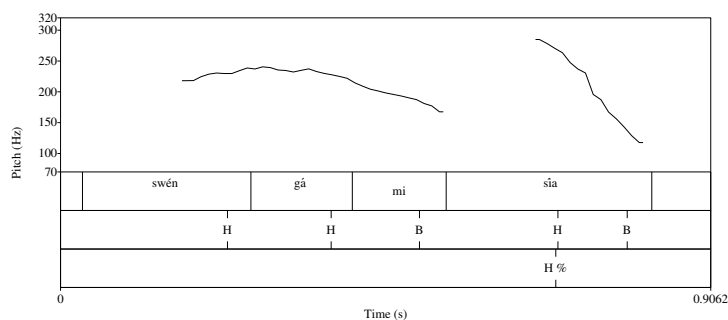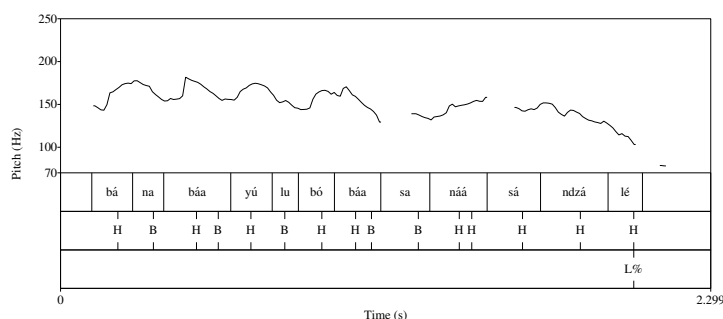

Figure 2 : F0 curve of the utterance [bána báa júlu bó báa náá sá ndzále]
"The girls are playing near the river"

On the F0 curve of an assertive sentence in Figure 2, we can notice that the L and H tones are realized on two levels, until *náá sá ndzálé*. Then, the H tones of *náá sá ndzálé* are realized lower and the very last H tone is realized very low, ending in breathiness. This lowering, which is very strong on the last high tone and less important on the preceding one, can be analysed as resulting from the influence of L%, which spreads over the last stretch of H tones.

Figure 3 : F0 curve of the utterance [ɔ-júlu láa-βel-á ɔ-taβ-á ɔ-kwáí sá kɔ́]
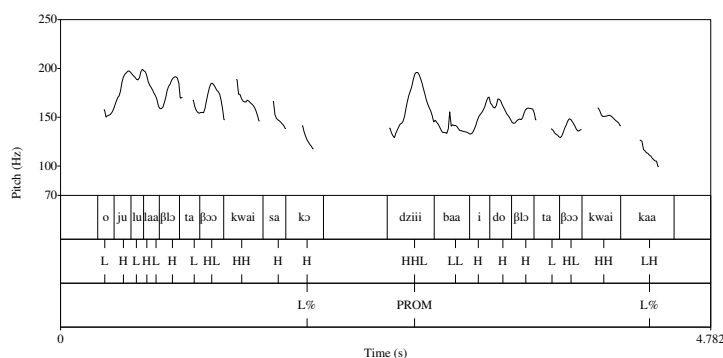"The woman can forget the machete but the man cannot forget the machete in the bush"

Figure 3 illustrates the realisation of a complex sentence. Each part of this

complex sentence ends with a L% boundary tone, which is superimposed on the realization of the lexical tones and strongly lowers the last H tones – the final H being particularly pushed down very low.[2] This example also illustrates how register can be expanded in order to underline a contrast, such as the one which can be observed on the first word of the second clause: *ndzáá* "but" (whose vowels *aa* are elided due to a hiatus reduction process). Other renditions of the same sentence show a second expansion of register on the word *yúlu* "woman", then contrasting with the word *ibaa* "man".

4.2 Segmental phonology

Various segmental processes occur at two levels of the prosodic hierarchy: the Phonological Word and the Intonational Phrase (Embanga Aborobongui, 2013; Beltzung et al., 2010). Processes occurring within the Phonological Word are vowel harmony, glide formation, consonant dissimilation, among others. We concentrate on segmental phonology of the Intonational Phrase. With an Intonational Phrase in Embɔsi, at any word junction, hiatus is avoided: the final vowel of the first word in contact is elided when the following word begins with the a vowel. Vowel elision can be accompanied by vowel coalescence when the vowels in contact are a + i. Compensatory lengthening occurs when vowel elision is combined with a loss of a prefix consonant (Beltzung et al., 2010; Embanga Aborobongui, 2013). We noticed few cases of monosyllabic roots resisting vowel elision. Hiatus avoidance is frequent, as all the Embɔsi words end with a vowel and 40% begin with a vowel. Thus, it occurs three times in the second part of the sentence whose F0 curve is given in Figure 3. In (41), the first line corresponds to the phonetic notation. The vowel or vocalic sequences resulting from vowel elision are underlined. The second line corresponds to the notation with words as they would be produced in isolation. The third line notation indicates the prefix initial consonants in parenthesis. These consonants are deleted due to a dissimilation rule, but leave a trace which triggers compensatory lengthening (Beltzung et al., 2010; Rialland et al., To appear).

(41)   ndzíiibaaídóβlɔ́ɔkwáí kaá

          ndzáá i-baa í-dí o-βel-á ɔ-taβ-á ɔ-kwáí kaá

          ndzáá (d)i-baa (l)í-dí   o-βel-á o-taβ-á   (m)ɔ-kwáí kaá

          but   5-man   5-cop.PST   15-can-fv 15-forget-fv 3-machete   NEG

          'but the man cannot forget the machete'

---

[2]   In the present example, the second part begins roughly at the same pitch level as the first one. Thus, we consider that the second IP is treated as being independent from the first IP (i.e. there is no IP recursion, see (42)). Additional research would be necessary to better understand the relationships between registers within complex sentences.

This example shows that hiatus reduction processes occur between a complementizer ("but") and a subject ("man"), between lexical verbs in the verbal complex, and finally, between verb and object. In two other renditions of the same sentence, the monosyllabic stem *baa* of *ibaa* "man" undergoes also vowel elision in front of ídí, *ibaa+ídí* being realized *ibiídí*. Thus, in these renditions, the hiatus is also reduced between the subject and the verb, which is the usual case.

4.3   Prosodic hierarchy

As was already mentioned in Section 4.1 and 4.2, at the highest level of the hierarchy, Embɔsi has Intonational Phrases, which are characterized (i) by boundary tones on their right, (ii) hiatus avoidance processes occurring between any words in contact, and (iii) a pause at their left edge. Boundary tones mark the right edge of clauses, in both simple and complex sentences, as was shown in Figures 1, 2 and 3. The two boundary tones and the pause observed in Figure 3 are indicative of the intonational phrasing given in (42).

(42)   [ojúluláaβlɔ́taβɔ́ɔkwáísá kɔ́ _{IP}] [ndzííibaaídóβlɔ́taβɔ́ɔkwáíkaá _{IP}]
         'The woman can forget the machete in the bush but the man cannot forget the machete.'

At the lowest level of the prosodic hierarchy, there are clearly defined phonological words, with prefixes and suffixes undergoing various segmental processes, particularly vowel harmony.

At the intermediate level, between the Phonological Word and the Intonational Phrase, we could have expected the Phonological Phrase. However, we found no regular marker, that is, no segmental marker or any cue such as resetting or some form of register modification for a constituent of this size (Downing and Rialland, 2012). There might be a candidate which is the grouping marked by "metatony", that is, an alternation between a L and a H tone at the end of some verb categories and in pronouns. "Metatony" involving verbs is a relatively common process in Bantu languages and it is known as varying depending upon syntactic factors and verb tenses and categories involved (Schadeberg, 1995; Hyman and Lionnet, 2011). In Embɔsi, metatony in verbs depends basically upon tenses. In present and future imperfective, verbs exhibit a final H tone when followed by a complement and a L tone if they are not followed by a complement. Metatony occurs also in some other tenses but varies depending upon the fact that a stem is monosyllabic or not (Embanga Aborobongui, 2013). When it occurs in other Bantu languages, "metatony" is usually limited to verbs but Embɔsi has a second type of metatony which involves the two pronouns with L tones (3rdPersSg *wa* and 2ndPersSg *nɔ*). This second type of metatony has not been fully investigated and we do not have yet a full picture of the phe-

nomenon. Further investigation is needed to better understand the relationship of these various metatonies with syntax and consequently, potential phonological phrases. Currently, we have no evidence in favor of a Phonological Phrase as a prosodic constituent in Embɔsi.

5   Dislocation and phonological phrasing

Our study is based on a corpus including 77 examples recorded by one of the co-authors (Martial Embanga Aborobongui) and repeated between two and four times (over four recording sessions). The corpus was written and then read.[3] The sentences recorded mainly consist in simple transitive or ditransitive sentences (both in the positive and in the negative form, so as to have instances of verbal complexes starting with a vowel (i.e. with the copula)). We also recorder a few instances of relative clauses and coordinated clauses, so as to establish comparisions.

5.1   Right dislocation

Figure 4 : F0 curve of the sentence [ojúluláaβelɔ́pɛ́múalawasákɔ́ / ɔkwáí]
"The woman can give it to him in the bush, the machete"
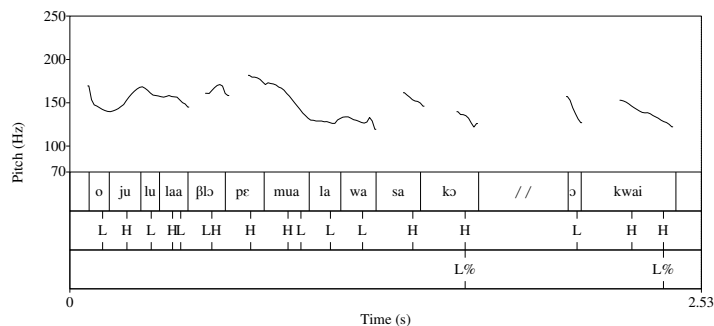
In right-dislocations, the core-clause regularly ends with a L% boundary tone, as does the dislocated element. This indicates that both are aligned with the right edge of an Intonation Phrase. Additionally, a pause separates the core-clause from the dislocated phrase, which we interpret as indicating the beginning of an Intonation Phrase. Figure 4 shows the F0 curve of the realisation of a

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[3]   Reading styles differ from spontaneous styles, and there are various spontaneous styles. Moreover, reading is not a usual task in Embɔsi, as there are very few written texts, and no official spelling. The main difference that we noticed between the corpora is related to the H% boundary tone. H% is an interrogative marker in all styles, but its distribution varies within the sentence (when it would play the role of a continuation rise). In the read corpus which provides the basis for this article, there is no H% within a sentence, even in complex ones.

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sentence with a right dislocation.[4] The L% boundary tones, indicated on a separate tier, lower the realizations of the last high tone(s) of the core-clause and of the dislocated part. We can also notice that the register of the dislocated phrase is reduced. This reduction, which is regularly observed in right dislocation, can be related to two factors: the backgrounding that seems to be generally associated with right dislocation in this language (but more investigations are needed) and the recursivity of the intonational structure (Ladd, 1996). Both hypotheses are compatible with our data and could even converge to explain the reduction of register.[5] The backgrounding hypothesis is in tune with many observations in Embɔsi corpora with register which can be related to foregrounding and backgrounding. The second hypothesis implies that the register reduction indicates that the dislocated element and the core clause belong to a common larger intonational unit. This hypothesis is compatible with the observation that dislocated elements are realized on a reduced register, lower than the core-clause. The register of the dislocated element is never reset up to the level of the core-clause, which suggests a dependence between both registers. In the context of these recording sessions, dislocated elements are clearly reduced, not only in terms of pitch, but also in terms of loudness. For these reasons, we assume that dislocated elements are not realized as independent IPs, but as dependent IPs, being part of a larger IP in a recursive structure as the one shown in (43).

(43)   [[core clause$_{IP}$] [dislocated phrase $_{IP}$] $_{IP}$]

On the segmental level, vowel reduction never happens between a right dislocated phrase and the item that immediately precedes it, confirming the phrasing given in (43), in which the right dislocated phrase forms an IP of its own. In our view, the left edge of IP is responsible for blocking hiatus reduction from taking place. Take example (21), repeated below for convenience and enriched with a phonetic notation. In this phonetic notation, vowels resulting from hiatus reduction are underlined and a slash indicates a pause.

(21)   [ojúluláaβelɔ́pɛ́wamúa/ɔkwáí]

(m)o-júlu láa-βel-á   ɔ-pɛ́ wa   mú-a ɔ-kwáí.
1-woman   1.AGR.IMPERF-can-PRES 15-give 1a.PRO 3.PRO 3-machete
'The woman can give him it, the machete.'

This sentence cannot be realized as in (44), where a hiatus is avoided between *mú-a* and ɔ-kwáí.

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[4]   In order to get a clear picture and big enough symbols, the pause (indicated by //) was shortened.

[5]   All our dislocated elements are short. We have not yet investigated the effect of the length on the register reduction. It would be interesting to know whether the same type of reduction is observed with longer items.

(44)   *[... múɔkwáí]

Right-dislocated phrases in this respect contrast with clause final adverbials (i.e. adverbials in their canonical position) (or, to the best of our knowledge, with any core-clause internal phrase), for which the process of hiatus avoidance normally takes place, as in (25) (Figure 4), repeated below, with a phonetic notation added.

(25)   [ojúluláaβelɔ́pɛ́múalawópoo/ɔkwáí]

(m)o-júlu láa-βelá   ɔ-pɛ́ mú-a la wa   ó   poo / sá
1-woman   1.AGR.IMPERF-can-PRES 15-give 3.PRO to 1a.PRO LOC village / LOC
kɔ   / ó póró (m)ɔ-kwáí.
9.bush / LOC Europe 3-machete
'The woman can give it to him in the village/ in the bush/ in Europe, the machete.'

The sequence *la wa ó poo* ("to him in the village) given in (25) reduces into [lawópoo]. Let us now turn to left dislocation.

5.2   Left dislocation

As for left dislocated phrases, they never end with a boundary tone, which we take it as an indicator of the fact that, unlike right dislocated phrases, they do not align with the right edge of an Intonation Phrase. See Figure 5 for an illustration of a sentence with a left-dislocated object (corresponding to example (35)).

Figure 5 : F0 curve of the sentence [ɔkwáí / ojúluláaβeláɔpɛ́liibaa]
"The machete, the woman can give to the man."
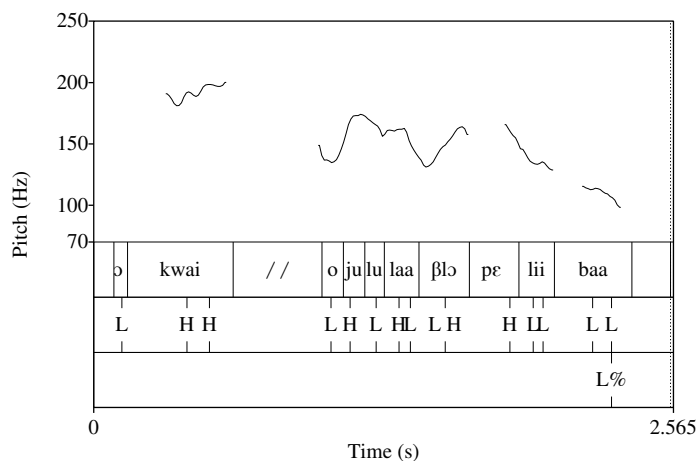
A pause or perceived break however regularly prevents hiatus avoidance processes from occurring between a dislocated phrase and the remainder of the clause, indicating the presence of an Intonation Phrase left edge.

Various phrasing patterns can be observed when two phrases are left-peripheral (i.e. two arguments are dislocated or a dislocated argument is followed by an adverbial). When two arguments are dislocated, breaks occur either between them or between the clause-initial one and the remainder of the sentence. See Figure 6 for an illustration of the former case. In a few cases, that we will discuss in more detail subsequently, no pause or perceived break is found and the application of hiatus avoidance processes suggest that a dislocated object is integrated to the Intonational Phrase formed by the matrix clause. Multiple breaks are only observed when an adverbial is left-peripheral. We will consider various configurations of phrasing that were found in our corpus, in sentences with simple and multiple dislocations. As there are no boundary tones involved in these phrasings, we will refer mainly to the presence or not of a pause, to the hiatus reduction processes and register manipulations.

Figure 6 : F0 curve of the sentence [ojúlópoo / waláaβelɔ́taβánɔ]
"The woman, at the village, she can refuse you."
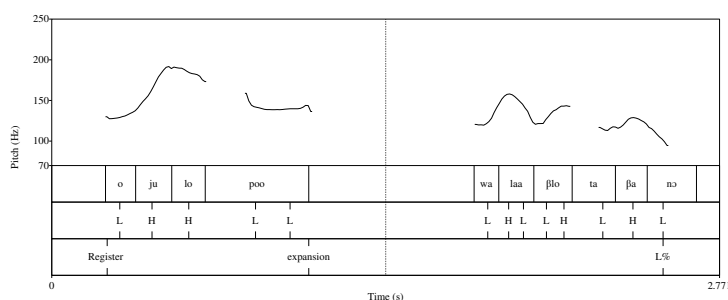
5.2.1   *Pauses and hiatus reduction processes in simple dislocation*

Between (canonical) subject and verb, hiatus avoidance (by means of vowel reduction/coalescence) occurs in all the examples we have considered (n= 42) (no matter whether the subject was clause-initial or preceded by another phrase). Note also that none of the 127 utterances considered here that display a subject-verb sequence show a pause between these two words.

In contrast, hiatus avoidance is infrequently observed at the juncture between a canonical subject and a left-dislocated phrase or an adverbial that immediately precedes it. In the data we examined, it only happens 2 out of 28 times. The sentence in which reduction was observed are given in (45). Note that (45) was recorded four times (over two different recording sessions) and that only the first two realizations displayed hiatus avoidance.

(45)   [sákɔ́ojúluláaβelólémba]

sá kɔ́ (m)o-júlu láa-βel-á   o-lémba.
LOC 9.bush 1-woman   1.AGR.IMPERF-can-PRES 15-get.lost
'In the bush, the woman can get lost'

What we observe is thus that canonical subjects systematically phrase together with the material that follows. This pattern contrasts with left-peripheral adverbials or single dislocated phrases, which are separated from the material that follows by the left edge of an Intonation phrase. This phrasing is given in (46)

(46)   [Dislocated element [core clause]]

5.2.2 *Pauses and hiatus reduction processes in multiple dislocation*

Whenever the subject is dislocated, we have also observed that hiatus avoidance does not systematically occur between it and a nominal category following it. Reduction/coalescence happens 9 out of 32 times. The presence of a hiatus is correlated with that of an audible/visible pause (21/23). If no pause is observable, a break is perceived in the signal (2/23). The sentences in which reduction took place are give in (47) and (48), for illustration purposes.

(47)   [básɔ́poo/báabáaβelɔ́tonánɔ]

(b)a-ásí ɔ́ poo bá-a báa-βel-á o-toná   nɔ.
2-women LOC village 2.PRO 2.AGR-can-fv 15-refuse-fv 2sg.PRO
'The women, at the village, they can refuse you.'

(48)   [ojúlopóró/waláaβelɔ́taβánɔ]

(m)o-júlu ɔ́ póró wa láa-βel-á   o-tón-á nɔ.
1-woman   LOC 9.Europe 1.PRO 1.AGR.IMPERF 15-refuse 2sg.PRO
'The woman, in Europe, she can refuse you.'

In some of our examples, we also have Subject-Averbial-SubjPro-V or Subject-Adverbial-Copula sequences. These examples, illustrated by (49), allow us to examine the behaviour of non-subjects immediately preceding the verbal complex. Out of 26 sequences of Adverbial-SubjectPro-V, 12 displayed a pause following the adverbial.

(49)   [ojúlu/ópóró/wadóβelótónánɔkaá]

(m)o-júlu ɔ́ póró wa ad-í   o-βel-á o-tón-á nɔ   kaá.
1-woman   LOC 9.Europe 1.PRO 1.AGR-cop 15-can-fv 15-refuse-fv 1sg.PRO NEG
'The woman, in Europe, she cannot refuse you.'

The sentence in (49) can thus display either of the phrasings in (50) and (51).

(50)   [IP dislocated subject [IP adverbial [IP core-clause]]]

(51)   [IP dislocated subject [IP adverbial + core-clause]]

Subject pronouns do not allow to investigate hiatus avoidance as they are obligatorily of the form CV. This is where sentences with a negation come in handy, as negation forces the presence of a (vowel-initial) copula at the beginning of the verbal complex. However, in all the cases in which hiatus avoidance could occur between an adverbial and a copula, a pause was observed (12/12), preventing coalescence/reduction. This is illustrated in (52).

(52)   [bána sá kɔ́ / ádóβelɔ́taβɔ́ɔkwáí kaá]

b-ána   sá kɔ́   á-dí   o-βel-á   o-taβ-á   (m)ɔ-kwáí kaá.
2-chidren LOC 9.bush 2.AGR-cop 15-can-fv 15-forget-fv 3.machete   NEG
'The children, in the bush, they cannot forget the machete.'

The sentences displaying the structure illustrated by (52) thus display the phrasing in (53), where the dislocated subject and the adverbial are grouped together and sit outside of the Intonation phrase formed by the core-clause.

(53)   [IP dislocated subject adverbial [IP core-clause]]]

One rather surprising case of absence of pause and hiatus reduction, is between a preverbal object and the verb, as shown in (54).

(54)   [ngóo/ajaalɛɛ́kɔ́ ápɛ́ɛ lamwána]

ngóo   a-jaa   laá ɛkɔ́ɔ á-pɛ́ɛ   la mwána.
1a.mother 6-saka.saka and 7.manioc 1a.AGR-give.PST to 1.child
'The mother, the saka-saka and the manioc, gives to the child.'

Note that in this example, there is systematically a break (pause/hiatus) between the dislocated subject and the object, suggesting a phrasing of the type in (55).

(55)   [IP Subject [IP Object S-Verb IO]]

This pattern might suggest that whenever there is no noun-class ambiguity in terms of subject-agreement, the left-dislocated phrase can phrase together with the verb and the remainder of the clause. Note though that the integration of a dislocated object is not found in single dislocations, indicating that a prosodic constraint might be at play in (54) and override syntax-prosody mapping constraints. More investigations are needed to determine the constraints involved here.

5.2.3   *Register expansion*

The exact function of register expansion is not fully clear to us yet. In multiple dislocations, three patterns emerge from our data. Register expansion can target two left peripheral elements which phrase together, it can target the second item only, or each of the two left peripheral phrases that phrase separately.

Out of 46 dislocated subjects, 10 showed register expansion. Register expansion can happen with or without a pause/hiatus reduction with the following phrase. The register expansion extends to the whole dislocated part when there is hiatus reduction and tends to extend to the second dislocated term when there is a pause. This is illustrated with two sentences in (56) and (57). Register expansion is signalled by small capitals in the phonetic notation.

(56)   [OJÚLÓPOO / waláaβelɔ́taβánɔ]

    o-júlu ó poo wa láa-βel-á   ɔ-taβ-á   nɔ.
    1-woman LOC village 1.PRO 1.AGR.IMPERF-can-PRES 15-refuse-fv 2sg.PRO
    'The woman, at the village, she can refuse you.'

(57)   [B-ÁSÍ / ÓPOO / báabáaβelótonánɔ]

    b-ásí ó poo báa báa-βel-á o-ton-á nɔ.
    2-women LOC village 2.PRO 2.AGR-can-fv 15-refuse-fv 2sg.PRO
    'The women, at the village, they can refuse you.'

Register expansion was also observed on adverbials following a dislocated subject. Out of 38 utterances, 11 displayed an expanded register. None of these examples had a hiatus reduction within the dislocated part. An illustrative sentence is given in (58). The dislocated subject did not necessarily show a register expansion as well.

(58)   [ojúlusÁ Kˊɔ/ádóβelɔ́taβɔ́ɔkwáí kaá]

    (m)o-júlu sá kɔ́   á-di   o-βelá o-taβ-á   (m)ɔ-kwáí kaá.
    1-woman   LOC 9.bush 1.AGR-cop 15-can-fv 15-forget-fv 3.machete   NEG
    'The woman, in the bush, she cannot forget the machete.'

Clause-initial dislocated objects as in (59) tend to be expanded more often: 20 out of 24 were found to be so. Just like clause-initial adverbials (8/12).

(59)   [ɔKWÁÍ / ojúluláaβeláɔpɛ́múaliibaa]

    (m)ɔ-kwáí o-júlu láa-βel-á   ɔ-pɛ́ múa la (d)i-baa.
    3-machete   1-woman 1.AGR.IMPERF-can-PRES 15-give 3.PRO PREP 5-man
    'The machete, the woman can give it to the man.'

(60)   [SÁ Kɔ́ / bánabáaβelólémba]

    sá kɔ́ b-ána báa-βel-á ó-lémb-a.
    LOC 9.bush 2-children 2.AGR-can-fv 15-get.lost-fv
    'In the bush, the children can get lost.'

6   Discussion and Conclusion

In this paper, we have discussed syntactic and phonological aspects of right and left dislocation in Embɔsi. We have observed that both types of dislocations display a number of restrictions (i.e. dislocation does not happen as freely and

productively as for instance in French) and that they do not mirror each-other as, for instance, subjects can only be left-dislocated. More investigations are needed to provide a full syntactic account.

From a prosodic perspective, a considerable amount of variation was found concerning the phrasing of dislocated phrases. In single dislocations, the dominant pattern is that both left and right dislocated phrases sit outside of the core Intonation Phrase. The phrasing pattern observed in Embɔsi is however different from the "symmetric" languages discussed by Downing (2011) in that only right dislocated arguments form their own Intonation Phrase. From the syntax-phonology interface perspective, it is not clear yet why right dislocated phrases exhibit this behaviour. Further work is needed to determine whether they are syntactically more independent from the clause than their left-peripheral counterpart (e.g. by corresponding to "afterthoughts"). Assuming that both types of dislocations show the same type of syntactic dependence to the core-clause, it is not clear yet how to account for the observed phrasing asymmetry. The high ranking of a prosodic constraint such as STRONGSTART (Selkirk, 2011) would be consistent with the reverse pattern, in which only left-dislocated phrases constitute Intonation Phrases. Also, if a constraint like EQUALSISTERS (Myrberg, 2010) is at play, it is unclear why it applies only to one of the peripheries.

In multiple left-dislocations, we have observed a certain amount of grouping: either between dislocated arguments, or between the innermost dislocated phrase and the core-clause. From a theoretical perspective, not much has been said on the phrasing of multiple dislocations. The grouping of dislocated phrases however tends to go against the idea that each left-peripheral constituent would introduce its own Intonation Phrase boundaries (Selkirk, 2009; Downing, 2011). The latter phrasing, in which a dislocated object phrases with the core clause, is unexpected under several theories of the syntax-phonology mapping of Intonation Phrases (a.o. Selkirk, 2011; Hamlaoui and Szendrői, To appear). The fact that this type of integration to the core Intonation Phrase is not found in single dislocations however suggests that it is not the result of syntax-phonology mapping constraints, and that prosodic constraints might be responsible for these groupings. We leave these issues open for future research.

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Locative inversion in Cuwabo[*]

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This paper proposes a detailed description of locative inversion (LI) constructions in Cuwabo, in terms of morphosyntactic properties and thematic restrictions. Of particular interest are the use of disjoint verb forms in LI, and the co-existence of formal and semantic LI, which challenges the widespread belief that the two constructions cannot be found in the same language.

1   Introduction

Locative inversion is "well-reported" in many Bantu languages (Bresnan and Kanerva 1989, Demuth and Mmusi 1997, Marten 2006, Buell 2007, Creissels 2001, Diercks 2011). This construction involves inversion of a locative noun phrase with the logical or thematic subject. In this inversion process, the fronted locative becomes the grammatical subject, thus controlling agreement on the verb, and the postverbal noun phrase, although it occupies the object position, represents the logical subject.

The term "locative inversion" has been predominantly used in Bantu literature, as it is a very prominent construction in this linguistic area, otherwise very rare in the languages of the world. Among Bantu, locative inversion (LI) is a somewhat uniform construction, and yet, some variation exists, both regarding agreement morphology and thematic restrictions.

This paper aims at enriching the existing picture of LI variation in Bantu, by investigating LI constructions in Cuwabo (P34), an Eastern Bantu language spoken North Mozambique. I first identify in section 2 their morphosyntactic characteristics, with an emphasis on the grammatical status of both fronted locative and postverbal noun phrases. LI has once been claimed to be a

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construction restricted to unaccusatives and passivised transitives (Bresnan and Kanerva 1989), but subsequent studies have underscored that many Bantu languages allow LI in a wider range of verbs. Section 3 investigates the interaction between LI and argument structure in Cuwabo, in order to identify which verb types are compatible with LI constructions. In addition to formal LI, another LI pattern known as semantic LI exists, in which a noun denoting a location but without any locative morphology occupies the grammatical subject position and thus triggers non-locative subject agreement on the verb. Both LI types are usually considered to be complementary, i.e. a Bantu language can display one type, but not both. Section 4 questions the grammaticality of the so-called semantic LI in Cuwabo. Finally, in section 5, the main conclusions of the paper are presented.

Most data for this paper is drawn primarily from elicitation led by the author during fieldwork investigation around Quelimane.

2   Morphosyntactic properties

As mentioned above, LI implies a linear inversion of the subject and the locative noun phrase. This positional reordering correlates with an agreement change: the front-shifted locative expression triggers subject agreement on the verb, and not the logical subject, which follows the verb. This is illustrated in the three-way morphological contrast of locative subject markers in (1). Each verb agrees in noun class with the fronted locative noun phrase, while the logical subject (*maánje* 'water' in (1)a, *fólóóri* 'flower' in (1)b, and *álêddo* 'guests' in (1)c), remains postverbal.[1]

(1)   a. vattólóní vahíínjívâ maánje
          va-ttóló=ní   va-Ø-hí-ínjívâ   maánje
          16-well=LOC 16-PRS-PFV.DJ-abound   6.water
          lit. 'at the well abounds water'
        b. ottólón' uúkúl' ookála fólóóri
          o-ttóló=ni   ókúle   o-Ø-hi-kála   fólóóri
          17-well=LOC 17.DEM.III 17-PRS-PFV.DJ-be   9a.flower
          'at that well there is a flower' (from story ddoo.25)

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[1]   The following abbreviations are used in this paper : 1, 2, 3, … = Noun Class, CJ = Conjoint, CON = Connective, CPM = Complementiser, DEM = Demonstrative, DJ = Disjoint, H = High (tone), HTD = High Tone Doubling, L = Low (tone), LOC = Locative, NAR = Narrative, OM = Object Marker, PFV = Perfective, PL = Plural, PL = Predicative Lowering, POSS = Possessive, PRS = Present, PST = Past, REL = Relative

    c. mmúrúddání muúdha álêddo
      mu-múrúdda=ni   mu-Ø-hí-dha   álêddo
      18-3.village=LOC   18-PRS-PFV.DJ-come 2.guest
      lit. 'in the village came the guests'

The corresponding uninverted sentences, in which the verb agrees in noun class with the preceding logical subject while the locative noun phrase follows the verb, are shown in (2).

(2)   a. maánje ahíínjívâ vattólóní   (class 6 agreement)
        maánjé   a-Ø-hí-ínjívâ   va-ttólô=ni
        6.water   6-PRS-PFV.DJ-abound   16-well=LOC
        'water abounds at the well'
     b. fólóóri eekálá ottólóni ókúle   (class 9 agreement)
        fólóóri   e-Ø-hi-kálá   o-ttóló=ni   ókúle
        9a.flower   9-PRS-PFV.DJ-be   17-well=LOC   17.DEM.III
        'there is a flower at that well'
     c. áléddo aádha mmúrúddani   (class 2 agreement)
        áléddo   a-Ø-hí-dha   mu-múrúdda=ni
        2.guest   2-PRS-PFV.DJ-come   18-3.village=LOC
        'the guests came in the village'

It is very interesting to note that in addition to the locative prefixes, Cuwabo locative noun phrases also take a locative enclitic *=ni*. Such clitic, considered as the grammaticalised form of **-ini* 'liver' (Samsom and Schadeberg 1994), is widespread in Eastern Bantu languages, where it supposedly originates, but is also well attested in Southern Bantu. This formal innovation is normally complementary to the historical locative prefixes, i.e. a language does in principle not exhibit both markers on a same lexical item. For instance, in Swati (Nguni group, Swaziland and South Africa), locative phrases are marked either by the class 17 locative prefix *ku-* (3)a, or by the prefix *e-* (3)b, productively combined with the clitic *=ini* (3)c. These examples, extracted from Marten (2010), are originally from Taljaard, Khumalo & Bosch (1991).

(3)   a. bafana 'boys'   >   ku-bafana   'to/at the boys'
     b. sitolo 'shop'   >   e-sitolo   'at the shop'
     c. indlu 'house'   >   e-ndl=ini   'at the house'

In Cuwabo, both locative prefixes and the clitic *=ni* do co-occur in most locative expressions, as evidenced in (1), with *va-ttólô=ni* (class 16), *o-ttóló=ni* (class 17), and *mu-múrúdda=ni* (class 18). This double locative marking, which

represents an innovation shared by P30 languages (Makhuwa group), is exceptional in Bantu languages.

2.1 Grammatical status of locative and postverbal elements

Both (1) and (2) above share the same thematic role structure, but differ in their syntactic properties. The subject-verb agreement observed in (1) conveys first evidence that the locative phrase may be analysed as the grammatical subject. Co-variation between the three possible locative class prefixes (respectively, class 16 *va-*, class 17 *o-*, and class 18 *mu-*) exists both on the locative expression and on the subject prefix of the following verb, which agrees accordingly. Another argument in favour of this agreement morphology (i.e. the grammatical subject status assumed by the locative noun phrase) is that the locative noun phrase can be postposed, as shown in (4).

(4)   a. vahíínjívá maánjé vattólôni
        va-Ø-hí-ínjívá   maánjé   va-ttólô=ni
        16-PRS-PFV.DJ-abound   6.water   16-well=LOC
        lit. 'there abounds water at the well'

      b. ookála fólóórí ottólóni ókûle
        o-Ø-hi-kála   fólóóri   o-ttóló=ni   ókûle
        17-PRS-PFV.DJ-be   9a.flower   17-well=LOC   17.DEM.III
        'there is a flower at that well'

      c. muúdha áléddó mmúrúddani
        mu-Ø-hí-dha   áléddó   mu-múrúdda=ni
        18-PRS-PFV.DJ-come   2.guest   18-3.village=LOC
        lit. 'in there came the guests in the village'

Furthermore, in case of a biclausal sentence such as in (5)a, whose subordinate clause is introduced by the complementiser *wi* 'that', the locative noun phrase can be topicalised and then dislocated to the left periphery of the whole sentence, and thus separated from the rest of its origin clause by the embedded independent clause *muhúúbúwélá* 'do you think'. Compare the LI in embedded position without extraction in (5)b, with the extracted LI in (5)c.

(5)   a. muhúúbúwélá wi áléddo aádhówa omúrúddani ?   (declarative)

mu-Ø-hí-úbúwélá   wi   áléddo   a-Ø-hí-dhówa
2PL-PRS-PFV.DJ-think   CMP   2.guest   2-PRS-PFV.DJ-go

o-múrúdda=ni
17-3.village=LOC

'do you think that the guests went to the village?'

   b. muhúúbúwélá wi omúrúddani oódhówa álêddo ?   (LI)

mu-Ø-hí-úbúwélá   wi   o-múrúdda=ni   o-Ø-hí-dhówa
2PL-PRS-PFV.DJ-think CMP   17-3.village=LOC   17-PRS-PFV.DJ-go

álêddo
2.guest

lit. 'do you think that to the village went the guests?'

   c. omúrúddání | muhúúbúwélá wi oódhówa álêddo ?   (LI+extraction)

o-múrúdda=ni   mu-Ø-hí-úbúwélá   wi   o-Ø-hí-dhówa
17-3.village=LOC 2PL-PRS-PFV.DJ-think CMP   17-PRS-PFV.DJ-go

álêddo
2.guest

lit. 'to the village, do you think that (there) went the guests?'

Finally, the fronted locative noun phrase, as a grammatical subject and discourse topic, can also be dropped, since a locative feature with a locative anaphoric reference remains on the verb through the subject marker, as shown in (6).

(6)   a. vahíínjívá maánje
        va-Ø-hí-ínjívá   maánje
        16-PRS-PFV.DJ-abound   6.water
        lit. 'there abounds water'

   b. ookála fólóóri
        o-Ø-hi-kála   fólóóri
        17-PRS-PFV.DJ-be   9a.flower
        'there is a flower'

   c. muúdha álêddo
        mu-Ø-hí-dha   álêddo
        18-PRS-PFV.DJ-come   2.guest
        lit. 'in there came the guests'

While there is solid evidence toward the subjecthood of the fronted locative noun phrase, the grammatical status of the postverbal logical subject is less clear. Considering word order, it assumes an object position, since it always

occurs in immediate adjacency to the verb. Yet, it fails the typical test of objecthood in that it cannot be cross-referenced with an object marker on the verb, as shown in (7). As a comparison, the sentence in (8) illustrates the necessity of object marking (but only restricted to classes 1 and 2 in Cuwabo) when the postverbal element assumes an object grammatical function.

(7) * mu-múrúdda=ni   mu-Ø-hí-a-dha   álêddo
     18-3.village=LOC   18-PRS-PFV.DJ-OM2-come   2.guest
     lit. 'in the village came the guests'

(8) múttú oovényá: , oómútelá mwáádhíyé: , waabaál' áánááyé: , [...]
     múttú   o-Ø-hi-vényá   o-Ø-hí-**mú**-telá
     1.person   1-PRS-PFV.DJ-rise.up   1-PRS-PFV.DJ-OM1-marry

     mwáádhíyé   o-**a**-baála   ánááyé
     1.wife.POSS.1   NAR-OM2-give.birth   2.child.POSS.1

     'a man grew up, married a woman, had his children, [...]' (story mbílri.7)

Furthermore, the postposed logical subject cannot be demoted to an optional adjunct in that it cannot be omitted (9), nor can it be separated from the verb by the locative noun phrase (10).

(9) a. * vattólóní vahíínjíva
        va-ttóló=ni   va-Ø-hí-ínjíva
        16-well=LOC   16-PRS-PFV.DJ-abound
        lit. 'at the well abounds'
     b. * ottólóni ókúle ookála
        o-ttóló=ni   ókúle   o-Ø-hi-kála
        17-well=LOC   17.DEM.III   17-PRS-PFV.DJ-be
        lit. 'at that well there is'
     c. * mmúrúddání muúdha
        mu-múrúddá=ní   mu-Ø-hí-dha
        18-3.village=LOC   17-PRS-PFV.DJ-come
        lit. 'in the village came'

(10) a. * vahíínjívá vattólóní maánje
        va-Ø-hí-ínjívá   va-ttóló=ní   maánje
        16-PRS-PFV.DJ-abound   16-well=LOC   6.water
        lit. 'abounds at the well water'

    b. * ookálá ottólóni ókúle fólóóri

       o-Ø-hi-kálá   o-ttóló=ni   ókúle   fólóóri

       17-PRS-PFV.DJ-be   17-well=LOC 17.DEM.III 9a.flower

       lit. 'there is at that well a flower'

    c. * muúdhá mmúrúddani álêddo

       mu-Ø-hí-dhá   mu-múrúdda=ni   álêddo

       18-PRS-PFV.DJ-come 18-3.village=LOC   2.guest

       lit. 'came in the village the guests'

The linear order of the elements in LI is thus not free, and the postverbal logical subject systematically follows the verb. This close relation between the verb and the postverbal logical subject is further confirmed by prosodic evidence: a pause (represented in (11) by |) is usually heard after the topicalised locative noun phrase, but never between the verb and the postverbal logical subject. Furthermore, these two elements seem to form a suitable environment with respect to H tone doubling (HTD) at the phrasal level. In (11), each verb has a primary (underlined) H tone on the penult mora, which doubles onto the following mora when the next word has an initial LH sequence (11)a, but does not double when the next word has an initial H tone (11)b and (11)c, because of the Obligatory Contour Principle effect. These constraints on HTD suggest that both the verb and the postverbal logical subject form a prosodic unit, represented into brackets in (11).

(11)   a. vattólóní | (vah<u>íí</u>nj<u>í</u>vá ma<u>á</u>nje)

        lit. 'at the well abounds water'

    b. ottólón' uúkúlé | (ook<u>á</u>la f<u>ó</u>ló<u>ó</u>ri)

       'at that well there is a flower'

    c. mmúrúddání | (mu<u>ú</u>dha <u>á</u>lêddo)

       lit. 'in the village came the guests'

All these aforementioned syntactic and prosodic properties of the postverbal element are explained by its "presentational focus" discourse function (Bresnan and Kanerva 1989, Demuth and Mmusi 1997, Marten 2006). Compare the noun phrase *áyaná* 'women' in (12), immediately following the verb and introducing new information, with (13), where it represents a right-dislocated topic, with an afterthought interpretation.

(12) munólóbéla áyanā
      mu-Ø-ni-ólóbéla   áyanā
      18-PRS-IPFV.DJ-15.pray   2.woman
      lit. 'in there are praying the women'

(13) anólóbéla, áyanā
      a-Ø-ni-ólóbéla   áyanā
      2-PRS-PFV.DJ-15.pray   2.woman
      'they are praying, the women'

Locative inversion constructions illustrated in this sub-section have been widely discussed in the Bantu literature. Buell (2007) refers to these constructions as "agreement constructions", opposed to "non-agreeing constructions", which often make use of a single verb prefix with an expletive function.

2.2 Locative marking on the verb

Interestingly, an agreeing locative enclitic on the verb (class 16 *=vo*, class 17 *=wo*, and class 18 *=mo*) cannot co-occur with the locative head-agreeing prefix, as shown in (14).

(14) a. * vattólóní vawíínjívá=vo maánje
          lit. 'there at the well abounds (there) water'
      b. * ottólóni ókúle ookálá=wo fólóóri
          lit. 'there at the well there is (there) a flower'
      c. * mmúrúddání muúdhá=mo álêddo
          lit. 'in the village came (in there) the guests'

In comparison, such double locative marking on the verb is obligatory in Bukusu (J30, Kenya). Diercks (2011) refers to this construction, exemplified in (15), as "repeated agreement" LI.

(15) mú-músiirú   mw-á-kwá=mó   kú-músaala   [Bukusu]
      18-3.forest 18-PST-fall=18LOC 3-3.tree   Repeated Agreement LI
      'in the forest fell a tree'

Furthermore, note that another construction with a preverbal locative exists in Cuwabo, which strongly differs from the aforementioned LI in term of verbal agreement. Instead of agreeing with the preverbal locative noun phrase, the verb prefix agrees with the postverbal logical subject. In parallel, a locative

agreement clitic (=*vo*, =*wo*, =*mo*) is obligatorily suffixed to the verb, as illustrated in (16). Omitting these locative suffixes is considered ungrammatical.

(16)   a. vattólóní | awíínjívávo maánje
         va-ttóló=ní   a-Ø-hí-ínjívá=vo   maánje
         16-well=LOC   6-PRS-PFV.DJ-abound=16.LOC   6.water
         lit. 'at the well (it) abounds there water'

         * vattólóní, awíínjívá maánje
      b. ottólóni ókúlé | eekáláwo fólóóri
         o-ttóló=ni   ókúlé   e-Ø-hi-kálá=wo   fólóóri
         17-well=LOC 17.DEM.III   9-PRS-PFV.DJ-be=17.LOC   9a.flower
         lit. 'at that well over there (it) is there a flower'

         * ottólóni ókúlé, eekála fólóóri
      c. mmúrúddání | aádhámo álêddo
         mu-múrúddá=ní   a-Ø-hí-dhá=mo   álêddo
         18-3.village=LOC   2-PRS-PFV.DJ-come=18.LOC   2.guest
         'in the village came (in) the guests'

         * mmúrúddání, aádha álêddo

In such constructions, the preverbal locative is more loosely connected to the verb and does not constitute a core constituent of the sentence. Instead it occupies a peripheral position, where it displays a scene or frame setting function for the remaining sentence, and is interpreted as an external topic. Note that these constructions do not represent instances of LI in the strict sense.

     Interestingly, this construction is the only one attested in Makhuwa, which does not display LI. Van der Wal (2008) reports that the subject marker always agrees with the postverbal logical subject (17)a, while a locative subject agreement on the verb is not allowed (17)b.

(17)   a. wakisírwa   a-náá-phíyá   alétto   (van der Wal 2008: 346)
         16.island   2-PRS.DJ-arrive   2.guests
      b. * wakisírwa   wa-náá-phíyá   alétto
         16.island   16-PRS.DJ-arrive 2.guests
         'on the island arrive guests'

The crucial difference between Cuwabo and Makhuwa is the presence of the agreeing locative enclitics on the verb, not needed in Makhuwa, while obligatory in Cuwabo as seen in the examples in (16) above. Further note that such a construction is not available with transitive verbs, as exemplified in (18).

(18) *muttólóní | oomútúkumamo múlóbwana múlêddo

mu-ttóló=ní   o-Ø-hi-mú-túkuma=mo   múlóbwana   múlêddo
18-well=LOC 1-PRS-PFV.DJ-OM1-push=18.LOC   1.man   1.guest
lit. 'into the well pushed a man a guest'

2.3 LI and disjoint verb forms

An important precision must be made concerning the alternation between conjoint (CJ) and disjoint (DJ) verb forms. A certain number of Bantu languages display a morphological alternation in certain tenses of their verbal paradigms. This alternation is often referred to as conjoint/disjoint alternation, first labelled by Meeussen (1959). Despite their different segmental morphology, these verb forms encode the same tense/aspect semantics, but differ in their relation with what follows the verb, and more particularly, this alternation is generally associated with focal interpretations. In conjoint forms (19), an element following the verb is necessarily needed, assuming a focus position, reflected prosodically by Predicative Lowering, a process whereby the first underlying high tone lowers, thus avoiding subsequent High Tone Doubling (e.g. *nígágádda* 'dry cassava' lowers to *nigagádda*). In disjoint forms (20), it is the verb itself which is in focus, not its complement, whose presence is possible but not required, which means that disjoint verbs can appear clause-finally.

(19) CJ múyaná **ońgúlíhá** nigagádda   'the woman is selling dry cassava'
          * múyaná ońgúlíha   'the woman is selling'

(20) DJ múyaná **ónógúlíha** (nígágádda) 'the woman is selling (dry cassava)'

Intestingly, relative verb forms in Cuwabo correspond from a morphological point of view to the seven conjoint verb forms, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Morphological similarity between Conjoint and Relative verb forms

	CJ	REL
PRS IPFV	***ońgúlíhá** nigagádda* 'he is selling dry cassava' (DJ ***ónógúlíha***)	***ońgúlíha** (nígágádda)* 'who is selling (dry cassava)'
PST IPFV	***waágúla** nyumba* 'he was buying a house' (DJ ***wáángulá***)	***waágúla** (nyúmba)* 'who was buying (a house)'
PRS PFV	***ofullé** mútede* 'he washed the dress' (DJ ***ohílévéléla***)	***ofúllé** (mutéde)* 'who washed (the dress)'
PST PFV	***waaveéttíle** mbuga* 'he had winnowed the rice' (DJ ***wahíveétta***)	***waaveéttíle** (mbúga)* 'who had winnowed (the rice)'
FUT	***onáábúddúgélé** guluwe* 'he will attack the pig' (DJ ***oneelóóbuddugele***)	***onáábúddúgélé** (gulúwe)* 'who will attack (the pig)'
CONT FUT	***ogásákula** kalruúnga* 'he will be choosing the hoe' (DJ ***ogáńsakula***)	***ddigásákula** (kálrúúnga)* 'who will be choosing (the hoe)'
HYP	***ogaattukúĺle** nyangaséra* 'he would carry the fishing basket' (DJ ***ogahíttúkula***)	***ogaattukúĺle** (nyángáséra)* 'who would carry (the fishing basket)'

All these examples show that Cuwabo relatives have no specific morphology, nor do they exhibit a specific tone pattern, except for the Present Perfective (PRS PFV) tense, in which an additional H tone stands on S2. The reason why a tone difference between conjoint and relative forms exists only for the Present Perfective but not for the other tenses is still unclear at this moment, but is of importance for the present discussion.

The careful reader will have noted that every aforementioned LI construction makes use of a disjoint verb form, which is rather unexpected. In order to introduce a focused element, the conjoint form is indeed required in Cuwabo, as seen in (19) above. And yet, in LI constructions, disjoint verb forms are necessarily chosen over conjoint verb forms, since the latter would involve a relative reading, as shown in (21) and (22).

(21) vasíkóóla ápa vaasuńzíle áyíma

   vasíkóóla   ápa   [va-a-suńz-íle   áyíma]rel
   16-9a.school 16.DEM.I 16-PST-learn-PFV.REL   2.children
   'at this school where children had studied'

(22) m̀múrúddání munlába álóbwana

   mu-múrúddá=ní   [mu-Ø-ni-lába   álóbwana]rel
   18-3.village=LOC   18-PRS-IPFV.CJ-work 2.men
   'in the village where the men work'

Such constructions are common in the language, but they do not represent cases of LI, but rather locative relatives, in which the locative noun phrase is the head noun to be modified. In order to avoid a relative reading, LI constructions rely on the other available verb forms in the language, namely the disjoint verb forms. But interestingly, one conjoint tense is attested in LI constructions: the Present Perfective, as illustrated in (23), extracted from a story. Remember that for this tense, the conjoint form and the relative exhibit a different tone pattern (see Table 1). In (23), no ambiguity in interpretation is possible, since the tone pattern of *vamellè*[2] 'germinated' corresponds solely to the conjoint form. In contrast the relative form would be rendered by *vaméllé* 'where germinated'. Furthermore, the focus position of the postverbal logical subject *fólóóri* 'flower' is confirmed by Predicative Lowering (*foloóri*).

(23) Ddabun' óókwééné: , **vattólóní vàmel̀lé foloóri** énddímúwá vaddíddí y' oókóddéla vaddíddi. [Fólóór' iíjíl' ookomesáári wiíba : ...]

   ddabunó ókú=éné   **va-ttóló=ní**   **vá-Ø-mel-ilé**
   then   17.DEM.I=INT   16-well=LOC   16-PRS-germinate-PFV.CJ

   foloóri   é-nddímúwá vaddíddí ya   ókóddéla   vaddíddi
   9a.flower.PL 9-big   much   9.CON   15.be.beautiful much

   'Then, there at the well a flower germinated, a very big and very beautiful flower. [That flower began to sing: ...]' (from ddoo.23)

Now that the formal and agreement properties of LI in Cuwabo have been discussed, let's examine the range of arguments and verb types which LI may occur with.

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[2] Note that in the form *vámel̀lé*, the H tone found on the locative prefix *va-* is the result of High Tone Doubling.

3   LI & argument structure

The Bantu languages in which locative inversion is attested differ in the (semantic) types of verbs allowed in such constructions. The thematic restrictions imposed on predicates undergoing LI vary from one language to another. The array goes from languages which restrict LI to unaccusative verbs only (e.g. Chewa, see Bresnan and Kanerva 1989), to languages which only prohibits LI to ditransitives (e.g. Herero, see Marten 2006).

Among this existing variation, this sub-section examines how LI constructions in Cuwabo interact with argument structure. Verbs of different argument structure (unaccusatives, unergatives, and transitives), which involve different thematic roles (theme, agent, or both theme and agent), will be considered in turn.

3.1 Unaccusatives

Unaccusative verbs form a sub-group among the intransitive verbs. They are typically verbs of movement or location, whose single argument is assigned a theme role, not actively responsible thus for the action of the verb. This sub-class of intransitives comprises many motional and postural verbs, like *ofíya* 'arrive', *ógwa* 'fall', *ógoná* 'sleep', *ováta* 'spread, ramify', *ókwa* 'die', etc, as well as verbs of existence, like *okála* 'be, stay'.

Among Bantu, LI is widely attested with this class of verbs. It also functions in Cuwabo, as illustrated in (24), with the motional verb *ofíya* 'arrive', in (25) with the postural verb *wíiméla* 'stand', and in (26), with the verb *wíinjíva* 'abound', which expresses a container-contained relation between arguments.

(24)   *ofíya* 'arrive'

    a. áléddo aafíyá mmúrúddani   (declarative)
       áléddo   a-Ø-hi-fíyá   mu-múrúdda=ni
       2.guest   2-PRS-PFV.DJ-arrive   18-3.village=LOC
       'the guests arrived at the village'
    b. mmúrúddání muufíya álêddo   (LI)
       mu-múrúddá=ní   mu-Ø-hi-fíya   álêddo
       18-3.village=LOC   2-PRS-PFV.DJ-arrive   2.guest
       lit. 'at the village arrived the guests'

(25) *wííméla* 'stand'

    a. áyáná ahííméla mukápééla   (declarative)
       áyáná   a-Ø-hí-íméla   mu-kápééla
       2.woman   2-PRS-PFV.DJ-stand 18-9a.church
       'in the church are standing the women'
    b. mukápéélá mwihííméla áyanā   (LI)
       mu-kápéélá   mu-Ø-hí-íméla   áyanā
       18-9a.church   18-PRS-PFV.DJ-stand 2.women
       'in the church are standing the women'

(26) *wíínjíva* 'abound'

    a. maánjé ahíínjívá vattólôni   (declarative)
       maánjé   a-Ø-hí-ínjívá   va-ttólô=ni
       6.water   6-PRS-PFV.DJ-abound   16-well=LOC
       'water is abounding at the well'
    b. vattólóní vahíínjívâ maánje   (LI)
       va-ttóló=ní   va-Ø-hí-ínjívâ   maánje
       16-well=LOC   16-PRS-PFV.DJ-abound 6.water
       'at the well is abounding water'

3.2 Unergatives

Unergative verbs are also intransitive, but differ semantically from unaccusatives in having an agentive argument, actively responsible for the action expressed by the verb. In Cuwabo, LI perfectly holds with motional unergatives, as illustrated with *óvólówa* 'enter' (27) and *óttámága* 'run' (28).

(27) *óvólówa* 'enter'

    a. nówá yaávólówa(mo) ḿba mwa múzûgu   (declarative)
       nówá   e-a-hí-vólówa=mo   ḿba   mwa   múzûgu
       9a.snake 9-PST-PFV.DJ-enter=18.LOC 18.in   18.CON   1.white.man
       'the snake had entered into the white man's house'
    b. ḿba mwa múzúgu mwaávólówa nówa   (LI)
       ḿba   mwa   múzúgu   mu-a-hí-vólówa   nówa
       18.in   18.CON   1.white.man 18-PST-PFV.DJ-enter 9a.snake
       lit. 'into the white man's house had entered the snake'

(28) *óttámága* 'run'

    a. áyímá anóttámágá mutákwâni   (declarative)
       áyíma   a-Ø-ni-óttámágá   mu-tákwâ=ni
       2.children   2-PRS-IPFV.DJ-15.run 18-9a.forest=LOC
       'the children are running in the forest'
    b. mutákwání munóttámága áyîma   (LI)
       mu-tákwá=ní   mu-Ø-ni-óttámága   áyîma
       18-9a.forest=LOC   18-PRS-IPFV.DJ-15.run 2.children
       'in the forest are running the children'

Interestingly, the non-motional unergative patterns also exhibit the LI construction in Cuwabo, as exemplified with the verbs *otéya* 'laugh' (29), *olába* 'work' (30), and *ólóbéla* 'pray' (31).

(29) *otéya* 'laugh'

    a. áyíma anotéya vatákûlu   (declarative)
       áyíma   a-Ø-ni-ótéya   va-tákûlu
       2.child   2-PRS-IPFV.DJ-15.laugh 16-9a.courtyard
       'the children are laughing at home'
    b. vatákúlú vanotéya áyîma   (LI)
       va-tákúlú   va-Ø-ni-otéya   áyîma
       16-9a.courtyard 16-PRS-IPFV.DJ-15.laugh 2.child
       lit. 'at home are laughing the children'

(30) *olába* 'work'

    a. áyímá anolábá omúndda   (declarative)
       áyímá   a-Ø-ni-olábá   o-múndda
       2.children   2-PRS-IPFV.DJ-15.work 17-3.field
       'the children are working in the field'
    b. omúnddá onolába áyîma   (LI)
       o-múnddá   o-Ø-ni-olába   áyîma
       17-3.field   17-PRS-IPFV.DJ-15.work 2.children
       'on the field work the children' (more general meaning)

(31)   *ólóbéla* 'pray'

    a. áyáná aálóbébá mukápééla   (declarative)
       áyáná   a-Ø-hí-lóbébá   mu-kápééla
       2.women   2-PRS-PFV.DJ-pray   18-9a.church
       'the women have prayed in the church'
    b. mukápéélá muúlóbéla áyanā   (LI)
       mu-kápéélá   mu-Ø-hí-lóbéla   áyanā
       18-9a.church   18-PRS-PFV.DJ-pray   2.women
       'in the church have prayed the women'

This means that LI seems to apply to all intransitive verbs in the language.

3.3 Transitives

In contrast to unaccusative and unergative verbs, transitive verbs, which complicate the argument structure in adding a thematic object, fail to undergo LI. This ungrammaticality is exemplified below with two transitive verbs, *óddaddá* 'catch, find' (32) and *ósuwá* 'wipe' (33).

(32)   *óddaddá* 'catch, find'

    a. ábáabí aámúddoddá mwáaná mucélâni   (declarative)
       ábáabí   a-Ø-hí-mú-ddoddá   mwáaná mu-célâ=ni
       2.parents 2-PRS-PFV.DJ-OM1-grab 1.child   18-well=loc
       'the parents found the child in the well'
    b. * mucélání mwiímúddoddá ábáabí mwáanā   (LI)
         mu-célá=ní   mu-Ø-hí-mú-ddoddá   ábáabí   mwáanā
         18-well=loc   18-PRS-PFV.DJ-OM1-grab 2.parents 1.child
         lit. 'in the well found the parents the child'

(33)   *ósuwá* 'wipe'

    a. múyáná onósúwá dhoóbo vatákûlu   (declarative)
       múyáná   o-Ø-ni-ósúwá   dhoóbo   va-tákûlu
       1.woman   1-PRS-IPFV.DJ-15.wipe 10.dish 16-9a.courtyard
       'the woman is wiping the dishes at home'
    b. * vatákúlú vanósúwa múyaná dhoóbo   (LI)
         va-tákúlú   va-Ø-ni-ósúwa   múyaná   dhoóbo
         16-9a.courtyard 1-PRS-IPFV.DJ-15.wipe 1.woman   10.dish
         lit. 'at home is wiping the woman dishes'

The same holds true for ditransitives, rendered by the addition of a second object (usually a beneficiary): LI remains ungrammatical.

(34) a. mwááná oólébéla njángára ámáambaál' áaye vatákûlu   (declarative)

mwááná   o-Ø-hí-léb-él-a   njángára   ámáambaáli
1.child   1-PRS-PFV.DJ-write-APPL-FV   5.card   2.parents

áaye   va-tákûlu
2.POSS.1   16-9a.courtyard

'the child wrote a letter for his parents at home'

b. * vatákúlú vahílébéla mwááná njángára ámáambaál' áaye (LI)

va-tákúlú   va-Ø-hí-léb-él-a   mwááná
16-9a.courtyard   16-PRS-PFV.DJ-write-APPL-FV   1.child

njángára ámáambaáli áaye
5.card   2.parents   2.POSS.1

lit. 'at home wrote the child a letter for his parents'

3.4 Passivised transitives

Transitive verbs that have been passivised allow LI. (35) and (36) provide examples of LI constructions applied to transitive verbs which underwent passivisation.

(35) a. kónóóno onóttáddíwá na anámáttaddá m̀muttátti   (declarative)

kónóónó   o-Ø-ni-óttádd-íw-á   na   anámáttaddá
1a.fish.sp 1-PRS-IPFV.DJ-15.fish-PASS-FV by   2.fishermen

mu-muttátti
18-3.swamp

'the fish *konoono* is being fished in the swamp by the fishermen'

b. m̀mttátti munóttáddíwa kónóónó na anámáttaddā   (LI)

mu-muttátti   mu-Ø-ni-óttádd-íw-a   kónóónó   na
18-3.swamp   18-PRS-IPFV.DJ-15.fish-PASS-FV 1a.fish.sp by

anámáttaddā
2.fishermen

lit. 'in the swamp is being fished the fish *konoono* by the fishermen'

(36) a. dhoójá dhiípíyíwá m̀múkáátténi óbu   (declarative)
        dhoójá   dhi-Ø-hí-píy-íw-á   mu-múkáátté=ni óbu
        10.food   10-PRS-PFV.DJ-cook-PASS-FV   18-3.jug=LOC   3.DEM.I
        'the food was cooked in this pot'
      b. m̀múkáátténi óbu muúpíyíwá dhoója   (LI)
        mu-múkáátté=ni óbu   mu-Ø-hí-píy-íw-a   dhoója
        18-3.jug=LOC   3.DEM.I   18-PRS-PFV.DJ-cook-PASS-FV 10.food
        'in this pot was cooked the food'

4   Semantic Locative Inversion?

Another LI pattern known as semantic LI exists, which is less widely discussed
in the Bantu literature. Semantic LI is not essentially different from formal LI:
the fronted expression occupies the grammatical subject position and triggers
agreement on the following verb, but the difference lies on its non-locative
morphology. Instead, it appears in its canonical class, and denotes the place or
the space inherently rooted in the semantic of the noun. This means that
semantic LI is only allowed with expressions which refer to a possible location,
such as school, house, church, shop, etc.

An agreement relation is thus established between the inherent noun class
of the fronted expression and the verb. Such constructions are found in Zulu and
Tharaka (Buell 2007), respectively illustrated in (37), and (38).

(37) lezi   zindlu   zi-hlala   abantu   abadala   [Zulu]
      10.these   10.houses   10-stay   2.people 2.old
      'old people live in these houses'

(38) kanisa   i-thom-ag-îr-a   twana   [Tharaka]
      9.church   9-study-HAB-APPL-FV 13.children
      'the children study at the church'

It has been suggested (Buell 2007) that semantic and formal LI constructions are
essentially equivalent, but that they cannot co-exist in a language. In Cuwabo, a
considerable preference is given on formal locative LI. Still, it turns out that
semantic LI is also considered grammatical, at least with the stative
unaccusative verb *okála* 'be, stay', as shown in (39).

(39)   nyúmba éji eekálá akálâba
       nyúmba éji   e-Ø-hi-kálá   akálâba
       9a.house 9.DEM.I   9-PRS-PFV.DJ-be   2.older
       lit. 'in this house were/lived old people'

Now, with another stative unaccusative verb, namely *wíímela* 'stand' (40), and with unergatives (41), which imply an agentive thematic role, two of my consultants have different judgements on the acceptability of such sentences. On the first hand, Agostinho thinks that they are grammatical, but that they do not represent natural options in discourse. In other words, he can interpret such sentences, but will likely not utter them spontaneously. On the other hand, Sérgio perfectly accepts them.

(40) a.(?) kápééla éji ehííméla áyanā
              kápééla   éji   e-Ø-hí-ímela   áyanā
              9a.church 9.DEM.I   9-PRS-PFV.DJ-stand 2.women
              'in this church stood the women'

(41) a.(?) síkóóla éji eésúńza áyîma
              síkóóla   éji   e-Ø-hí-súńza   áyîma
              9a.school 9.DEM.I   9-PRS-PFV.DJ-learn   2.children
              'at this school have studied the children'
      b.(?) kápééla éji enólóbéla áyanā
              kápééla   éji   e-Ø-ni-ólóbéla   áyanā
              9a.church 9.DEM.I   9-PRS-IPFV.DJ-15.pray 2.women
              'in this church are praying the women'
      c.(?) ḿbúró ési dhiídhówa áléddo éénjééne
              ḿbúró ési   dhi-Ø-hí-dhówa   áléddo   á-ínjí=éne
              4.place 4.DEM.I 4-PRS-PFV.DJ-go   2.guests 2-many=INT
              'to these places went many guests'

Note that the first consultant prefers constructions in which the verb receives a locative subject agreement, as illustrated in (42) with the class 16 prefix *va-*, in (43) with the class 17 prefix *o-*, and in (44) with the class 18 prefix *mu-*.

(42) kápééla éji vahííméla áyanā
      kápééla   éji   va-Ø-hí-ímela   áyanā
      9a.church 9.DEM.I   16-PRS-PFV.DJ-stand 2.woman
      lit. 'in this church (there) are standing the women'

(43) ḿbúró ési oódhówa áléddo éénji
      ḿbúró ési   o-Ø-hí-dhówa   áléddo   á-ínji
      4.place 4.DEM.I 17-PRS-PFV.DJ-go 2.guest   2-many
      lit. 'to these place (there) went many guests'

(44)   nyúmba éji muukálá akálâba
       nyúmba   éji   mu-Ø-hi-kálá   akálâba
       9a.house 9.DEM.I   18-PRS-PFV.DJ-live 2.older
       lit. 'in this house (in there) live old people'

In such cases, the subject position is no longer assumed by the preverbal noun phrase, henceforth analysed as a frame-setting adjunct occupying a peripheral position and assuming a topic interpretation. With respect to the locative subject markers, they cannot be considered as expletive since they have a clear locative interpretation. The choice between the three locative classes seems to be determined in function of the locative semantic implied by the preverbal noun phrase, toward which the subject marker entertains an anaphoric locative reference.

    Furthermore, while Agostinho refuses the construction in (45), with the unergative verb *olába* 'work', Sérgio acknowledges it.

(45)   (?) múndda óbu onolába áyîma
            múndda   óbu   o-Ø-ni-olába   áyîma
            3.field 3.DEM.I   3-PRS-IPFV.DJ-15.work 2.children
            lit. 'in this field are working children'

Finally, whereas intransitives seem to tolerate semantic LI (with some variation), transitive verbs are generally more subject to a consensus among my two consultants, who both disallow semantic LI constructions, as illustrated in (46) and (47).

(46)   * lózha éji enógúla múyaná málrûwa
         lózha   éji   e-Ø-ni-ógúla   múyaná   málrûwa
         9a.shop   9.DEM.I   9-PRS-IPFV.DJ-15.buy   1.woman   6.flower
         lit. 'in this shop is buying a woman flowers'

(47)   * nyúmba éji enólóga áttú ottámbi
         nyúmba   éji   e-Ø-ni-ólóga   áttú   ottámbi
         9a.house 9.DEM.I   9-PRS-IPFV.DJ-15.tell 2.people   14.lie
         lit. 'in this house tell people lies'

However, and against all expectation, the transitive construction given in (48) and rejected by Agostinho, has been approved by Sérgio. This is the only example so far which attests LI in a higher thematic structure, where the verb conveys both an <agent> and a <theme> role.

(48) (?) síkóóla éji enósúńza áyíma dhílógélo dhíínji

       síkóóla   éji   e-Ø-ni-ósúńza   áyíma
       9.school   9.DEM.I   9-PRS-IPFV.DJ-15.learn 2.children

       dhílógélo   dhí-ínji
       10.languages 10-many

       lit. 'at this school are studying children several languages'

All these data about semantic LI reveal two important points. First, they demonstrate the co-existence of both formal and semantic LI in Cuwabo. This is of particular interest from a typological point of view, since it is generally assumed that a given language can only have one of the two constructions (Buell 2007). In Cuwabo, both formal and semantic LI are attested with a sample of intransitives. However, and this constitutes the second important point, a high degree of variation exits, regarding both speakers and thematic constraints. More particularly, the different judgments put forward by my consultants reveal some lexical variation inside the existing categories of predicate types. These questions of variation may indicate a change in progress, whereby semantic LI would represent a recent innovation, in a process of gradual diffusion, with variation implications. In view of the limited nature of the data presented here, further research is needed, which would cover a greater number of verb types, to be surveyed over a greater number of speakers, in order to determine which intransitives and which transitives are best accepted in semantic LI constructions, and thus provide a more refined categorisation of the different verb types.

5   Conclusion

Cuwabo (formal) LI constructions are similar in several respects to most Bantu languages: the fronted locative noun phrase has a discourse topic interpretation, and functions as grammatical subject, triggering locative subject agreement on the verb. In this respect, Cuwabo is part the Bantu languages which retained the use of the three locative prefixes, in nominal morphology (with further addition of the locative clitic *=ni*) as well as in verbal morphology. In this subject-verb agreement, locative subject markers on the verb always encode semantic locative information, even if the fronted locative subject is not overtly present.

    The logical subject is expressed immediately after the verb, with which it has a close relation, as shown by prosodic and syntactic evidence. It is interpreted as a presentational focus.

In terms of argument structure, it looks like LI in Cuwabo is possible with any predicate, except for active transitives and ditransitives. In other words, LI disallows verbs which have both an <agent> and a <theme> role.

Table 2, adapted from comparative works by Demuth and Mmusi (1997: 14) and Marten (2006: 116), gives a typological overview of the constituent and thematic structures displayed in Cuwabo LI (in bold), in comparison to well-documented Bantu languages on this issue.

Table 2: Variation in LI constructions, comparing Cuwabo to other Bantu languages

language	Constituent Structure			Thematic structure	
	locative morph.	SM morph.	gramm. function of SM	highest thematic role	verb type
Chewa	16/17/18	16/17/18	locative	theme	unaccusative
Chaga	-	17/18	locative	theme	unaccusative
Shona	16/17/18	16/17/18	locative	– agent	all except agent actives
		17	expletive		
Tswana	16/17/18	17	expletive	*(agent + theme)	all except active transitives
Sotho	-	17	expletive	*(agent + theme)	all except active transitives
Cuwabo	**16/17/18**	**16/17/18**	**locative**	***(agent + theme)**	**all except active transitives**
Herero	16/17/18	16/17/18	locative	*(agent + theme + ben)	all except ditransitives
		16	expletive		

From Table 2, the data of Cuwabo bring a further piece of evidence of the existing variation of LI constructions among Bantu languages. In terms of morphology, Cuwabo patterns with Chewa, Shona and Herero, but differs from these three languages regarding thematic restrictions. Instead, it rather patterns with Tswana and Sotho. In this respect, Cuwabo can be considered more liberal than Chewa, Chaga, and Shona, but more restricted than Herero, where LI is also possible with transitive predicates.

A final point noteworthy in relation to the typology of LI in Bantu, concerns the co-existence of a semantic LI in Cuwabo in addition to the formal LI. This construction in which the fronted argument is realised as a plain noun phrase, without any locative morphology, also triggers agreement in noun class on the verb. Although formal LI and semantic LI are not assumed to co-exist in a language, Cuwabo seems to constitute an exception in this respect, and preliminary conclusions indicate that semantic LI constructions might have less restricted thematic constraints than formal LI constructions, but still, with significant variation at play. Further research on this matter is undoubtedly needed for a more detailed analysis.

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TAM-Full Object-Verb Order in the Mbam languages of Cameroon*

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Nen and Nyokon are unique among the Bantu languages in allowing full nominal objects between the tense/aspect marker and the verb. Despite the fact that the two languages are neighbours and related they make different use of this positional option. In Nen the position is the default one for objects and the post-verbal position renders an object discrete and suitable for quantified objects and for contrast. In Nyokon the position before the verb is functionally equivalent to the one after the verb. The difference is related to the fact that Nyokon allows the preverbal object only in certain tenses whereas in Nen it is not restricted. But contrasted objects in Nyokon too appear after the verb. There is a construction in which both positions are filled with a constituent. This construction is modelled on a secondary predication construction.

1   Introduction

Bantu languages are predominantly SVO with the possibility of different positions of S and O for pragmatic reasons. The two Bantu languages that I concentrate on, Nyokon and Nen, are different in this respect. Both allow for a full NP object between the subject plus tense/aspect marking and the verb. The pragmatic properties of object placement in Nen have been discussed in Mous (1996) but I repeat and expand on it here using the excellent documentation of the language by Dugast and in particular her text collection (Dugast 1975), referred to as DC in this article, and a more recent study (Kendall 2007) containing two of Dugast's texts, fully glossed. The data on Nyokon come from a period of two weeks of intensive cooperation in Yaounde with Viviane Kigno, a student of linguistics and mother tongue speaker of the language. The data on Nyokon are far more restricted, mainly elicitation and contain only three texts.

An analysis of the tense/aspect system (and the essence of tonology) can be found in Mous & Kigno (in prep.); the phonology is covered in Lovestrand (2011); I also use an earlier source for Nyokon, Barreteau (n.d.). Nen and Nyokon are neighbours and related languages (both Mbam, 511 and 514 in the ALCAM classification). They are clearly different languages; Ethnologue (Lewis et.al. 2014) is wrong in presenting them as dialects of one language. Nyokon is heavily influenced by their other neighbours: the more distantly related Bamileke. The other languages of the Mbam subgroup of Bantu languages do not show TAM-full.object-Verb order but have some other interesting phenomena in the preverbal domain which I briefly touch upon in section 6. The Mbam languages are spoken in the Sanaga province of Cameroon. Their phonologies, in particular vowel harmony, are analysed in Boyd (in prep.).

Both languages allow full objects to either precede or follow the verb; an object preceding the verb follows subject pronoun and tense/aspect marking and I call this position the Immediately Before Verb position IBV, in order to differentiate it from the position preceding the subject and TAM marking. The position after the verb is called Immediately After Verb or IAV position. Although the two languages are neighbours, and both unique within Bantu in allowing the full object between TAM marking and the Verb, their pragmatic use of this word order option is different. Nen uses the IBV position for new information. Nyokon has IAV as the default object position for new information and IBV as an equivalent option for those tenses that allow it. The difference in default positions for objects is related to tense-limited versus unlimited options for object in IBV in Nyokon and Nen respectively. This difference in default position is also the source of the differences of functions for constructions in which both IBV and IAV are filled. Ultimately these differences between Nen and Nyokon must relate to a difference in the historical origin of the word order options.

2   The default object position: IBV for Nen, IAV for Nyokon

The expectation for Bantu languages is that the focussed object occurs in the position immediately after the verb (IAV). This has been argued for Aghem by Watters (1979), Hyman & Polinsky (2009); but also for core Bantu languages in eastern and southern Africa, Makhua (van der Wal 2009); Zulu (Cheng & Downing 2009). In Nen IBV is the position for the object when it is mentioned first in a story; it is used for the introduction of a participant as in (1).[1] If the

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[1]   I continue to use the phonological representation for Nen as presented in Dugast's work (1971) even though it has become evident now that the recessive and dominant version of

introduction is a specific NP, marked by a possessive such as 'their child', this NP is still preverbal.

(1) à   n-ímbìndí   ɔ̀n   (Nen)
     CL1   PAST-antilope kill
     Beginning of story: [A man went hunting,] 'He killed an antilope.'
     (DC109)

But in fact the IBV position is the default position for any object in stories. Because after the introduction, when the object is discourse given, it is still preverbal.

The IBV position is also the position of the object in an answer to a question asking for the object. However, a question word asking for the object does not occur in the IBV position; instead question words are placed in pre subject position, see section 5.

(2) a. yǎtɛ̀   ó-ndò   nɛ́n   ê   (Nen)
         what   2SG-PRES   eat   Q
         'What are you eating?'
     b. mɛ́-ndò   pɔ̀nìàk   nɛ́n
         1SG-PRES   yam   eat
         'I eat yam'

The IBV position is used when the object is predictable from the context, the expected entity.

/o/ are actually different vowels, both phonetically and phonologically, and that the /e/ in the Nen examples in this article has now completely merged with /ɛ/. Both Nen and Nyokon are terraced level tone languages with High, Low, Downdrift and Downstep (ꜜ). I use the following abbreviations ALL for allative, APPL for applicative, CL for noun class (I use 3SG in Nyokon but CL1 in Nen subject pronouns because in Nyokon there is no class agreement in third person subject in my data); otherwise classes are marked by their standard Bantu number and without the addition CL, COMPL for complementiser, CONTR for contrast, DEM for demonstrative, EMPH for emphatic, COP for copula, D for depictive constituent, DO for direct object, FUT for future, H for high tone, HAB for habitual, IAV for immediately after verb, IBV for immediately before verb, INF for infinative, INJ for interjection, IO for recipient object, \K for the verb stem shape including the marker -a' (Nyokon), LOC for locative, Mod for modifier, N for noun, NARR for narrative, NEG for negative, Num for numeral, O for object, OBL for oblique (preposition), \PA for the past tense tonal shape of the verb, \PR for the present tense tonal shape of the verb, PF for perfect, pres for progressive present tense (Nen), POSS for the possessive, PREP for preposition, PRO for pronoun, PROX for proximal, R for reference point in past for tense, REC for recent, REL for relative, S for subject, T/A for tense/aspect, V for verb, Q for final question marker.

(3) é⁺yáné́   wéy   á-ndò   híkòkó   ⁺súb   ⁺é   (Nen)
     who   he   1-PRES   drum   beat   Q
     'Who is it who beats the drum?' (DC 129)

The object in Nen is in the IBV position in negative clauses, (4) and (18b) below.[2]

(4) ó   sá   mìàŋó   sìn   (Nen)
     2SG   NEG.PAST   O1SG   see
     'You did not see me.' (Dugast 1971: 179)

Thus, for Nen the object is almost always in the IBV position and when it is not, this is for very specific semantic effects which I discuss in section 3. A major difference with Nen is that Nyokon puts the object after the verb in an answer to a what?-question. The object appears in the IAV position, (5b), and the same construction is used in a corrective answer too, (5d), as becomes evident in the following staged conversational sequence.

(5) a. à   ɣâ   ìcɔ́ɔ́   á   kà'á   têp   (Nyokon)
         2SG   put   what   OBL   top   table
         'What did you put on the table?'
     b. m̀   ɣâ   mìr   nìpíí   á   kà'á   têp
         1SG   put   wine   palm   OBL   top   table
         'I've put palm wine on the table.'
     c. à   ɣâ   mání   á   kà'á   têp   ɨ
         2SG   put   water OBL   top   table Q
         'Did you put water on the table?'
     d. mbɛ́ɛ̀,   m̀ɨ   ɣâ   mìr   nìpíí   á   kà'á   têp
         no   1SG   put   wine   palm   OBL   top   table
         'No, I put PALM WINE on the table.'

In fact, both the IAV and the IBV positions are used in Nyokon for the answer of a what?-question, (6a and b) below are equivalent answers to (44).

(6) a. yɛ́   tô   àyóò   ɣóó   (Nyokon)
         1:2SG.POSS   father kill   snake
         'Your father killed a snake.'

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[2] Occasionally, we encounter an object in IAV in a negative clause; for example when the object is in parallel contrastive focus to an object in the next clause: 'I should not kill a *weak* man; I should kill a *strong* man.' (DC 307) has the object in both clauses IAV.

b. yέ   tə̂   ɣóó   áyǒò
   1:2SG.POSS   father   snake   kill
   'Your father killed a snake.'

But in Nyokon certain tenses do not allow an object in IBV position. This includes all negative tenses. Where Nen predominantly has the object in IBV in negative tenses, Nyokon does not, never.

    The tenses in Nyokon that do not allow the object in IBV are presented in the Table 1. The common denominator is that all the "tenses" that do not allow an IBV object involve a segmental Tense/Aspect marker. However, the narrative tense which has a segmental tense/aspect marker *pɨ* does allow for a preverbal object, (7). Those tenses that do not have a segmental tense/aspect marker show tonal changes consistent with supposing a tonal tense/aspect marker in the same position. An IBV object in those tenses is preceded by a subject pronoun. This subject pronoun is left out if the subject is a full noun.[3]

    There is no clear semantic common denominator for tenses that allow or do not allow an object in IBV: the Past tense does but the semantically very similar Perfect does not. A historical study is needed to understand the grammaticalisation of the Nyokon tenses and how their origin can explain their syntactic qualities; the auxiliary *mbɨə*, for example, is the verb 'to be'.

Table 1: Table of Nyokon tenses which exclude an object in IBV

"tense" label	formula
perfect	**nòó**+V\PA (O)
present continuous	**nə̌**+V\PR (O)
conditional future	**nə́** + V (O)
Past Imperfective	S **mbɨə́** S V(\PR?) (O)
Past Imperfective2	S **mbɨə́ ku** V\PA (O)
Background	S **mbɨə̀** V(\PR?) (O)
Background before R in past	S **mbɨ̀ə́** V (O)
Future	**mə̀**=Spro V\PA (O)
Present Subject Focus	Compl INF-V-**à'** (O)
Recent Past Subject Focus:	Compl INF-V (O)
Perfect Subject Focus:	Compl **nóò/nə́kú** V\PA (O).
Far Past Subject Focus	Compl Verb\PA (O)
Remote Past Subject Focus	Compl Verb-K\PA (O)
Negative general present	S **sɨ́** V\H (O) other **á**

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3   Except in one tense, the Future; I don't know whether full noun subjects can be moved to other positions, nor whether a subject pronoun becomes needed in that case.

"tense" label	formula
Negative present	S **nà** V (O) **á nǎ** (**nə̀kə̀**)
Negative background	S **mbɨ́ə́** V (O) **á**
Negative Past	S **mbɨ́ə́** V\PA (O) **á**

(7) ké   kìcà'áɲòr pɨ́   və̀   lyɛ̀s   (Nyokon)
     7:3SG.POSS 7.frog   NARR O3SG notice
     'His frog notices him.'

The possibility for object placement depends on the "tense" in Nyokon. In tenses where there is no choice, IAV is automatically the object position. In tenses where there is a choice this choice often does not reflect any difference in meaning. For example, an object when it is mentioned first can be either in IAV or in IBV position. Sentence (8) is from the beginning of the Frog story introducing two of the main characters as objects in IAV position.[4] In (9) the hole was discovered first in a narration of the same Frog story, in IBV position.

(8) ò-mbɨ́ə́   ŋgə́r   ɣɨ̌ə̀p   nə̀   kìcà'ɲòr   (Nyokon)
     3SG-PAST   possess   dog   and frog
     'He had a dog and a frog.'

(9) ò   kyě   kìɣɨ̀ɣ   ndɨk   (Nyokon)
     3SG INDEF hole   see
     'He saw a hole.'

When there is a choice in object position this is not guided by definiteness; definite and indefinite objects can occur in IBV and in IAV in Nyokon. Example (10) has an indefinite object in IBV. Definite objects can occur in IBV, e.g. an object pronoun in (7) above, even objects with a restrictive relative clause occur preverbally, (11). Also an object with a general quantifier 'all' may occur preverbally as in (12). All types of objects can occur post-verbally, and they need to in certain tenses.

(10) á   pìpyê   káp   və̀   (Nyokon)
      2SG   things   buy\PR   3SG.IO
      'You buy him things.'

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4   The Frog story is a cartoon stroy commonly used for illiciting narrative text, Meyer (1969).

(11) m̀   ándwóm   àyí ìtə́ káp píí ɲà'   (Nyokon)
     1SG   REC.PAST:sheep REL father buy yday eat
     'I have eaten the sheep that my father bought yesterday.

(12) pɨ́   mbɨə́   pɨ́   índɨ́ŋ   pinɔ̀m   (Nyokon)
     3PL PAST   3PL   REC.PAST:intestines   stomach
     áɲὲm   ikìm   ndìgìn
     H:animal all   see
     'They see all the intestines of the stomach of the animal'

There are two restictions on object placement in Nyokon for when there is a choice: Contrasted objects have to occur in IAV, see section 3, and the object is in IAV position for statements of general truth, placing 'monkey' before the verb is not natural in (13).[5]

(13) və̀s àyí   ò   kɨ̂r   kɨ̀tiə̀   mòó kwə́   kɔ̀n   (Nyokon)
     O3SG REL 3SG   bite   monkey   FUT fall ill
     'He who eats monkey will be ill.'

In Nyokon the default and only object position is IAV for the tenses in Table 1; IAV is also the default object position for those tenses that allow an object to be in IBV with no apparent difference in meaning. In Nen the default object position is IBV and placing the object in IAV is resticted to certain pragmatic functions, a prominent one being contrast.

I have used the term Immediate After Verb for the post-verbal position and indeed the object is placed immediately after the verb and before any following obliques. There are also phonological arguments to distinguish the IAV position from post-verbal in general. Nen has a rule of High tone spread that operates between the verb and an object that is in IAV position (Mous 2003a: 287-288); Nyokon has a rule of High tone bridge between the verb and the constituent in IAV position, (Mous & Kigno in prep).

If an object is obvious from context it need not be expressed and this includes object of usually transitive verbs such as the applicative verb in (14).

(14) nìkə́   ndò-nɔ̀ὲn   (Nen)
     cold   PRES-struggle:APPL
     'The cold has taken [them]' (DC 303)

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[5]   The depictive 'ill' in the second clause cannot be placed before the verb, see section 4.

3   Contrast and the IAV position in Nen and Nyokon

In both Nen and Nyokon contrasted objects are placed in IAV position but there is a difference. In Nyokon the IAV position does not render the object contrastive; it can have a non-contrastive reading, but in Nen only contrasted objects (and those with a similar function) can occur in IAV. This difference correlates with the fact that in Nyokon in certain tenses objects have to be in IAV and cannot be in IBV. Contrasted objects must be in IAV position and are excluded in IBV in both languages. In the following example the semantic difference between the clause with the object in IBV (15a) and in IAV (15b) was explained as one of contrastive focus on the object in IAV position.

(15) a. mí   ìŋgî ɣə̀'   tà'm   (Nyokon)
          1SG   claw leopard   fear
          'I fear the claws of the leopard.'
      b. mí   tà'm   ìŋgî   ɣə̀'
          1SG   fear   claw   leopard
          'It is the claws of the leopard that I fear, not so much other types of claws.'

Objects that are preceded by particles with functions that are similar such as *ha* 'only' always occur in IAV position in Nen, (17).

(16) à-ná   índì   á   mònɛ́   (Nen)
      CL1-PAST   give   CONTR   money
      'She/He gave MONEY.'

(17) mɛ̀-ná   nyá   há   mwə̀níf   (Nen)
      1SG-PAST   drink   only   water
      'I drank only water.'

In a corrective answer in Nen the negated element ('cassava') will be in IBV while the corrective (contrasted) object ('yam') is in IAV, (18).

(18) a. ó-ndò   èsàsom   nɛ́n ê   (Nen)
          2SG-PRES   cassava   eat   Q
          'Are you eating cassava?'
      b. bô,   mɛ́-lɛ́-ndò   èsàsom   nɛ́n   mɛ́-ndò   nɛ́n   pɔ̀nìàk
          no   1SG-NEG-PRES cassava eat   1SG-PRES eat   yam
          'No, I don't eat cassave, I eat YAM!'

Nyokon is similar to Nen in that objects with excluding particles can only occur in IAV position, (19); placing the object in IBV would render the utterances ungrammatical while without the contrastive particle *nɔ́* these objects can occur in IBV in these sentences. The unexpectedness of 'even' in (20) invokes a contrast class (Berckmans 1993) and since 'even' seems to pattern with 'only' I prefer the term contrast to exclusivity. Also the IAV position can be used for contrast: Example (21a) is a neutral question checking the presupposition that you eat cassava; in reaction, answer (21b) corrects that presupposition and places the object after the verb for contrast.

(19) a. m̀   mɔ́   nɔ́   máɲí   (Nyokon)
          1SG   drink   only   water
          'I have drunk only water.'
      b. ò   ndɨk   nɔ́   pìcà'ɲòr
          3SG   see\ʁ   only   frogs
          'He sees only frogs.'

(20) a. m̀   mǎŋgɔ̀rà   ɲɛ́   ɣɔ̀'   àwár   (Nyokon)
          1SG   mangoes   eat   even   ten
          'I eat even ten mangos.'
      b. not: m̀ ɣɔ̀' mǎŋgɔ̀rà ɲɛ́.

(21) a. á   kàángè   ɲâ'-ì   (Nyokon)
          2SG   cassava   eat-Q
          'Do you eat cassava?'
      b. mbɛ́ɛ̀   m̄   ɲâ'   píɲáá
          no   1SG   eat   yam
          'No, I eat YAM.'

3.1 Quantified objects

In both Nen and Nyokon the IAV position is often filled with quantifiers. Nen uses the IBV position to introduce participants (first mention) in a story (if they are introduced as objects). However, whenever these participants are quantified, the object is in IAV: "he got child one" (DC 49), "the bat got children five" (DC 79), "he married wives three" (DC 87), etc. In fact, the IAV position is the most common construction if quantifiers on objects are involved. A rare example of a quantified NP in IBV position is (22). Rat is reporting to Crab; the information is old in the story and for Rat; the fact that it is all the animals is not crucial at this point. The information is given; the information is not about quantification and therefore it appears in IBV.

(22) à   nó   mènyàmà   mì-kìm   ílìə̀   (Nen)
      CL1   REC.PAST   10.animals 10-all   let.fall
      'He has just let all animals fall.' (DC 305)

In Nyokon it is possible to have a quantified NP as object preverbally (23a);[6] it can also be placed post-verbally for emphasis on the object (23b); placing just the number in IAV leaving the object noun in IBV expresses contrast on the number, as it does in Nen, (23c), see section 4 for this construction.

(23) a. m̀   ándwôm   àmɔ̀   ndà'   ŋgê   (Nyokon)
          1SG   sheep   one   give   O2SG
          'I have given you a/one sheep.'
      b. m   ndà'   ándwôm   àmɔ̀
          1SG   give   sheep   one
          'What I have given you is a/one sheep.'
      c. m   ándwôm   ndà'   àmɔ̀
          1SG   sheep   give   one
          'I have given you one sheep.' (not two).

What the use of quantifiers and contrast have in common is that both suppose a semantic representation in discrete entities. The IAV position seems to impose that and in Nen that leads to contrast because the default object position is IBV while in Nyokon it merely opens the possiblity of a contrast reading.

3.2 Contrast in IBV for non-objects

It is not possible though to equate just a position to a certain function; because there are some rare examples of a contrastive subject in IBV position in Nen, (24). My Nyokon data are insufficient to determine whether this is possible.

(24) yə̌múnəkə́   n-ꜜáyé   ꜜfǎm   ò   mím   (Nen)
      chameleon   PAST-him   leave   LOC   house
      'The chameleon, he, he left the house (while the other went to bed).' (DC 71).

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[6] I have no examples with a number other than 'one' though, and 'one' is used for indefinite marking too.

(25) bô   àbáká   mɛ́   súlú   ámɛ́   bɔ́mɔ́k   (Nen)
     no   HAB   1SG   often 1SG.EMPH bark
     'No, *I* bark a lot.' (Kendall 2007:214 AN9)

In Nen, an oblique nominal phrase like 'this moment' can occur in IBV position as it does in (26) where it refers to the crucial moment in the story that Rat had dealt with all other animals. What is expressed is emphasis maybe even contrast, as against after all the beatings of animals, now Rat went to the last opponent.

(26) mělɔ́   ná   y'   íkúlí ákán   á   nìànàʔ   (Nen)
     rat   PAST   9:DEM.PROX time go   PREP   crab
     'Then the rat went to the crab.' (DC 305)

4   IBV+IAV and secondary predication

It is possible for the object to be split with one part before the verb and the second part after the verb. The post-verbal consituent is often a numeral. I argue that this construction involves two constituents and not one. I consider these constructions of both IBV and IAV filled to be instantiations or extensions of secondary predication constructions. There are again differences across Nen and Nyokon in the properties of the construction because the basic secondary predication construction is different: X Verb Y in Nyokon and Verb X Y in Nen, while in Nen the object noun can freely move to IBV resulting in a IBV+V+IAV construction.

In Nen the modifier that is in IAV position is interpreted as constrastive when compared to a construction with noun plus modifier in preverbal IBV position, (27).

(27) mèná   ìmítɔ́   yè   mwɔ̀nífí   índì   mè-ŋèŋ   (Nen)
     1SG:PAST 9:calabash 9:of   6:water   give   9-big
     ò   hɛ̀lɔ́bátɔ̀
     LOC   19:child
     'I gave the BIG water calabash to the child.'

These properties are also valid for Nyokon. In (28) the modifier is in IAV position and receives contrast. The same is true for (29) where the modifier is the numeral 'one'.

(28) m̀   ándwôm   ndà'   fî'   (Nyokon)
     1SG   REC.PAST:sheep   give   black
     'I have given a black sheep (i.e. not a white one).'

(29) m̀   ándwôm   ndà'   àmɔ̀   (Nyokon)
      1SG   REC.PAST:sheep   give   one
      'I have given one sheep (not two).'

There is a difference between Nen and Nyokon here: In Nyokon a N+V+Num
construction renders the numeral contrastive as in (29) above, and see also (23).
In Nen, however, the split construction with a numeral after the verb seems to be
pragmatically equivalent to one with head noun plus numeral in IAV position.
For example, in the story "The man and his children" (DC 387-396 repeated as
"Orphan" in Kendall 2007: 186-213) the same episode is repeated with the same
sentences apart from this difference in word order, (30b) which is a repetition of
(30a).[7] In Nen a constituent with a number cannot occur in IBV.

(30)   a.   à   ná-ꜜká-níbə́   híkúmúkúmú   hímòtì   (Nen)
            CL1   PAST-ALL-meet   old.person   one
            'He came upon an old woman.' (Kendall 2007:187, OR 19 = DC 387)
       b.   à   ná-ꜜká   híkúmúkúmú   níbə̀   hímòtì
            CL1   PAST-ALL   old.person   meet   one
            'He came upon an old woman.' (Kendall 2007:202, OR 161 = DC
            391)

I link the functions of contrast and the use of a number as modifier to the fact
that both imply the semantic operation of viewing the range of referents that the
object evokes as organised in discrete units. Number expression requires such a
view and contrast singles one out.

    In certain sentences it is not possible to separate the object noun phrase in a
pre-verbal and a post-verbal part. This is never possible for a genitive phrase
within a noun phrase. Thus 'of the chief' in (31) cannot be moved to the IAV
position in Nen. In Nyokon, the genitive phrase 'of the leopard' in (15) above
cannot be put in IAV position with the head, 'claws', in IBV position; the only
possible interpretation of such a clause is that 'the leopard' appears after an
intonation break and as an addressee, no longer as the possessor of the claws.

    The equivalent of Nen example (27) was not accepted in Nyokon because
the object of giving would be conceived not as a calabash that is simply big in
size but as specific (big) type of calabash and such a division in types of
calabashes to size does not exist in the Nyokon lexicon. It does for 'yam' for
which there are big and small types and hence example (21b) above is
acceptable. Likewise, there are white and black types of sheep, (28). Thus, the

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[7]   It is possible that the split construction in (30b) is chosen because the sentence continues
       with an infinitival constituent while this information is in a separate clause in (30a).

constituent in the IAV position cannot be parsed as a dependent modifier of the constituent in IAV. It must be parsed as a separate constituent but this constituent must be interpreted as having the same referent as the constituent in IBV position not modifying it in a gradual manner but singling out a discrete specimen.

(31) a. mèná   ɔ̀ndɔ́mbá   wú   mùnə̀nì   sìə̀kìn   (Nen)
       1SG:PAST   sheep   of   chief   see
       'I saw the sheep of the chief.'
   b. * mɛna ɔndɔmba siə̀kin wu munəni

Thus, the "split" construction is not "split" but consists of a construction with two constituents, one in IBV and one in IAV, that share one referent. This is in fact a secondary predicate or depictive construction (Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann 2004). Typical depictive secondary predicate constructions involving the object for Nyokon indeed make use of such a construction of object in IBV and depiction in IAV, (32).

(32) a. tə̀ŋ   ɣòó   ngà'   Kìɲɔ̀   (Nyokon)
       1PL   child   call   K
       'We call the child Kigno.'
   b. pɨ́   yíp   tôsk   púm
       3PL   house   paint   white
       'They paint the house white.'
   c. píyíɔ̀ŋ   yé   ɣís   yímk   pìlɛ́npìlɛ́n
       8.thoughts   9:3SG.POSS   9.eyes   make\K\PR   tear
       'Sadness makes his eyes wet.'

In Nen, however, a typical secondary predicate involving an object is constructed by placing two NPs after the verb as in (33).

(33) a-na-somba   mukoli   ikut   (Nen)
     CL1-PAST-cut   rope   piece
      'She/He cut the rope in pieces.'

The constituent in IAV does not only refer to objects in IBV. As is common with secondary predicate constructions, the depictive can have wider scope. In (34) the IAV numeral agrees with and refers to the subject. [8]

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[8]   In the second example, from Nyokon, the numeral may not be exactly in IAV.

(34) a. ǎ mwɔ́sɛ́ ꜜná-tómbá màlánùʔ (Nen)
      ? 6:days   PAST-pass   6:five
      'Five days passed.' (DC:403)

    b. nyàás nə̀ pàá àyí pɨ́ pîn pə̂ pá-fòò (Nyokon)
       twin COP 2.child REL 3PL born 3PL 2-two
       'Twins are children that are born two.'

An adjective in the IAV position can be interpreted as having scope over the entire clause rather than being equated to the IBV phrase, as in (35) where the adjective 'big' can signify 'a lot' modifying the whole VP in interpretation (ii) rather than 'big', singling out a big branch in interpretation (i).

(35) mɛ̀-ndò mòkàsà sìnà mò-ŋèn (Nen)
    1SG-PRES   3:branch   see   3-big
    i) 'I see a BIG branch'; ii) 'I see the branch too much.'

I have suggested that the IAV position is needed for the interpretation of the object as being represented as discrete and hence countable and susceptible for constrast reading. This is reinforced by the secondary predicate construction. In Nyokon the secondary predicate construction has the depictive in IAV and that consituent shares the referent of the object in IBV. Therefore a numeral in IAV will be interpreted as modifying the noun object in IBV, and as contrastive. An adjective in IAV in the secondary predicate construction will be interpreted as identifying a discrete subtype of the object in the IBV; hence the big type of yam in (21b) or the black type of sheep in (28). Schultze-Berndt (2002) observes that restrictive particles such as 'just' and 'only' are often combined with depictives to exclude other possible events from the one expressed by the depictive sub-event.

    There is additional evidence that the construction with both IBV and IAV filled acts as a secondary predicate construction. In both Nen and Nyokon it is possible to have one part of a coordinated noun phrase in IBV and the second part, the PP with the coordinating preposition, in IAV position. This construction expresses that the two constituents are together. If the addition is constructed as a depictive both entities of the coordination need to refer to the same referent and hence they have to constitute one event and the two coordinants have to be together. The equivalent sentence with a coordinated NP

in IBV is neutral and does not insist on the fact that the two entities are together.[9]

(36) mèná ɛ̀ndɔ́mbá sìɘ̀kínɘ́ ná mìɔ̀kɔ̀ ò nyònì (Nen)
1SG:PAST sheep see and chickens LOC market
'I saw sheep together with chicken on the market.'

(37) a. mɨ́ ípún ndɨ̀k nɘ̀ ìndwómá (Nyokon)
1SG PA:goats see and sheep:F
'I saw the goats and the sheep.'
  b. mɨ́ ípún nɘ̀ ìndwóm ndɨ̀k
1SG PA:goats and sheep see
'I saw the goats and the sheep.'

The element in IAV position is a separate consituent for both Nen and Nyokon. For both, Nyokon and Nen, the IAV position involves discrete entitities, selecting one, equating to the IBV constituent if present. In Nen, the N+Num in IAV is equivalent to the N V Num construction and a construction with two constituents in IAV position is interpreted as a secondary predicate construction, including the V N Num construction. Since the default position for the object in Nen is IBV such N of the V N Num construction can move without a semantic effect to IBV position if it is an object.

There is one instance of the construction with both IBV and IAV filled which is possibly only motivated by reasons of information processing: Relative clauses to the object head noun are sometimes placed after the verb to avoid a preverbal object that is too heavy, (38).

(38) mɛ́-ndò mòná òwá a-nà (Nen)
1SG-PRES child REL CL1-PAST
mòníá má wàmìá mùŋínɘ̀ ôb màny
6.money 6:of 1:1SG.POSS brother steal know
'I know the child that stole the money of my brother.'

Sentence (39) show that the relative clause to the object head noun can either precede the verb (39b) or follow the verb (39a) in IAV position with the head

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9   In Nyokon this construction requires a clause final marker *á* which is no longer needed if the coordinated noun phrase is formed as PP, *pɨ ìndwôm*, with the preposition *pɨ* 'with' instead of the coordinater *nɘ̀*.

noun still in IBV. Interestingly, in that construction the relative pronoun can no longer be left out.[10]

(39) a.
mɨ̀	ándwóm	ɲà'	àyí	ìtɘ̂	káp	píí	(Nyokon)
1SG	sheep	eat	REL	father	buy	yday	

'I have eaten the sheep that my father had bought yesterday.'

b.
mɨ̀	ándwóm	(àyí)	ìtɘ̂	káp	píí	ɲà'
1SG	sheep	(REL)	father	buy	yday	eat

'I have eaten the sheep that my father had bought yesterday.'

5   The clause initial position

The clause initial position is used for topics. There is a clear intonation break after this topic position which is in Nen often realised by a glottal stop. In Nen, all kinds of noun phrases can occur in the topic position position: objects, locative phrases (complement or not), and adjuncts. Such topics are actually quite rare in texts. What we find in texts occasionally as topics are time adverbials such as 'at that time' (40), 'once upon a time' (41) in the topic position. Objects can occur in topic position too, (42).

(40)
ò	y'	íkùlìʔ	ǎ	hìsɘ́lì	(Nen)
LOC	9:PROX.DEM	time	CONTR	antelope	
ná-bá	hὲ-lóm-àtó	yí	mímὲʔ		
PAST-be	19-send-part	of	house		

'At that time, it was antelope who was his servant.' (Kendall 2007:219 AN55)

(41)
ùɔ́sέ	bó-mɔ̀tὲʔ	mènyàmà	ná-kòtàkáná	(Nen)
14.day	14-one	animals	PAST-get.together	

'One day the animals got together' (Kendall 2007:214 AN1)

(42)
ɔ̀ndɔ̀mbɔ̀	mònàŋàɲà	mèná	síɔ́kín	(Nen)
sheep	white	1SG:PAST	see	

'A white sheep, I saw.'

Question words are preferred to be put in pre-subject position in both languages. Hamlaoui and Makasso (2011:50-51) report for neighbouring Basaa too that the question words tend to be fronted.

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[10]   Which is an extra indication that the IAV string is a separate constituent

(43) a. yătὲ ó-ndò   nέn ê   (Nen)
        what 2SG-PRES eat   Q
        'What are you eating?'
     b. ícɔ́ɔ́ ò   ɣɨ́ɨ́p ɨ   (Nyokon)
        what 3SG steal Q
        'What did he steal?'

The question word asking for the object can occur postverbally, (44a), but mostly occurs sentence initially, (44b). Question word in the preverbal object position is either an echo question or sounds childish, (44c).

(44) a. yέ   tɔ̂   nóò ɣóó   ícɔ́ɔ́   (Nyokon)
        1:2SG.POSS father PF   kill:PAST what
        'What did your father kill?'
     b. ìcɔ́ɔ́ yέ   tɔ̂   nóò ɣóó
        what 1:2SG.POSS father PF   kill:PAST
        'What did your father kill?'
     c. *? yέ   tɔ̂   nóò ìcɔ́ɔ́ ɣóó
           1:2SG.POSS father PF   what   kill:PAST
        'Your father killed what?'

In the pre subject position we find apart from question words, also complementisers like *mbà* 'then, thus', *ákà* 'if', *ɛ́kɛ̀* 'when', *há* 'then' also when an interjection procedes (45,46). I have not investigated how many and which pre-subject positions need to be distinguished.

(45) êy êy   éyàŋè mìàŋó bétɔ̀tò   kòndònàk   (Nen)
     INJ INJ who   1SG   buti.fruit   remove
     'Hey, hey Who will take the buti fruit off me?' (Kendall 2007:191 OR56)

(46) wê   hɔ́ní   hí   hὲnɔ́kɔ́nɔ́kɔ́   (Nen)
     INJ   where   19:PROX.DEM   19.young.man
     nɔ́-húl   ꜜé
     PAST-come.from   Q
     'Hey! Where did this young man come from?' (Kendall 2007:194 OR83)

(47) bó búsíə̰ʔ ábá mɛ́   ndò-fìn   (Nen)
      of first if   1SG   PRES-enter
      ò   nèmànènà
      LOC   leadership
      'But first, if I go into leadership, ...' (Kendall 2007:215 AN16)

6 The preverbal domain in Nen and some thoughts on history

In Nen, and many other Mbam languages, the subject agreement and
tense/aspect markers are separate words and not prefixes to the verb. The only
true prefix to the verb is the "passive" or middle prefix *bé-*.[11] Nen has full ATR
vowel harmony and that provides clues for word boundaries. From the optional
or compulsory nature of harmony we can deduct that the slots in Table 1 are
indeed separate words (except for the middle prefix). The optional harmony
shows that there is a strong tendency to cliticization of non-lexical morphemes
to the right, Boyd (in prep). The subject and tense/aspect marker are always
adjacent; if the subject is a full noun there is no agreeing subject marker. The
structure of the preverbal domain in Nen is summarised in the following table.

Table 2: The preverbal domain of Nen

Topic	PreS	S	T/A	adv	IO+DO S	Directional	Mid V dle
topics inter-jec-tions	question words complementisers: then, when, if,	nominal subject pronominal subject	*ndò* PRES, *ná* PAST etc.	*quickly often* etc., time adverbials	nominal IO, DO, S (emphatic) independent pronoun IO, DO, S	allative, ventive clitics	*bé-*

The IBV position in Nen can have two constituents. Both an Indirect Object and
a Direct object can be in IBV in that order in Nen, (49). In Nyokon, it is
impossible for an Indirect Object to be in IBV position. In Nen we can have
verbal adverbs such as *hútú* 'quickly', *súlú* 'often' in IBV position; also in
addition to an object, (48).[12]

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[11] See Mous (2008) for a discussion of the middle prefix.
[12] I do not know whether that is possible for Nyokon; I have no such examples.

(48) ò   hútú   búɔ́   bùnènì   bɔ́ŋ   (Nen)
     2SG quickly 14:2SG.POSS 14.richness see
     'You'll become rich quickly.' (DC 311)

(49) à-ná   bèbú mìàŋó índì   (Nen)
     1-PAST   them   me   give
     'She/He gave them to me' NOT: 'She/He gave me to them.'

Grammaticalisation of verbs and adverbs into a verbal tense/aspect/mood prefix in the verb word is a common process in Bantu languages. Only in Nyokon and Nen does this lead to the possibility of having a full noun object between the (new) TAM marker and the verb stem. In the rest of Bantu the frame of the verb slots is rigid enough to keep the object out of the verb despite the fact that the emergence of disyllabic TAM markers is not unheard of, for example, Ma'á/Mbugu has the TAM prefix *manga* which stills functions as an independent adverb 'quickly', *é-mangá-kúru* 1-SPEED-cultivate 'he hurries to cultivate' (Mous 2003b:151). Most Mbam languages show evidence of isolating elements in the prestem domain but only for Nen and Nyokon this opened the possibility for full objects in the position before the verb stem. Further historical study of Mbam Bantu must reveal whether this isolating nature of the pre-stem elements is an innovation or a property inherited from pre-Bantu and leaving the development of a rigid verb word with slots as a non-Mbam Bantu innovation.

7   Summary and conclusions

The properties of objects and word order are summarised in the following tables. Table 3 displays how different pragmatic functions are realised with respect to objects. I have left out the clause initial positions as they are given in Table 2 above. Table 4 provides the interpretive options for the various word order possibilities, again Nen and Nyokon compared.

Table 3: Expression in Nyokon and Nen for Objects

dimension	Nyokon	Nen
first mention O	IBV	IBV
answer to what?	IAV	IBV
contrastive O	IAV	IAV (+ marker)
	*IBV	*IBV
quantified O	O V Num	O V Num ~

	V O Num	V O Num
		* O Num V
negation	IAV	IBV
	*IBV	(IAV) rare
position 'what?'	preS, IAV, *IBV	preS
locative object	V LOC	V LOC
depictive qual	O V D	V O D

Table 4: Interpretation in Nyokon and Nen of word order options for objects

dimension	Nyokon	Nen
O in IBV	only possible certain tenses	always possible
	only DO	IO +DO
	not in negative clause	default: indef, def, first mention,
	not contrast	answer to what?
	unspecific	
S in IBV	?	contrast
O in IAV (IBV empty)	i. default: answer to what?	contrast
	ii. contrast	
	general statement	
N Num V	neutral	-- (does not occur)
N V Num	i. neutral	neutral
	ii. contrast on Num	N V Num ~ V N Num
V N Num	emphasis on N	neutral
N V + N	both together	both together
N + N V	neutral	neutral
N V Mod	modifier cannot be genitive	modifier cannot be genitive
	modifier expresses discrete option & contrast on Mod	i. contrast on Mod
		ii Mod has scope over clause
N Mod V	neutral	neutral
N V X	N=X (depictive/sec pred)	
V N X		N=X (depictive/sec pred)
S - V Num	Num refers to S	Num refers to S
S_i T/A s_i V X		contrast on S

In Nen IBV is the default position of object but in Nyokon this is IAV. This positional difference is reflected in where objects occur in negative clauses. In Nen the IAV position is reserved for contrast; in Nyokon a contrast interpretation is possible but a neutral or selective focus interpretation is equally posisble. This difference is linked to the fact that in Nen the restrictions on where objects can be placed depend only on the properties of the objects while in Nyokon this depends first of all on the "tense" that is used. The IAV position allows for an interpretation in which the constituent in this position is viewed as a discrete unit that is quantified or contrasted, particularly when it is the depictive part of a secondary predicate construction with the other constituent with the shared referent is an object preceding the verb.

Any element in IAV is a constituent that is not part of the IBV constituent. But the constituent in IAV has the consituent in IBV in its semantic scope. In Nyokon any construction with IBV and IAV filled is in fact a secondary predicate type of construction in which both constituents share a referent. In Nen the secondary predication construction is formed by two consituents in the IAV position but the first one being the object can be moved into IBV position without a semantic effect as that is the default object position.

Clause initial (topic) position is used for topics. Question words are in a pre-subject position. Movement of subject to IBV invokes comparison with other comparable possibilities and hence contrast.[13]

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[13]   This can be compared to movement of modifier to pre-nominal position, see Mous (1997).

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Pre-verbal focus in Kisikongo (H16a, Bantu)

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1   Introduction

The present paper aims at describing different pre-verbal focus strategies in Kisikongo (H16a), spoken in the vicinity of Mbanza Kongo, northern Angola. This western Bantu language is part of the Kikongo Language Cluster (KLC), stretching from southern Gabon to northern Angola, including Cabinda and parts of Congo-Brazzaville and Congo-Kinshasa. Kikongo exhibits a clause-internal pre-verbal argument focus position, which has rarely been reported in Bantu languages, except in Mbuun (B87) (Bostoen and Mundeke 2012) and Nsong (B85d) (Koni Muluwa and Bostoen, this volume), both spoken in the neighboring Kwilu region of the DRC. The more extensively studied eastern and southern Bantu languages generally have a post-verbal argument focus position (cf. Watters 1979, Morimoto 2000, Creissels 2004, Güldemann 2007, Buell 2009, van der Wal 2009, among others). In addition to this mono-clausal argument focus strategy, Kisikongo also relies on different bi-clausal constructions to focus arguments, i.e. cleft-constructions.

The Kisikongo data presented in this paper originate from different sources: two Kisikongo grammars (Bentley 1887, Ndonga Mfuwa 1995), elicitation with a native Kisikongo speaker living in Belgium (Manuel André, born in 1974 in Buku Zau, near Mbanza Kongo, Angola), a digital corpus consisting of three religious texts by the Jehova's Witnesses (JW's Onkanda, JW's Tusansu, JW's Fimpanga), an oral corpus of civil war testimonies collected in Mbanza Kongo by Inge Brinkman (Ghent University) in 2003 and also transcribed by her, and an oral corpus on culinary recipes collected by Birgit Ricquier (RMCA) with native Kisikongo speakers in Antwerp.

In Section 2, I describe the clause-internal pre-verbal focus position of non-subject arguments in Kisikongo, both functionally and syntactically. I concentrate on non-subject arguments because they trigger SOV order, while

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subjects do not. In Section 3, different types of cleft-constructions are presented with special attention to their structural characteristics, mainly variations in word order by lack of sufficient tone data. Preliminary conclusions are presented in Section 4.

2   Mono-clausal pre-verbal focus

2.1 IBV as focus position

Kisikongo exhibits a pre-verbal focus position, which can be considered the 'immediately before the verb' (IBV) position, as opposed to the 'immediately after the verb' (IAV) focus position found in eastern and southern Bantu languages. I use the term IBV to distinguish from the clause-initial position used for topics, where subjects commonly occur. This SOV word order, which is linked with object focus, is illustrated in (1).

(1)   KISIKONGO[2]   (Ndonga Mfuwa 1995: 93-96)
       Ósè nànì kánètè?
       o-ø-se[3]   [nani]^{FOC} ka-nat-idi
       AUG$_1$-NP$_5$-father   who   SC$_1$-carry-PRF
       'WHOM did father carry?'
       Ósè mwànà kánètè
       o-ø-se   [mu-ana]^{FOC} ka-nat-idi
       AUG$_1$-NP$_5$-father   NP$_1$-child   SC$_1$-carry-PRF
       'Father carried A CHILD.'

Adverbs and auxiliaries can come inbetween the focused constituent and the main verb. In (2), the focused object is followed by the adverb *kaka*, 'only'.

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[2]   The following abbreviations are used: APPL = applicative, AUG$_x$ = augment of class x, CONN$_x$ = connective, COP = copula, DEM$_x$ = demonstrative pronoun of class x, EXPL = expletive, FV = final vowel, FOC = focus, IPFV = imperfective, LOC = locative, NP$_x$ = nominal prefix of class x, NTR = neuter, OC$_x$ = object concord of class x, PART= particle, PASS = passive, PP$_x$ = pronominal prefix of class x, POSS$_x$ = possessive of class x, PRF = perfect, PRN$_x$ = pronoun of class x, PST = past, REL$_x$ = relative pronoun of class x, SC$_x$ = subject concord of class x, INTR = intransitive.

[3]   The noun *se*, 'father', has a zero noun prefix, which is otherwise typical of class 5, but it does trigger agreement in class 1, as evidenced by the augment and the subject concord on the verb. Such semantically motivated animate concord is common in Bantu (cf. Maho 1999: 122-126). The Kikongo nouns *nkongo*, 'hunter', and *nzambi*, 'God', which formally belong to class 9, behave in the same way (cf. examples *infra*).

(2)   KISIKONGO   (JW's Onkanda 2013: 61)
       Kansi, nkanikinu mosi kaka kabavana.
       kansi [N-kanikinu mosi]^{FOC} kaka ka-ba-van-a
       but   NP$_9$-threat one   only SC$_1$-OC$_2$-give-FV
       'However, there was one restriction.'
       Literally: 'But, only ONE THREAT did he give them.'

In (3), the pre-posed object *onkangwandi*, 'his people' precedes both the auxiliary verb and the infinitive (cf. also section 2.2.1).

(3)   KISIKONGO   (Fieldwork JDK Brussels 2014)
       Oyándi onkangwandi kelénd'o sádísa.
       o-yandi   o-N-kangu   andi   ke^4-lend-a
       AUG$_1$-PRN$_1$ AUG$_3$-NP$_3$-people POSS$_1$ SC$_1$-can-FV
       o-sadis-a
       AUG$_{15}$-help-FV
       'He can help his people.'

SOV in Kisikongo can be considered to be a mono-clausal focus construction, since the object is clause-internal. This is firstly indicated by the fact that the subject can precede it, and more importantly, by the fact that it does not trigger the use of a resumptive pronoun after the verb. As shown in (4), clause-external objects are referred to by such a resumptive pronoun. The objects *o mambu mama*, 'these problems' and *olualu o lumbu*, 'this area' are left-dislocated here and constitute the topics of the three sentences. Within the main clause, they are co-referenced by the pronouns **mo** (class 6) and **lo** (class 11). Examples (b) and (c) include a so-called 'fronted-infinitive construction' (FIC), which is incompatible with pre-verbal focused objects (De Kind, Dom et al. forthcoming).

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[4]   In accordance with Ndonga Mfuwa (1995: 129, 132, 206), we analyse here the subject
       markers **ke-**, **be-** and **me-** as free allomorphs of respectively **ka-** (class 1), **ba-** (class 2)
       and **ma-** (class 6). An alternative analysis, which needs more research, would be to
       consider these prefixes as a contraction of **ka-**/**ba-**/**ma-** with a vocalic TAM marker, such
       as the present marker -**i**- found in several western Kikongo varieties (cf. Dom 2013).

(4)   KISIKONGO   (Fieldnotes IB 2003)

    a.   **O mambu mama twasisilua mo.**

       o-ma-ambu   mama

       AUG_6-NP_6-matter DEM_6

       $[tu\text{-}a\text{-}sis\text{-}il\text{-}u\text{-}a]^{FOC}$ mo

       SC_{1pl}-PST-leave-APPL-PASS-FV PRN_6

       'These problems that they left us'

       Literally: 'These problems, they LEFT them to us'

    b.   **O mambu mama tanga tutanganga mo.**

       o-ma-ambu   mama $[tang\text{-}a]^{FOC}$ tu-tang-a

       AUG_6-NP_6-matter DEM_6 read-FV SC_{1pl}-read-FV

       mo

       PRN_6

       'These problems, we WILL handle them.'

    c.   **Olualuolumbu langidila tulangidilanga lo.**

       o-lwalu   o-lu-mbu

       AUG_{11}-DEM_{11} AUG_{11}-NP_{11}-enclosure

       $[langidil\text{-}a]^{FOC}$ tu-langidil-ang-a   lo

       protect-FV SC_{1pl}-protect-IPFV-FV PRN_{11}

       'We are protecting our area'

       Literally: 'This enclosure, we are PROTECTING it.'

2.1.1 Object focus

Although it has been shown for several languages that an alternation in focus strategies exists between so-called 'information focus' (or assertive focus), in which the focused constituent conveys new information, and 'contrastive' or 'identificational focus', in which alternatives to the focused constituent are excluded (cf. Kiss 1998), this distinction does not seem to be made formally in Kisikongo. In this regard, the IBV position can be considered a general focus position in Kisikongo, since both 'information' and 'contrastive focus' are expressed IBV. For object focus, this results in an (S)OV order. Information focus on the object is illustrated in (5), in which the subject is only referred to anaphorically because it constitutes given information, resulting in an OV order. Example (1) illustrates information focus on the object in which the lexical subject is repeated, resulting in an SOV order.

(5)   KISIKONGO   (JW's Onkanda 2013: 210)
        Nki bavavanga atantu a Mose? Moyo andi bavavanga.

[nki]^{FOC}	ba-vav-ang-a	a-tantu	a	mose
what	SC$_2$-seek-IPFV-FV	NP$_2$-enemy	CONN	Moses

[mu-oyo	andi]^{FOC}	ba-vav-ang-a
NP$_3$-soul	POSS$_1$	SC$_2$-seek-IPFV-FV

'WHAT were Moses' enemies seeking? They were seeking (to take) HIS LIFE.'

Contrastive focus on the object can also be conveyed through SOV order, as in (6).

(6)   KISIKONGO   (JW's Onkanda 2013: 129)
        Muna vova vo menga ma Abele mekunkazila, o Nzambi moyo andi kayika. **Kaini moyo Abele kavonda,**

muna	vov-a	vo	ma-enga	ma	abele
DEM$_{18}$	speak-FV	that	NP$_6$-blood	CONN$_6$	Abel

me-ku-n-kaz-il-a		o-N-zambi	[mu-oyo
SC$_6$-EXPL-OC$_1$-yell-APPL-FV		AUG$_1$-NP$_9$-God	NP$_3$-soul

andi]^{FOC}	ka-yik-a	kaini	[mu-oyo	abele]^{FOC}
POSS$_1$	SC$_1$- referring.to-FV	Cain	NP$_3$-soul	Abel

ka-vond-a
SC$_1$-kill-FV

'When God spoke of Abel's blood [that was crying out to him], he was speaking of Abel's life. Cain had taken Abel's life'
Literally: 'In saying that the blood of Abel was crying at him, God was referring to his SOUL. Cain had killed Abel's SOUL.'

Bentley (1887: 708, 716, 718) already observed this pre-verbal focus position in the late 19th century. He associates the examples given in (7), (8) and (9) with the notion of 'emphasis'.

(7)   19TH CENTURY KISIKONGO   (Bentley 1887: 708)
        E nzo abiza katungidi.

[e-N-zo	abiza]^{FOC}	ka-tung-idi
AUG$_9$-NP$_9$-house	nice	SC$_1$-build-PRF

'He built A NICE HOUSE.'

(8)   19TH CENTURY KISIKONGO   (Bentley 1887: 716)
       Nzo zau betanganga.
       [N-zo   z-au]FOC   be-tang-ang-a
       NP10-house PP10-POSS2 SC2-read-IPFV-PRF
       'They are building THEIR HOUSES.'

(9)   19TH CENTURY KISIKONGO   (Bentley 1887: 716)
       Yinzu bevanganga.
       [yi-nzu]FOC   be-vang-ang-a
       NP8-pot   SC2-make-IPFV-PRF
       'They are making POTS.'

He furthers observes that "[t]he object when in its normal position (*i.e.* following the verb) is always preceded by the article [augment] in affirmative, but never in negative clauses. When the object of a verb in an *affirmative* clause is brought to the head of the sentence, it is not preceded by the article [augment]" (Bentley 1887: 718, italics in original). This suggests that the OV order and the use of the augment involve some kind of pragmatic conditioning. The pre-posed object in (10), the example which follows Bentley's observation, indeed misses the augment. However, such is not the case in (7).

(10)   19TH CENTURY KISIKONGO   (Bentley 1887: 718)
       Nlele ame ntekanga.
       [N-lele   ame]FOC   N-tek-ang-a
       NP3-cloth   POSS1sg   SC1sg-sell-IPFV-FV
       'I am selling MY CLOTH.'

In the contemporary Kikongo texts I consulted, pre-verbal objects are very rarely found with the augment, thus confirming Bentley's claim. This is also in line with Ndonga Mfuwa's observation that absence of the augment may indicate focus on its constituent: "*l'absence de l'augment devant le nominal sujet ou objet indique parfois la focalisation de celui-ci*" (Ndonga Mfuwa 1995: 176). Ndonga Mfuwa (1995: 177) illustrates this with the examples in (11) and (12) below, showing that the same alternation exists with subject focus. In the first example, the subject is not focused and bears an augment. The augmentless example in (12) is an instance of subject focus, and is translated by means of a cleft-construction in French (copied in English), indicating its focus interpretation. Moreover, the verb bears a high tone subject concord, which is characteristic of relative clauses, at least in Ndonga Mfuwa's (1995) data.

(11) KISIKONGO   (Ndonga Mfuwa 1995: 177)
      Énzò yìvîîdì.
      e-N-zo   yi-vi-idi
      AUG$_9$-NP$_9$-house SC$_9$-burn-PRF
      'The house burnt down.'
      'La maison est brûlée.'

(12) KISIKONGO   (Ndonga Mfuwa 1995: 177)
      Nzò yívìidì.
      [N-zo]^{FOC} yi-vi-idi
      NP$_9$-house   SC$_9$-burn-PRF
      'It's a HOUSE that burnt down.'
      'C'est une maison qui est brûlée.'

2.1.2 Adjunct focus

Adjuncts are focused in exactly the same way as objects, i.e. in IBV position. For information focus, this is illustrated in example (13).

(13) KISIKONGO   (Ndonga Mfuwa 1995: 94-97)
      Ósè vè kávàtìdì?
      o-ø-se   [ve]^{FOC} ka-vat-idi
      AUG$_1$-NP$_5$-father   where   SC$_1$-cultivate-PRF
      'WHERE did the father cultivate?'

      Ósè và n'dìmbà kávàtìdì.
      o-ø-se   [va   N-dimba]^{FOC} ka-vat-idi
      AUG$_1$-NP$_5$-father   NP$_{16}$ NP$_3$-valley SC$_1$-cultivate-PRF
      'The father cultivated IN A VALLEY.'

The example in (14) illustrates contrastive focus on the adjunct. The exclusive reading is strengthened here by the focus marker *kwandi*. This locative possessive pronoun of class 17 (*ku-andi*) is used as a focus marker throughout the KLC.

(14)　Kɪsɪᴋᴏɴɢᴏ　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(JW's Tusansu 2013: 23)
Ozevo, o Yosefe wabakula vo mu luzolo lwa Nzambi kwandi
kayendela kuna Engipito.

ozevo	o-Yosefe	wa-bakul-a	vo	[mu
so	AUG$_1$-Joseph	SC$_1$-understand-FV	that	LOC$_{18}$

lu-zola	lwa	N-zambi]^{FOC}	kwandi
NP$_{11}$-will	CONN$_{11}$	NP$_9$-God	LOC.POSS$_{17}$

ka-end-il-a	kuna	Engipito
SC$_1$-go-APPL-FV	DEM$_{17}$	Egypt

'So Joseph can see that it is God who has sent him down to Egypt, and for a good reason.'
Literally: 'So Joseph understands that ᴛʜʀᴏᴜɢʜ ᴛʜᴇ ᴡɪʟʟ ᴏꜰ Gᴏᴅ [really] he went to Egypt.'

The pre-verbal focus position for adjuncts was also noticed by Bentley (1887: 713), for which he again evokes the term 'emphasis': "Adverbs of manner compounded with a locative preposition are placed at the head of the sentence, and require the applied form in the verb ; such is also the case when an adverbial clause, introduced by a locative, takes the emphatic position at the head of the sentence" (Bentley 1887: 713). The examples provided by Bentley (1887) are given in (15) and (16).

　　Although no 'emphatic' function is attributed to the example in (15), it does probably have a focusing function too. The adjunct *ku makaxi*, 'in anger', does not just occupy the clause-initial position, or a left-dislocated clause-external position, since the verb takes a dedicated inversion/relative SC1 **ka-** (cf. *infra*). From Bentley's literal translation, such a left-dislocation analysis could be argued for because the locative is repeated here [**in** an angry mood, he is doing it **in**]. The resumptive pronoun **kio**, however, belongs to class 7 and refers to 'it' in the English translation.

(15)　19ᴛʜ ᴄᴇɴᴛᴜʀʏ Kɪsɪᴋᴏɴɢᴏ　　　　　　　　　(Bentley 1887: 713)
Ku makasi kevangilanga kio.

ku	ma-kasi	ke-vang-il-ang-a	kio
LOC$_{17}$	NP$_6$-anger	SC$_1$-do-APPL-IPFV-FV	PRN$_7$

'He is doing it ɪɴ ᴀɴ ᴀɴɢʀʏ ᴍᴏᴏᴅ.'
[Literal translation by Bentley]: 'In an angry mood he is doing it in.'

Similarly, **mo** in example (16) probably refers to class 6 (since gender 5/6 also includes a series of objects), rather than class 18. Otherwise, the object would not be expressed, which would not be in line with the English translation provided by Bentley.

(16) 19ᵀᴴ CENTURY KISIKONGO   (Bentley 1887: 713)
      Muna nzo andi twawudila mo.

[muna	N-zo	andi]ꟳᴼᶜ	tu-a-wul-il-a
DEM₁₈	NP₉-house	POSS₁	SC₁ₚₗ-PST-break-APPL-FV

      mo
      PRN₆
      'IN HIS HOUSE we broke them.'

Other examples of pre-verbal adjuncts given by Bentley are shown in (17) and (18). It is interesting to note that the temporal adverb *ezono*, 'yesterday', does not trigger an applicative on the verb, while (formal) locative adverbs as in (15), (16) and (18) do.

(17) 19ᵀᴴ CENTURY KISIKONGO   (Bentley 1887: 713)
      Ezono twaluaka.

[e-zono]ꟳᴼᶜ	tu-a-lwak-a
NP₅-yesterday	SC₁ₚₗ-PST-arrive-FV

      'We arrived YESTERDAY.'

(18) 19ᵀᴴ CENTURY KISIKONGO   (Bentley 1887: 713)
      Muna nzo eto bakotele.

[muna	N-zo	eto]ꟳᴼᶜ	ba-kot-il-idi
DEM₁₈	NP₉-house	POSS₁ₚₗ	SC₂-enter-APPL-FV

      'They entered INTO OUR HOUSE.'

2.1.3 Focus on VP

The focusing of the entire verbal phrase may also involve an SOV or SXV order, as illustrated in (19) to (22). On the one hand, it is not surprising that VP focus is expressed by an SOV/SXV order, given the analogy with object and adjunct focus. It is interesting, though, that focus on the verbal phrase or verbal predicate is considered "the universally unmarked type of focus structure" (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 206), which might be an indication of canonical word order (cf. Mithun 1987: 281, Dryer 2007: 76). The examples listed below are instances of 'marked' or 'explicit' VP focus, i.e. the VP is explicitly inquired in the context. In these cases, SOV is strongly preferred. In cases of 'unmarked' VP focus, i.e. the 'topic-comment' structure, however, also SVO is allowed, which is common for Bantu languages (cf. example (29) *infra*). On-going statistical research on the distribution of the SOV/SXV order in Kisikongo aims

at clarifying to what extent this order is becoming more frequent compared to the canonical Bantu SVO order.

(19) KISIKONGO   (Fieldwork BR Antwerp 2014)
      Yándi zólele zayá [si euh] vó kúna Mbanzá Kóngo madyóko tulambánga
      yandi Ø-zol-idi   zay-a   vo   [kuna   N-banza
      PRN$_1$ SC$_1$-want-PRF   know-FV   if   DEM$_{17}$ NP$_9$-city
      kongo   ma-dyoko   tu-lamb-ang-a]^{FOC}
      Kongo   NP$_6$-cassave   SC$_{1pl}$-cook-IPFV-FV
      'She wants to know if we PREPARE CASSAVA IN MBANZA KONGO.'

(20) KISIKONGO   (JW's Tusansu 2013: 67)
      Ku vita bekwendanga.
      [ku   Ø-vita   be-kwend-ang-a]^{FOC}
      NP$_{17}$ NP$_9$-war   SC$_2$-go-IPFV-FV
      [Do you know who these men are and what they are doing?] 'They ARE GOING OUT TO BATTLE.'

(21) KISIKONGO   (JW's Tusansu 2013: 67)
      Diambu diambi kikilu bavangidi.
      [di-ambu   dia   N-bi   kikilu   ba-vang-idi]^{FOC}
      NP$_5$-matter CONN$_5$ NP$_9$-evil truly   SC$_2$-do-PRF
      [Do you know why?] 'They DID SOMETHING VERY BAD.'

(22) KISIKONGO   (JW's Tusansu 2013: 98)
      Nga ozeye ekuma Yesu kavangilanga masivi mama mawonso? Wantu kazolanga.
      Nga   o-zay-idi   ekuma   yesu
      PART   SC$_{2sg}$-know-PRF   why   Jesus
      ka-vang-il-ang-a   ma-sivi   mama   ma-onso
      SC$_1$-do-APPL-IPFV-FV   NP$_6$-miracle   DEM$_6$ NP$_6$-all
      [wa-ntu   ka-zol-ang-a]^{FOC}
      NP$_2$-man   SC$_1$-love-IPFV-FV
      'Do you know why Jesus does all these miracles? [Because] he LOVES PEOPLE.'

2.2 Syntactic properties of SOV

In the following section, I shortly describe some syntactic properties of this SOV order, and treat its behaviour in multiple verb constructions, double object constructions, 'heavy' object constructions and subordinate clauses.

2.2.1 Multiple verb constructions

When a pre-verbal object is the complement of an infinite verb, it does not immediately precede the infinitive, but is expressed before the conjugated or auxiliary verb. This has been illustrated in (3) and also in (23) and (24).

(23) KISIKONGO   (Fieldwork JDK Brussels 2014)
      Oyándi mankhóndo kezoláng' o dya.
      o   yandi ma-Nkondo[5]   ke-zol-ang-a
      $AUG_1 PRN_1$ NP_6-banana SC_1-love-IPFV-FV
      o-dy-a
      AUG_{15}-eat-FV
      'He likes eating bananas.'

(24) KISIKONGO   (JW's Tusansu 2013: 24)
      "Nu alangi, nsi eto nwizidi langa."
      nu   a-langi   N-si   eto   nu-iz-idi   lang-a
      COP NP_2-spy NP_9-land $POSS_{1pl}$ SC_{2pl}-come-PRF spy-FV
      'You are spies, you have come to spy our land.'

In this respect, pre-verbal constituents in Kisikongo behave differently from pre-verbal constituents in Nen (Bantu, A44). Nen is one of the few other Bantu languages known to have pre-verbal objects (cf. Mous, this volume). In this language, the pre-posed consituent is put, however, between the auxiliary and the infinitive (Mous 2005), as illustrated in (25).

(25) NEN   (Mous 2005: 420)
      ò-só   ò-mìɔ̀k   wɛ́mbìn   hàtà
      2SG-can   LOC-stones   INF:throw   far
      'You can throw far (with) stones.'

2.2.2 Double object constructions

In double object constructions having two objects with two different semantic roles, i.e. most commonly patient and recipient, two options exist. First, the

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[5] All examples are transcribed according to what is heard in the recordings. Aspiration of the voiceless consonant when preceded by a non-syllabic nasal (cf. Kerremans 1980) is not realized systematically by my language consultant, which is why some variation regarding this sound change can be found in the examples presented in this paper.

recipient can be expressed pre-verbally, as in (26), while the patient is expressed post-verbally.

(26) KISIKONGO   (Fieldwork JDK Brussels 2014)
      (Oyándí), mwana kavéne malávu.
      o-yandi   mu-ana   ka-van-idi   ma-lavu
      AUG$_1$-PRN$_1$ NP$_1$-child   SC$_1$-give-PRF   NP$_6$-alcohol
      'He gave the child alcohol.'

Second, the patient can be expressed pre-verbally, while the recipient is then expressed post-verbally, introduced by a locative connective of class 17. This is illustrated in (27).

(27) KISIKONGO   (Fieldwork JDK Brussels 2014)
      (Oyándí), malávu kavéne kwa mwána.
      o-yandi   ma-lavu   ka-van-idi   kwa
      AUG$_1$-PRN$_1$ NP$_6$-alcohol   SC$_1$-give-PRF   CONN$_{17}$
      mu-ana
      NP$_1$-child
      'He gave the child alcohol.'

It is ungrammatical, however, to express both objects pre-verbally, as attempted in (28). This is in contrast to the SVO order, in which it is perfectly grammatical to have both recipient and patient post-verbally. In this case, the recipient precedes the patient, as in (29).

(28) *(oyandi) mwana malavu kavene
      Intd.: 'He gave the child alcohol.'

(29) KISIKONGO   (JW's Tusansu 2013: 6)
      Yave wa Nzambi ovutula Abele o moyo.
      yave   wa   N-zambi   o-vutul-a   abele
      Jehovah   CONN$_1$ NP$_9$-God   SC$_1$-return-FV   Abel
      o-mu-oyo
      AUG$_3$-NP$_3$-life
      'Jehovah God will give back life to Abel.'

2.2.3 'Heavy' objects

When the object consists of several constituents having the same semantic role, also two options exist. First, the 'heavy' object can be split, leaving one part pre-verbally and the second part post-verbally, as in (30).

(30) KISIKONGO   (Fieldwork JDK Brussels 2014)
      Onkongó nkáyi zóle kavóndele ye ngo mosi.
      o-N-kongo   N-kayi   zole   ka-vond-idi   ye
      AUG$_1$-NP$_9$-hunter NP$_9$-gazelle two   SC$_1$-kill-PRF   and
      N-go   mosi
      NP$_9$-leopard   one
      'The hunter killed two gazelles and one leopard.'

It is also possible to express the entire 'heavy' object pre-verbally:

(31) KISIKONGO   (Fieldwork JDK Brussels 2014)
      Onkongó nkayi zolé ye ngo mosí kavondéle.
      o-N-kongo   N-kayi   zole   ye   N-go   mosi
      AUG$_1$-NP$_9$-hunter NP$_9$-gazelle two   and   NP$_9$-leopard   one
      ka-vond-idi
      SC$_1$-kill-PRF
      'The hunter killed two gazelles and one leopard.'

Not all types of 'heavy' objects can be expressed pre-verbally. Such is the case for objects having a goal constituent, as in (32). The object *mbeele muna zengel'e mbizi*, 'a knife to cut meat with', is obligatory split into *mbeele*, 'knife' which is expressed pre-verbally, and the goal construction, which is expressed post-verbally.

(32) KISIKONGO   (Fieldwork JDK Brussels 2014)
      Mbééle kasúmbidi muna zéngel'e mbizi.
      N-beele   ka-sumb-idi   muna   zeng-il-a
      NP$_9$-knife   SC$_1$-buy-PRF   DEM$_{18}$ cut-APPL-FV
      e-N-bizi
      AUG$_9$-NP$_9$-meat
      'He bought a knife to cut meat with.'

(33) *Mbééle muna zéngel'e mbizi kasúmbidi
      Intd.: 'He bought a knife to cut meat with.'

2.2.4 Subordinate clauses

Pre-verbal objects are not restricted to main clauses. They can appear in 'because' clauses as in (34), or in instances of indirect speech, as in (35) and (36).

(34) Kɪsɪkongo   (Fieldwork JDK Brussels 2014)
O mwáána otíínini ekumá o se dyándi muntu kavóndele.

o-mu-ana	o-tiin-idi	ekuma	o-Ø-se
AUG$_1$-NP$_1$-child	SC$_1$-flee-PRF	because	AUG$_1$-NP$_5$-father

di-andi	mu-ntu	ka-vond-idi
PP$_5$-POSS$_1$	NP$_1$-person	SC$_1$-kill-PRF

'The child fled because his father killed someone.'

(35) Kɪsɪkongo   (Fieldwork JDK Brussels 2014)
O mwána vóvele kanda katángidi.

o-mu-ana	Ø-vov-idi	Ø-kanda	ka-tang-idi
AUG$_1$-NP$_1$-child	SC$_1$-speak-PRF	NP$_3$-book	SC$_1$-read-PRF

'The child said he read the book.'

(36) Kɪsɪkongo   (Fieldwork JDK Brussels 2014)
Yangúngyivúla vo mwaána kekwándánga.

i-a-ku-ngyivul-a	vo	mu-ana
SC$_{1sg}$-PST-OC$_{2sg}$-ask-FV	if	NP$_1$-child

ke-kwand-ang-a
SC$_1$- beat-IPFV-FV

'I asked you if he beat his child.'

Similar to example (32), in a goal clause the object behaves differently and should occur post-verbally:

(37) Kɪsɪkongo   (Fieldwork JDK Brussels 2014)
Oyándi nkhósi kavóndele muna ván ó luzitu

o-yandi	N-kosi	ka-vond-idi	muna	van-a
AUG$_1$-PRN$_1$	NP$_9$-lion	SC$_1$-kill-PRF	DEM$_{18}$	give-FV

o-lu-zitu
AUG$_{11}$-NP$_{11}$-respect

'He killed a lion to gain respect.'

3   Bi-clausal pre-verbal focus

In this section, I document bi-clausal focus constructions in Kisikongo. Cleft-constructions are cross-linguistically known to express focus on the clefted constituent (Harris and Campbell 1995, Lambrecht 2001, Van der Wal and Maniacky forthcoming). The use of clefts is also a common focus strategy in Kisikongo. I adhere here to the definition of Harris & Campbell (1995: 153): "The cleft (a) consists of a superordinate clause (S_1) and a subordinate clause (S_2), (b) the former containing a copula, and (c) the latter having the structure of a relative clause."

Three main features characterize the cleft: the bi-clausal structure, the presence of the copula, and a relative-like clause. Before illustrating the different cleft-constructions in Kisikongo, it is necessary to discuss the copula and the relative-like clause.

3.1   The copula

The copula in Kisikongo takes the form of **i**, as described by Bentley (1887: 282):

> "**I,** *emphatic demonstrative verbal particle* serving in the place of the verb "to be" in all its forms, and is equivalent to : this or that *or* these or those *in particular* is, are, *or* were, &c. **Eyayi i yame,** it is mine ; **I dinkwa kala wowo,** it is very likely ; **I zau jina,** those were they ; **Yandi i mfumu,** he is king."

It can thus function both as an equative copula outside clefts and an identificational copula in cleft-constructions. Its use in non-cleft constructions is illustrated in (38).

(38)   KISIKONGO   (JW's Fimpanga 2013: 109)
    O nsíku i nlongiéto.

o-N-siku	i	N-longi	eto
AUG$_3$-NP$_3$-law	COP	NP$_1$-tutor	POSS$_{1pl}$

'The law is our tutor.'

The copula **i** seems to be quite invariable in form, although Bentley (1887: 282) suggests otherwise (cf. citation *supra,* "in all its forms"). However, some variation in the form of the copula has been attested, but these alternations

probably belong to another paradigm. As such, **tu** has been attested for the 1st plural (39), **nu** for the 2nd plural (24) and **u** for the 2nd singular (40).

(39) KISIKONGO   (JW's Tusansu 2013: 41)
      Yeto awonso tu wan'au.

      yeto   a-onso   tu   wa-ana   au
      PRN$_{1pl}$ CONN-all   COP   NP$_2$-child POSS$_2$
      'We are all their children.'

(40) KISIKONGO   (JDK fieldwork Brussels 2014)
      Ongéye ú nkundiáme.

      o-ngeye   u   N-kundi   ame
      AUG$_1$-PRN$_{2sg}$ COP   NP$_1$-friend POSS$_{1sg}$
      'You are my friend.'

Nevertheless, in cleft-constructions only the copula **i** has been attested. Examples (40) and (41) clearly receive a different reading. The latter is as a cleft-construction used to focus the subject, while the former is not.

(41) KISIKONGO   (JDK fieldwork Brussels 2014)
      Ongéye yí nkundiáme.

      o-ngeye   yi   N-kundi   ame
      AUG$_1$-PRN$_{2sg}$ COP   NP$_1$-friend POSS$_{1sg}$
      'It is you who is my friend'

It is important to note that the copula is optional in equative sentences, where the juxtaposition of subject and nominal predicate suffices to convey the equative meaning, as may be seen from (42) and (43).

(42) KISIKONGO   (Ndonga Mfuwa 1995: 110)
      óNsìmbà ndóki.

      o-Nsimba   N-loki
      AUG$_1$-Nsimba   NP$_9$-sorcerer
      'Nsimba is a sorcerer.'

(43) KISIKONGO   (JW's Tusansu 2013: 6)
      O Kaini muntu ambi

      o-Kaini   mu-ntu   a   N-bi
      AUG$_1$-Cain   NP$_1$-person CONN   NP$_9$-evil
      'Cain is a bad person.'

3.2 The relative clause

The second constituent of a cleft-construction is the relative-like clause. I concentrate here on indirect relatives, such as object relatives, as they are part of cleft-constructions focusing non-subject arguments. Kisikongo exhibits variation along different parameters with regard to relative clauses: the agreement on the verb, the presence of the relativizer and the position of the subject.

The first variable, already noted by Bentley (1887), is that the relative verb can agree with both the logical subject and the logical object. In case of the former, a dedicated SC for class 1 **ka**- (or **ke**-, cf. footnote 3), is used, which contrasts with the SC in non-relative clauses. For the other classes and speech participants, there is no formal difference between relative and non-relative SC, as is also illustrated in (45). Interestingly, this same SC alternation holds for mono-clausal SOV focus order as opposed to the canonical SVO order.

(44)   19$^{\text{TH}}$ CENTURY KISIKONGO   (Bentley 1887: 707)
   E nzo ketungidi yandi jividi.
   e-N-zo   ke-tung-idi   yandi
   AUG$_{10}$-NP$_{10}$-house   SC$_1$-build-PRF   PRN$_1$
   zi-vi-idi
   SC$_{10}$-burn-PRF
   'The houses which he built are burnt.'

(45)   19$^{\text{TH}}$ CENTURY KISIKONGO   (Bentley 1887: 707)
   E nzo jitungidi yandi jividi.
   e-N-zo   zi-tung-idi   yandi
   AUG$_{10}$-NP$_{10}$-house   SC$_{10}$-build-PRF   PRN$_1$
   zi-vi-idi
   SC$_{10}$-burn-PRF
    'The houses which he built are burnt.'

Although in present-day Kisikongo concordance with the logical subject seems to be more frequent, the same alternation has been attested in the contemporary Kisikongo texts I considered, as may be seen from (46) vs. (47).

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(46) KISIKONGO   (JW's Tusansu 2013: 10)
    E vangwa yantete kavang'o Nzambi […]

e-Ø-vangwa	ya-ntete	ka-vang-a
AUG_8-NP_8-creation	$CONN_8$-first	SC_1-make-FV

o-N-zambi
AUG_1-NP_9-God
'The first things God made […]'

(47) KISIKONGO   (Fieldnotes IB 2003)
    Esalu kiasadidi satana, kabakidi ndandu ko.

e-ø-salu	ki-a-sal-idi	satana	ka-bak-idi
AUG_7-NP_7-work	SC_7-PST-do-PRF	Satan	SC_1-procure-PRF

N-landu   ko
NP_{10}-result   NEG
'The work that Satan does, does not bring blessings.'
Literally: 'The work that Satan does, he does not bring [good] results'

A second variable is the presence of the relativizer, which in Kisikongo takes the form of a demonstrative pronoun. The previous examples all lack a relativizer, but it is perfectly grammatical to have one, as is illustrated in (48), (49) and (50):

(48) KISIKONGO   (JDK fieldwork Brussels 2014)
    Nkombó ndioyó ó ngo kabakídi, wónga wayíngi kákedi.

N-kombo	ndioyo	o-N-go	ka-bak-idi
NP_9-goat	REL_1	AUG_1-NP_9-leopard	SC_1-catch-PRF

u-onga	wa-ingi	ka-kal-idi
NP_{14}-fear	$CONN_{14}$-much	SC_1-to.be-PRF

'The goat that the leopard caught, is very frightened.'

(49) KISIKONGO   (JW's Tusansu 2013: 41)
    O Mose ovangidi una kavova o Nzambi.

o-mose	o-vang-idi	una	ka-vov-a
AUG_1-Moses	SC_1-do-PRF	REL_{14}	SC_1-speak-FV

o-N-zambi
AUG_1-NP_9-God
'Moses does what God says.'

(50) KISIKONGO   (JDK fieldwork Brussels 2014)
      Engándu yoyo nkhongo kavondéle, yámbi yákedi.
      e-N-gandu   yoyo N-kongo   ka-vond-idi
      AUG_9-NP_9-crocodile REL_9 NP_9-hunter SC_1-kill-PRF
      ya-N-bi   i-a-kal-idi
      $CONN_9$-NP_9-evil SC_9-PST-to.be-PRF
      'The crocodile that the hunter killed, was very dangerous.'

Also in 19th century Kisikongo, this same alternation has been attested, although this is not explicitly mentioned by Bentley (1887):

(51) 19TH CENTURY KISIKONGO   (Bentley 1887: 706)
      Unsamunwini o mambu mana kavovele Mfiau.
      u-N-samunwin-idi   o-ma-ambu   mana ka-vov-idi
      SC_1-OC_{1sg}-report-PRF AUG_6-NP_6-matter REL_6 SC_1-speak-PRF
      mfiau
      Mfiau
      'He told me the things which Mfiau had said.'

(52) 19TH CENTURY KISIKONGO   (Bentley 1887: 707)
      Mankondo mambwaki tusumbidi ezono.
      ma-nkondo   ma-mbwaki   tu-sumb-idi   e-zono
      NP_6-plantain NP_6-red SC_{1pl}-buy-PRF NP_5-yesterday
      'The red plantain which we bought yesterday.'

A third variable is the position of the subject. Four possibilities can be distinguished. First, the subject can follow the object and precede the verb, resulting in a surface OSV order. This is illustrated in (53), and also in the previous examples (48) and (50).

(53) KISIKONGO   (JDK fieldwork Brussels 2014)
      O nkúng'o wána báwiidí otoméne zéékana.
      o-N-kunga   o-wa-ana   ba-a-w-idi
      AUG_3-NP_3-song AUG_2-NP_2-child SC_2-PST-hear-PRF
      o-tom-idi   zay-ikan-a
      SC_3-to.be.well-PRF   know-NTR-FV
      'The song that the children heard is well known'

Second, the subject can also appear post-verbally, resulting in a surface OVS order. This is illustrated in the previous examples (44), (45), (47), (46), (49) and (51), and in (54) and (55) below. The latter is interesting in that it combines a

non-subject (locative) relative with a pre-verbal focus position: the entire relative clause *kuna nsi kuna kawutuka Zwaki*, 'from the country where Zwaki was born' precedes the main verb *katuka*, 'he came from'. This example also includes a subject relative, *ona watunga e nzo eyi*, 'who built this house'. Subject relatives are not considered in this paper, but it is interesting to note that the SC is **u-** and not **ka**-, which is thus only used for indirect relatives. The demonstrative **ona**, used as relativizer, is different from the earlier mentioned **ndioyo**, although belonging to the same class 1. **Ona** is a distal demonstrative, referring to someone distant from the speaker, while **ndioyo** belongs to the paradigm which Bentley (1887: 587) calls 'emphatic demonstratives'. **Yoyo** and **vava** in examples (50) above and (56) and (57) below belong to the same paradigm.

(54)   19$^{\text{TH}}$ CENTURY KISIKONGO   (Bentley 1887: 708)
       E fulu kivaikanga o maza kisolokele.

e-ø-fulu	ki-vaik-ang-a	o-ma-aza
AUG$_7$-NP$_7$-place	SC$_7$-flow-IPFV-FV	AUG$_6$-NP$_6$-water

ki-sol-uk-idi
SC$_7$-find-INTR-PRF
'The place where *or* from which the water comes out is found.'

(55)   19$^{\text{TH}}$ CENTURY KISIKONGO   (Bentley 1887: 708)
       O muntu ona watunga e nzo eyi, kuna nxi kuna kawutuka Zwaki katuka.

o-mu-ntu	ona	u-a-tung-a	e-N-zo
AUG$_1$-NP$_1$-person	REL$_1$	SC$_1$-PST-build-FV	AUG$_9$-NP$_9$-house
eyi	kuna	N-si	[kuna	ka-wut-uk-a
DEM$_9$DEM$_{17}$		NP$_9$-country	REL$_{17}$	SC$_1$-bear-INTR-FV

zwaki]$^{\text{FOC}}$ ka-tuk-a
Zwaki   SC$_1$-come.from-FV
'The man, who built this house, came FROM THE COUNTRY WHERE ZWAKI WAS BORN.'

A third possible position of the subject in non-subject relative phrases is clause-initially. This is illustrated in examples (56) and (57). Both examples consist of temporal relative clauses, in which the locative demonstrative of class 16 *vava* functions as relativizer.

(56)   KISIKONGO   (Fieldnotes IB 2003)
       Noé vava katunga e nzaza […]
       noé   vava   ka-tung-a   e-N-zaza
       Noah REL$_{16}$ SC$_1$-build-FV   AUG$_9$-NP$_9$-ship
       'Noah, when building the arc […]'

(57)   KISIKONGO   (JW's Tusansu 2013: 31)
       O Mose vava kavutuka kuna Engipito […]
       O-Mose   vava   ka-vutuk-a   kuna Engipito
       AUG$_1$-Moses   REL$_{16}$ SC$_1$-return-FV DEM$_{17}$ Egypt
       'When Moses returned to Egypt […]'

It should be further investigated by which factors the alternation between OVS and OSV is conditioned. The SOV as indirect relative order can possibly be explained by a process of left-dislocation of the subject, in order to mark the subject as the topic of the entire sentence. This relates to the fourth option in expressing the subject in indirect relatives: if the context is clear, the subject (conveying old information) can simply be referred to anaphorically, i.e. by means of the SC on the verb. This is seen in example (52) above, and in examples (58) and (60) below. In the original text, example (60)immediately follows example (47), wherethe subject is already mentioned. This example also illustrates the optionality of the copula, which is left out here.

(58)   19TH CENTURY KISIKONGO   (Bentley 1887: 708)
       E mbele ina nsumbidi ezono ividipi.
       e-N-bele   ina   N-sumb-idi   e-zono
       AUG$_9$-NP$_9$-knife REL$_9$ SC$_{1sg}$-buy-PRF NP$_5$-yesterday
       i-vil-idi
       SC$_9$-be.lost-PRF
       'The knife which I bought yesterday is lost.'

(59)   KISIKONGO   (Ndonga Mfuwa 1995: 216)
       Énkòmbò yìnà kánètè yàtékòkàngà
       e-N-kombo   yina ka-nat-idi
       AUG$_9$-NP$_9$-goat   REL$_9$ SC$_1$-carry-PRF
       i-a-tek-uk-ang-a
       SC$_9$-PST-sell-INTR-IPFV-FV
       'The goat he carries has already been sold.'

(60)   Kɪsɪᴋᴏɴɢᴏ   (Fieldnotes IB 2003)
       Ndandu kabakidi ndandu yamasumu.

N-landu	ka-bak-idi	N-landu	ya	ma-sumu
NP$_{10}$-result	SC$_1$-procure-PRF	NP$_{10}$-result	CONN$_9$	NP$_6$-sin

       'The blessings it has is only sin.'
       Literally: 'The results he brings [are] results of sin.'

3.3 Cleft-constructions

Given the variation displayed both by the copula (presence vs. absence) and by
the relative clause (optionality of relativizer and flexible position of the subject),
cleft-constructions in Kisikongo also vary considerably regarding their formal
realization.

In example (61), a common cleft-construction is given in which the copula
precedes the focused element, thus resembling the well-known IT-cleft in
English and related languages (cf. Lambrecht 2001).

(61)   Kɪsɪᴋᴏɴɢᴏ   (JW's Tusansu 2013: 57)
       Kieleka, i yandi kasolele o Yave

ki-eleka	i	[yandi]^{FOC}	ka-sol-idi	o-Yave
NP$_7$-truth	COP	PRN$_1$	SC$_1$-choose-PRF	AUG$_1$-Jehovah

       ['When Samuel sees Jesse's oldest son Elirab, he says to himself :']
       'Truly, it is ʜɪᴍ (whom) Jehovah chose.'

The copula can, however, also follow the focused element, as *byere*, 'beer' in
(62), *onkhongo*, 'hunter' in (63), *dimpa*, 'bread' in (64) and *ntinu*, 'king' in (65).
The copula then precedes either a generic noun, such as *malavu*, 'alcohol',
muntu, 'person', *lekwa*, 'thing' or a personal pronoun such as *yandi*, which
function as head of the relative clause of the cleft-construction. This type rather
resembles the inverted/reverse-pseudo cleft (cf. Hamlaoui & Makasso in press)
or the reverse WH-cleft or the reverse WH-cleft. Lambrecht (2001) uses this
latter term, as he himself admits, from an anglocentric point of view. Indeed, in
Kisikongo no use is made of question words in this type of clefts, but rather of
generic terms. Note that these generic terms must agree semantically with the
clefted constituent, unlike in certain other Bantu languages where a relative head
such as *muntu* broadens its range and becomes to be used with inanimate nouns
as well (cf. Van der Wal and Maniacky forthcoming).

(62) KISIKONGO   (JDK fieldwork Brussels 2014)
      E byére i málavu mwivi kánwini.

[e-Ø-byere]^{FOC}	i	ma-lavu	mu-ivi	ka-nw-ini
AUG$_9$-NP$_9$-beer	COP	NP$_6$-alcohol	NP$_3$-thief	SC$_1$-drink-PRF

      'BEER is the (type of) alcohol the thief drank.'

(63) KISIKONGO   (JDK fieldwork Brussels 2014)
      Ónkhóngo i muntú kawénde o mfúmu.

[o-N-kongo]^{FOC}	i	mu-ntu	ka-wand-idi	o-N-fumu
AUG$_1$-NP$_9$-hunter	COP	NP$_1$-person	SC$_1$-hit-PRF	AUG$_1$-NP$_9$-chief

      'THE HUNTER is the man the chief hit.'

(64) KISIKONGO   (JDK fieldwork Brussels 2014)
      O nsadisí, dímpa i lekwa kasúmbidi.

o-n-sadisi	[di-mpa]^{FOC}	i	Ø-lekwa	ka-sumb-idi
AUG$_1$-NP$_1$-healer	NP$_5$-bread	COP	NP$_7$-thing	SC$_1$-buy-PRF

      'The healer, A BREAD is the thing he bought.'

(65) KISIKONGO   (JDK fieldwork Brussels 2014)
      Ntinú i yándi e míívi bavondéle.

N-tinu	i	[yandi]^{FOC}	e-mi-ivi	ba-vond-idi
NP$_1$-king	COP	PRN$_1$	AUG$_4$-NP$_4$-thief	SC$_2$-kill-PRF

      'THE KING is the one whom the thieves have killed.'

More frequently than being expressed, the relative head is deleted, which does not seem illogical given its poor semantic value. This results in headless relatives, which are best translated in English as inverted pseudo-clefts making use of question words (i.e. a reverse WH-cleft in English), as in (66) to (68).

(66) KISIKONGO   (JW's Tusansu 2013: 104)
      O Yesu i kasola o Nzambi mu kala se ntinu.

[o-Yesu]^{FOC}	i	ka-sol-a	o-N-zambi	mu	kala
AUG$_1$-Jesus	COP	SC$_1$-choose-FV	AUG$_1$-NP$_9$-God	NP$_{18}$	to.be

se	N-tinu
PART	NP$_1$-king

      'Jesus is the One God chose to be king.'
      Literally: 'JESUS is whom God chose to be king.'

(67)   KISIKONGO   (JDK fieldwork Brussels 2014)
       O málavú í kanwíni o mwívi.
       [o-ma-lavu]^{FOC} i   ka-nw-idi   o-mu-ivi
       AUG$_6$-NP$_6$-alcohol   COP   SC$_1$-drink-PRF   AUG$_3$-NP$_3$-thief
       'ALCOHOL is what the thief drank.'

(68)   KISIKONGO   (JDK fieldwork Brussels 2014)
       Onkongó i kawénde o mfumu.
       [o-N-kongo]^{FOC} i   ka-wand-idi   o-N-fumu
       AUG$_1$-NP$_9$-hunter AUG$_1$ COP   SC$_1$-hit-PRF AUG$_1$-NP$_9$-chief
       'THE HUNTER is whom the chief hit.'

Another variable in the realization of this type of cleft-construction is the presence or absence of the copula. As was illustrated earlier, the copula can be omitted in non-cleft constructions (cf. examples (42), (43) and (60)). Comparably, it is neither required in cleft-constructions, as is shown in examples (69) and (70) below:

(69)   KISIKONGO   (Fieldwork JDK Brussels 2014)
       Wan'ayíngi kawúta Yakobo
       [wa-ana   a-ingi]^{FOC} ka-wut-a   Yakobo
       NP$_2$-child   CONN-many   SC$_1$-father-FV   Jacob
       'Jacob fathered MANY CHILDREN.'
       'MANY CHILDREN is what Jacob fathered.'

(70)   KISIKONGO   (JW's Tusansu 2013: 66)
       Owu kasoneka: […]
       [owu]^{FOC} ka-sonek-a
       DEM$_{14}$ SC$_1$-write-FV
       'He writes: […]'
       Literally: 'THIS [is what] he writes […]'

A final variable in the expression of cleft-constructions concerns the position of the subject. As with non-subject relatives, four options can be distinguished. First, the subject can appear post-verbally, as is illustrated in examples (61), (63), (66), (68) and (69). This results in an OVS order. Second, the subject can be expressed pre-verbally, between the object and the verb, i.e. OSV. Examples are given in (62) and (65). Third, the subject can occur clause-initially or left-dislocated, which also seems to be used for reasons of topicality. Examples are include (64), (71), (72), (73) and (74).

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(71) KISIKONGO   (JW's Onkanda 2013: 41)
  O Nzambi yandi Yesu kaka i kasadila vava kavanga e lekwa yawonso.

o-N-zambi   yandi [Yesu kaka]^FOC i   ka-sal-il-a
AUG$_1$-NP$_9$-God PRN$_1$ Jesus only   COP   SC$_1$-work-APPL-FV
vava   ka-vang-a   e-ø-lekwa   i-a-onso
DEM$_{16}$ SC$_1$-make-FV   AUG$_8$-NP$_8$-thing   PP$_8$-CONN-all
'Jesus is also the only one whom God used when He created all other things.'
Literally: 'God, he, JESUS ONLY is [whom] he used when he made all things.'

(72) KISIKONGO   (JW's Tusansu 2013: 10)
  O Mose muna kolo kiakina i kawutuka.

o-Mose   [muna   ø-kolo   kiakina]^FOC i
AUG$_1$-Moses   DEM$_{18}$ NP$_7$-period DEM$_7$ COP
ka-wut_uk-a
SC$_1$-bear-INTR-FV
Literally: 'Moses IN THAT PERIOD it is he was born.'

(73) KISIKONGO   (Fieldwork JDK Brussels 2014)
  Ó mfumú, nkhóngo i kawénde.

o-N-fumu   [N-kongo]^FOC   i   ka-wand-idi
AUG$_1$-NP$_9$-chief NP$_9$-hunter   COP   SC$_1$-hit-PRF
'The chief, THE HUNTER is (whom) he hit.'

(74) KISIKONGO   (Fieldwork JDK Brussels 2014)
  O nsadisí, dimpá i kásúmbidi.

O-N-sadisi   [di-mpa]^FOC i   ka-sumb-idi
AUG$_1$-NP$_1$-healer NP$_5$-bread   COP SC$_1$-buy-PRF
'The healer, A BREAD is (what) he bought.'

A final possibility is to leave the subject implicit, so that it is simply referred to anaphorically by means of the SC. This is illustrated in (70) above, and (75) and (76) below:

(75) KISIKONGO   (Fieldwork JDK Brussels 2014)
  Dimpá í kásumbidi.

[di-impa]^FOC i   ka-sumb-idi
NP$_5$-bread   COP   SC$_1$-buy-PRF
'A BREAD is (what) he bought.'

(76)   Kisikongo   (Fieldwork JDK Brussels 2014)
       Ntinu i bavóndéle.
       [N-tinu]^{FOC} i   ba-vond-idi
       NP$_1$-king   COP   SC$_2$-kill-PRF
       'The king is (whom) they killed.'

4   Conclusion and issues for further research

In this paper, I have given an overview of different mono- and bi-clausal pre-verbal focus strategies in Kisikongo. Kisikongo does not make a distinction between 'informative' and 'contrastive' focus (cf. Kiss 1998) in focus strategies, and both constructions can be used for both focus types. Mono-clausal pre-verbal focus involves preposition of the object or adjunct in IBV position, triggering an SOV or SXV word order. Bi-clausal focus strategies are cleft-constructions which vary considerably, depending on the position and optionality of the copula, the optionality of the relative head and the position of the subject.

Although both constructions seem unrelated at first sight, there are some interesting similarities to be found. First, the same SC$_1$ **ka**- is used in both focus strategies, alternating with other SCs in SVO or non-relative phrases. Second, the large variation in cleft constructions in Kisikongo actually forms a continuum on the word order level from a bi-clausal inverted pseudo-cleft to a mono-clausal SOV focus order. The optionality of the copula and the relative head, as well as the unfixed position of the subject could account for such an evolution. However, this hypothesis needs further corroboration by tonal data. The role of tone cases should be considered. It should be investigated whether the tonal pattern of pre-verbal objects in mono-clausal focus constructions correlates with the tonal pattern of focused constituents in bi-clausal cleft-constructions. A second issue related to tone concerns relative verbs. For the time being, I have not considered tonal data on relative verbs for two reasons: most corpus data lack tonal information and the elicited data were found unsufficient to draw any conclusions regarding tone. The observations made from these elicited data did also not fully correspond to the existing description of relative verbs by Ndonga Mfuwa (1995). Ndonga Mfuwa (1995) consistently notes high tone SC on relative verbs, as opposed to low tones for non-relative verbs. This distinction is, however, not that clear in my data. Interestingly, however, is that in Ndonga Mfuwa's (1995) account, the SC in SOV constructions also bears a high tone, which would corroborate the hypothesis that the mono-clausal SOV order originates from a bi-clausal cleft-construction. It remains to be investigated whether this tonal distinction can still be found in

new spontaneous discourse data, or whether the distinction is being weakened, which in turn might facilitate a pragmatic neutralization of the SOV order.

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The Immediate Before the Verb Focus Position in Nsong (Bantu B85d, DR Congo): A corpus-based exploration

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1   Introduction[1]

Nsong is a western Bantu language spoken in the neighbourhood of Kikwit (5°2'28"S 18°48'58"E, Kwilu District, Bandundu Province, DRC) and encoded as B85d in the New Updated Guthrie List (Maho 2009). To this B80 or Tiene-Yanzi group also belongs Mbuun, encoded as B87 by Guthrie (1971: 39) and spoken in the wider vicinity of Idiofa (4°57'35"S 19°35'40", Kwilu District, Bandundu Province, Democratic Republic of the Congo). Both languages are closely related. They share a high percentage of fundamental and other vocabulary as well as several rather atypical phonological innovations (Bostoen & Koni Muluwa 2014; Koni Muluwa 2014; Koni Muluwa & Bostoen 2012). Preliminary elicitation-based research on Mbuun has pointed out that the pre-verbal domain plays a crucial role in the marking of argument focus in Mbuun (Bostoen & Mundeke 2011, 2012). In this paper, we assess whether this is also the case in Nsong on the basis of a text corpus which the first author has been collecting, transcribing and annotating in 2013 and 2014 as part of an endangered language documentation project funded by the DoBeS program of the Volkswagen Foundation through a 3-year grant (2012-2015). More information on the project can be found on http://www.kwilubantu.ugent.be/. This Nsong text corpus exclusively consists of oral discourse and currently counts 48.022 tokens and 11.973 types. The team's 2013 fieldwork aimed at documenting Nsong speech events in as many different cultural settings as possible. As a result, the corpus comprises different text genres, such as political speeches, historical traditions, folk music, tales, proverbs, hunting language, ceremonial language used during circumcision and twin rites, and popular biological knowledge. In line with previous research on Mbuun, we concentrate here on mono-clausal argument focus constructions, even if preliminary research has pointed out that bi-clausal focus structures are more common in the Nsong corpus.[2]

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[2]   In an earlier version of this paper, presented at the Workshop on the Syntax/Phonology/Information Structre of Preverbal Domains in Bantu Languages

Unlike in many other Bantu languages (see Buell *et al.* 2011 for an overview), a focused argument cannot occur in the Immediate After the Verb (IAV) position in Mbuun (Bostoen & Mundeke 2011, 2012). Focalising a non-verbal constituent in Nsong also involves deviations from SVO word order within the main clause. In anticipation of frequency tests, SVO is considered to be canonical in Nsong, as is commonly the case in Bantu (Bearth 2003). The object is post-verbal in pragmatically unmarked topic-comment structures, also known as 'categorical' statements (Sasse 1987). The example in (1), taken from an animal fable, is such a 'predicate focus' construction (Lambrecht 1994). Its previously introduced subject **ngɔ** 'leopard' is a topic, while the verb phrase that follows consists of newly asserted information.[3]

(1) **N-gɔ**   **[á-twís-í**   **mɔ-cwí**   **á**   **mú-nd]**[FOC]
     NP9-leopard   SM1-take.out-PRF   NP3-head   CONN   NP1-person
     'The leopard TOOK OUT A HUMAN HEAD.'[4]

2   Pre-verbal object focus: (S) O V (ADJ)

As in Mbuun, a focused object can be fronted to the Immediate Before the Verb (IBV) position in Nsong, resulting in a SOV word order. However, this type of object fronting within a mono-clausal setting is not frequently observed in the Nsong text corpus, and even more rarely with a lexical subject preceding the focused object. When representing discourse-old information, the subject tends to be only anaphorically referred to by a verbal subject marker.

The most clear-cut attestations of narrowly focused objects occurring in IBV position are those, as in (2) and (3), where the fronted object is preceded by the focus particle **ámbi**, which gives the focal information an exclusive reading. This particle is probably the cognate of **mbé** in Mbuun, which assumes a similar function (Bostoen & Mundeke 2012: 151). In (2), the speaker emphasizes that the first author, when inquiring about sexual taboos, is only doing his job.

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[3]   The following abbreviations are used: CONN = connective, CONS = consecutive, DEM = demonstrative, =[FOC] = focus, FP = focus particle, FUT = future, HAB = habitual, IMP = imperative, NEG = negative, NP$_x$ = noun prefix of class x, OM$_x$ = object marker of class x, PP = pronominal prefix, PRF = perfect, PROG = progressive, PST = past, SM$_x$ = subject marker of class x, [TOP] = topic

[4]   Nsong is a 7V language whose second-degree vowel phonemes are realized as [ɪ] and [ʊ]. The vowels [e] and [o] only occur as allophones of the third degree vowels ɛ and ɔ in prefixes and suffixes which undergo ATR conditioned vowel harmony (Koni Muluwa & Bostoen 2008: 4-5).

(2)   [ámbi ɛ́ -sal]^{FOC} kó-kir-ɛ́
    FP   NP$_7$-work   SM$_1$-do-PRF
    'He does WORK (and nothing else).'

In (3), an interviewee stresses that people just know the names of the mushrooms that are eaten. Edible mushrooms are also the only one to be referred to by the generic name **bɔɔ**.

(3)   [ámbi bɔ-ɔ]^{FOC} kɛ-wá-yíb-í   é-jín
    FP   NP$_{14}$-mushroom SM$_{1PL}$-HAB-know-PRF NP$_5$-name
    'We know (only) THE MUSHROOMS (and nothing else) by their name.'

Contrastively focused objects not preceded by **ámbi** can also be observed in IBV, as in (4), where the speaker highlights the fronted object **mbáː** 'fire' in order to criticise modern society, where conflicts are settled in court instead of around the fire as their ancestors used to do.

(4)   **ma-lim   ma   bús   N-daá   li   e-bu-í   [N-báː]^{FOC}**
    NP$_6$-uncle CONN$_6$ us   NP$_9$-problem if SM$_9$-fall-PRF NP$_9$-fire
    ba-wá-kwésél-ɛ́   mɔ-ɛ-bwankɔ́ː
    SM$_2$-HAB-light-PRF   NP$_{18}$-NP$_7$-morning
    'Our uncles, if a problem occurred, they lit THE FIRE in the morning.'

Questioned objects, as those in (5) and (6) are also found in IBV position, although question words targeting the object, such as **nki** 'what?' and **ná** 'whom?' generally occur post-verbally.

(5)   [mɛ-ɛc   kwɛ́]^{FOC} ɔ-wá-bwíl ?
    NP$_4$-river   how.many   SM$_{2SG}$-HAB-cross
    'HOW MANY RIVERS do you (habitually) cross?' (rhetorical question)

The questioned object in (6) appears in between the topical subject, which is exceptionally overt here, and the verb. This indicates that the mono-clausal topic and IBV focus positions are clearly distinct and that the former is rather clause-initial than strictly pre-verbal.

(6)   **mɔ-án   wú   [ná   N-daa]^{FOC} ka-mú-kwé-bé-bwíl ?**
    NP$_1$-child DEM$_1$ which   NP$_9$-problem   SM$_1$-FUT-go-OM$_{1PL}$-cross.APPL
    'WHICH PROBLEM will this child cause us?'   (rhetorical question)

Not all pre-verbal objects are clear instances of narrowly focused arguments. The object **ɛ́baan** 'skin' which Fumu fronts to IBV position in (7b), for instance, does not convey new information. His interlocutor Mambo, who sends out a third person to collect wood for baking an animal skin, has just asserted this object post-verbally in (7a). The object is not exclusively focused either. Fumu rather emphasizes that the skin is already being baked, in contrast to what Mambo seems to assume, and that it is consequently not necessary to go and fetch wood.

(7) a. **Mambo:** Kembamb,   lingí   mé-ʃal   ké-fúmb
         Kembamba search.IMP NP$_4$-wood SM$_{1PL}$-bake.in.ashes
         ɛ-báán!
         NP$_7$-skin
         'Kembamba, search wood so that we bake the skin!'

   b. **Fumu:**   [ɛ́-baan]$^{FOC?}$ ké-fumb!
         NP$_7$-skin   SM$_{1PL}$-bake.in.ashes
         'We are baking THE SKIN in ashes!'

The fronted object in (7b) might be simply clause-initial here and not in IBV focus position. As we show in Sections 3 and 4, objects can also be fronted to a topic position in the beginning of the clause when another argument is narrowly focused in IBV focus position.

3   Pre-verbal subject focus: (O) S V (ADJ)

As in Mbuun, the object can also move away from its canonical post-verbal position in Nsong, when another argument, such as the subject, is narrowly focused. In that case the object moves to clause-initial position resulting in an OSV word order. This OSV construction, along with an impersonal 3PL construction, has been analysed as the functional or translational equivalent of a true morphological passive in Mbuun (Bostoen & Mundeke 2011). Just like Mbuun, Nsong does not have a reflex of the Proto-Bantu passive allomorphs ***-ʊ-** and ***-ibʊ-**. It needs further study to determine whether another suffix evolved into a dedicated passive marker.

In contrast to the (S)OV main clause word order, OSV is much better attested in our Nsong text corpus. As shown in (8) to (13), the subject represents the focal information in such constructions. The fronted object consists of given information and is thus topical. As far as our current knowledge of Nsong morphosyntax and our present research on the corpus allow to judge, the

sentence-initial object seems to be clause-internal, since it is not co-referenced by a resumptive pronoun on or behind the verb.

In (8), the clause-initial constituent **mɔkwɛr awún** 'this (forbidden) plate' is such a topical object followed by the focused subject **bakɛ́ts ba bá** 'their wives'. This constituent represents the most salient pragmatic information, since the speaker wants to stress that the current-day disappointing hunts are due to hunter's wives no longer respecting traditional food taboos.

(8) **mɔ-kwɛr awún**   **[ba-kɛ́ts ba**   **bá]$^{\text{FOC}}$**   **ba-wɔ́l**   **lá-lá:m,**
NP$_3$-plate DEM$_3$ NP$_2$-wife CONN$_2$ they   SM$_2$-take CONS-cook
ba-lá-dya
SM$_2$-CONS-eat
'THEIR WIVES take and prepare that (forbidden) plate, (and) then eat (it).'

It strikes that our Nsong text corpus contains many examples of focused subjects referring to one of the speech participants, as in (9) to (12). This could be due to the fact that it consists mostly of conversations. In such a case, the subject is not simply rendered by a verbal subject marker, as is the case when the subject is topical. It also expressed through an overt personal pronoun, which is moreover prosodically marked. When focused, it always carries a high tone, while it is usually low, as can been seen in (9), where a low vocative **nzɛ** 'you' contrasts with a high focused **nzɛ́** 'you'. The topical object **ɛlɛts** 'appointment' precedes the focused object again. The speaker stresses here that the appointment entirely depended on his interlocutor. As a wine tapper, he is the only one who knows when palm wine is available.

(9) **nzɛ**   **pa-ná**   **o-yi**   **ngɛ́m,**   **ɛ-lɛts**   **[nzɛ́]$^{\text{FOC}}$**
you   PP$_{16}$-DEM SM$_{2\text{SG}}$-be wine.tapper NP$_7$-appointment   you
a-ngú-sa
SM$_{2\text{SG}}$-PST-fix
'You here, you are the wine tapper, YOU fixed the appointment.'

In (10) the speaker guarantees that he will be the one to provide the money needed for enabling a palaver. The object **nʒǐm** 'money' is discourse-old and appears clause-initially.

(10) **N-ʒǐm**   **[mɛ́]$^{\text{FOC}}$**   **e-tús**
NP$_9$-money   me   SM$_{1\text{SG}}$-put.out
'I put out the money.'

In (11), Chief Kobongo emphasizes that his generation no longer knows about how blacksmiths used to forge bracelets, because they have never seen the bellows functioning. The object **myânz** 'bellows', which has been mentioned before, is clause-initial.

(11)　**mé-anz**　　**[busú]ᶠᴼᶜ**　**ku-bɛ-ngwí-tén**　　**lɔ́ː**
　　　　NP4-bellow　　we　　　　NEG-SM1PL-PST-find　NEG
　　　　'WE did not find the bellows.'

The speaker in (12) stresses that no lawyer is needed for the next palaver, since he guarantees to plead himself. The topical object is moved to clause-initial position, while the adjunct remains post-verbal.

(12)　**N-saŋ**　　**ayí**　　**[mɛ]ᶠᴼᶜ**　**e-múkɔ́-báːl**　　**mu-ba-mbál!**
　　　　NP9-palaver　DEM9　　I　　　SM1SG-N.FUT-argue　NP18- NP2-Mbala
　　　　'I will treat this case with the Mbala!'

Focused subjects can also be preceded by the focus particle **ámbi** in order to get an exclusive reading. The speaker in (13) emphasises here that no one else but his interlocutor is responsible for him receiving the aforementioned fine. The topical object **ewúk lí** 'this fine' is moved to clause-initial position, while the adverbial **yɔ́ːn** 'yesterday' remains post-verbal.

(13)　**e-wúk**　　**lí**　　**[ámbi　nzɛ́]ᶠᴼᶜ**　**a-m-pɛ́**　　　**yɔ́ːn**
　　　　NP5-fine　　DEM5　FP　　you　　SM2SG-OM1SG-give.PST　yesterday
　　　　'YOU (and no one else) gave me this fine yesterday.'

One could argue that subjects are focused in their canonical pre-verbal position. However, the fact that subject focus involves the movement of topical objects to clause-initial position is another indication that the canonical position of a topical subject, as in an unmarked topic-comment structure, is not pre-verbal, but rather clause-initial. The IBV focus site simply remains empty then, while both focused objects and subjects are moved to that position in the case of focus on a core argument. The association between topicality and clause-initiality is further corroborated by the fact that subjects occur behind the verb in 'out-of-the blue' declarations whose propositional content is all new, also known as a 'thetic' statements (Sasse 1987) or 'sentence focus' constructions (Lambrecht 1994), as in (14), which is the beginning of a story. It starts with the typical opening formula **ákɛ́l yí** 'he was with'. The subject **múnd mwɛ́s** 'one man', which is neither topical nor narrowly focused, occurs in the post-verbal position.

In the following clause, which is a topic-comment construction, the subject is only anaphorically referred to by a verbal subject marker. The object **nziŋ évul** 'numerous traps' is post-verbal.

(14) á-kɛ́l   yí   mú-nd   mwɛ́s, **ka-tí**   **N-zıŋ**
SM$_1$-be. PST   with   NP$_1$-person   one   SM$_1$-set.PST   NP$_{10}$-trap
é-vul
PP$_{10}$-numerous
'There was one man, he set a lot of (squirrel) traps.'

4 Pre-verbal adjunct focus: (O) (S) ADJ V

As in Mbuun, where focused adverbials (except time adverbials) remain in their canonical post-verbal position, adjuncts can be focussed post-verbally in Nsong, as shown in (28) below. However, in contrast to Mbuun, fronting of adjuncts to the IBV position does also occur in Nsong, as exemplified in this section. This operation also involves the fronting of topical objects to clause-initial position. Since the latter is not co-referenced by a resumptive pronoun in or behind the verb, it can be assumed to be clause-internal and not left-dislocated. The topical subject tends to be solely expressed through a verbal subject marker, as in (15) to (17).

(15) **mɔ-kwɛ́b**   **wa**   **nzên** [mɔ-má-in   ma   baŋ-á-baŋ]^{FOC}
NP$_3$-coffin   CONN$_3$ him   NP$_{18}$-NP$_6$-earth   CONN$_6$ empty-empty
bɛ-bá-sá   **lɔ́ː**
SM$_{1PL}$-NEG-put   NEG
'We do not put his coffin ON/IN THE NAKED EARTH.'

In (16) and (17), the focalized adverbials are locative demonstratives. Their deictic goal, to which the speaker points, represents new information.

(16) **ɛ-baan**   **é-nsɔ́**   [kú]^{FOC} **a-bá-kúl**   **lɔ́ː**
NP$_7$-skin   PP$_7$-all   there   SM$_{2SG}$-NEG-remove   NEG
'You have not removed all the skin THERE.'

(17) **bɔ́-sɛ́s**   [pá]^{FOC} **ɔ-bá-mɔ́n**
NP$_{14}$-mushroom sp.   here   SM$_{2SG}$-NEG-see
'You do not see the *Termytomyces microcarpus* HERE.'

If the subject is lexically represented, which is rare, it occurs in between the fronted object and the fronted adjunct, as the subject **bambút bá bús** 'our ancestors' does in (18).

(18) **lɔ-haŋ   la   mɔ-áŋ   ba-mbút   bá   bús   [ébun]ᶠᵒᶜ**
NP₁₁-rite CONN₁₁ NP₃-ring NP₂-elder CONN₂ us   so
ba-wá-sɛ́ː
SM₂-HAB-put.PRF
'SO did our ancestors the enthronement ceremony.'

The manner question word **ebwín** 'how' is most often found in pre-verbal position, as in (19) and (20), though not exclusively, as shown in (21). Other adverbial question words, such as **(sâm á) nki** 'why' and **kwín** 'where', are also observed both pre- and post-verbally.

(19) **nzɛ́ mɔ́-an   á   mɛ́ wu-kɔbɔ́ŋ-kɔbɔ́ŋ   [ebwín]ᶠᵒᶜ**
you NP₁-child CONN₁ me   PP₁-beautiful-beautiful   how
ɔ-lá-ʃím ?
SM₂ₛ₉-CONS-catch
'You, HOW have you (subsequently) caught this very beautiful child of mine?'

(20) **N-bicí   o-pfí   wu   kɔ-ɛ́-tíl   [ebwín]ᶠᵒᶜ**
NP₉-animal SM₁-die.PST DEM₁ NP₁₇-NP₇-hunt how
ɔ-wá-sɛ́ ?
SM₁-HAB-put.PRF
'HOW did you use to arrange the animal that died at the ceremonial hunt?'

In (21), both the subject **mɛ** 'I' and the object **mwan wá** 'that child' seem to be left-dislocated. The latter is co-referenced by a resumptive object marker on the verb.

(21) **mɔ-án   wá   mɛ   ku-mo-ʃiːm   lɔ́ː   [ebwín]ᶠᵒᶜ ?**
NP₁-child DEM₁ I   NEG-OM₁-catch NEG   how
'That child, me, WHY do I not catch it?'

In (22), **ebwín** 'how' is moved in front of an 'impersonal 3PL construction', a passive-like construction also occurring in Mbuun (Bostoen & Mundeke 2011) and known as 'ba-passive' elsewhere in Bantu (e.g. Kula & Marten 2010).

(22) lɔ-háŋ   [ebwín]^{FOC} bɔ́-wá-sa   mɔ-ɛ-nsɔŋ ?
NP$_{11}$-rite   how   SM$_2$-HAB-put   NP$_{18}$-NP$_7$-Nsong
'How is this rite carried out in Nsong tradition ?'

Focused adverbials can also be accompanied by the focus particle **ámbi** and receive an exclusive reading, as illustrated in (23), where the speaker stresses that he paid his interlocutor yesterday (and no other day), but that the latter consumed it immediately on the same day.

(23) héέɛ [ámbi yɔ́nɔ́]^{FOC} mɛ N-ɛ-pɛ́   [ámbi   yɔ́nɔ́]^{FOC}
yes   FP   yesterday me SM$_{1SG}$-OM$_{2SG}$-give.PST   FP   yesterday
a-dí
SM$_{2SG}$-eat.PST
'Yes! I paid you YESTERDAY. You ate YESTERDAY.'

5 Infinitive fronting

Our Nsong text corpus also contains several cases of verb doubling whereby an infinitive precedes the conjugated main verb. These fronted infinitives manifest several correspondences with fronted arguments, both structurally and functionally. Fronted infinitives are either focus or topic.

When focused, fronted infinitive constructions convey 'predication focus', i.e. focus centred on the predicate, but excluding objects and adjuncts (Güldemann 2003: 330-331). Such predicate-centred focus constructions are widespread in Bantu and particularly prolific in parts of Guthrie's zones B and H (De Kind *et al.* forthcoming; Güldemann 2003; Hadermann 1996). The sentence in (24) is an example of such a focused fronted infinitive. It was uttered during a conversation on marriage customs, more specifically incest taboos. The speaker emphasizes here that there are always cases in which the taboo on incest is not respected. The subject is clearly topical, while the doubled verb unmistakably conveys the most salient pragmatic information. The fronted infinitive **kokwúː** appears in IBV position in between the clause-initial topic and the finite verb. As a nominalised verb form, the focused infinitive thus behaves as narrowly focused nominal constituents do.

(24) ɛ-tak   akín   [ko-kwúː]^{FOC} ɛ-wá-kwuː
NP$_7$-taboo   DEM$_7$ NP$_{15}$-leave   SM$_7$-HAB-leave
'This taboo CAN ALWAYS BE ABOLISHED.'

Another parallel with focused nominal constituents is the fact that a focused fronted infinitive can also be accompanied by the exclusive focus particle **ámbi**, as in (25). An adult stresses here that he was just testing a child when he sent him out to carry out some task. Such a test is part of traditional education. If the child gets up and does what he is ordered to do, the adult stops and rewards him.

(25) [ámbi   kɔ-mɛ́k]^FOC N-yɛ́-ɛ́-mɛ́k-ɛ́!
      FP   NP15-test   SM1SG-PROG-OM2SG-test-PRF
      'I WAS JUST TESTING you!'

A further correspondence with fronted non-verbal constituents is that fronted infinitives can also be focused through a bi-clausal cleft-like construction, as in (26). The example is structurally comparable to the one in (25), except that the fronted infinitive is followed here by a co-referential relativizer of class 15, which is repeated behind the finite verb. This kind of circumpositional relative marking is characteristic of indirect relative constructions in Nsong. The propositional content of the verb is highlighted here as an answer to the question how the ancestors knew whether a plant was medicinal or not.

(26) [kɔ-mɛk]^FOC   ku   ba-wá-mɛ́k-ɛ́   ku
      NP15-test   REL15 SM2-PROG-test-PRF   REL15
      'It was TESTING which they tested.'

However, not all fronted infinitives are predicate-centred focus constructions. They can also be relative-like left-dislocations conveying discourse-old information, as in (27) and (28). The sentence in (27) was stated during an interview on the migration history of the Nsong people. The speaker here answers the question why they settled where they currently live.

(27) [ko-túŋ   ku   be-túŋǎ]^TOP [sâmbu   á   N-ba]^FOC   [sâmbu
      NP15-settle REL15 SM1PL-settle reason   CONN   NP10-palm-nut   reason
      a   bɛ́-sal   abí   bɛ́-nsɔ]^FOC
      CONN   NP8-work DEM8   PP8-all
      'As for the settling which we settled, (it was) FOR PALMNUTS, FOR ALL THOSE WORKS.'

The example (28) is similar in that the speaker explains here how they immigrated into the Kwilu region. The adjunct **mɔndɔŋndɔŋ** 'in waves'

representing new information is not fronted here. It is an answer to the question of how the Nsong people settled in their present-day area.

(28) [kɔ-yaː   ku   be-yí   busú kú]^{TOP} bɛ-yɛ́

      NP$_{15}$-come REL$_{15}$ SM$_{1PL}$-come.PRF us   REL$_{15}$ SM$_{1PL}$-come.PRF

      [mɔ-N-dɔŋ-N-dɔŋ]^{FOC}

      NP$_{18}$-NP$_{10}$-wave-NP$_{10}$-wave

      'As for the coming which we came, we came in waves'.

6   Conclusions

The oral corpus data presented in this article confirm that the mono-clausal argument focus constructions elicited in Mbuun also exist in its close relative Nsong. As in Mbuun (Bostoen & Mundeke 2011, 2012) and in Kikongo (De Kind *et al.* forthcoming, De Kind this volume), but unlike in many other Bantu languages (Buell *et al.* 2011), narrowly focused arguments are moved to the Immediate Before the Verb (IBV) position. This focus site can host arguments conveying either identification or information focus. This movement of arguments to IBV position involves deviations from the canonical SVO order, which is attested in unmarked topic-comment structures. Several observations indicate that this IBV focus position is clearly distinct from the clause-initial topic position.

First, object focus triggers (S)OV word order. If the lexical subject is overtly expressed, which is rare in object focus constructions, the focused object is positioned in between the topical subject and the verb.

Second, subject focus triggers OSV word order. In contrast to topical subjects in object focus constructions, topical objects in subject focus positions are often overtly expressed. If so, they cannot occur post-verbally. They need to be fronted to the clause-initial topic position. This indicates that subjects are not simply focused in their canonical pre-verbal position, which is rather a topic site, but moved to the dedicated IBV argument focus site.

This focus site remains empty in topic-comment structures, where the subject is topical and thus clause-initial and the post-verbal object is part of the focused verb phrase. Subjects that are neither narrowly focused nor topical obligatorily appear behind the verb, as evidenced by thetic utterances. This further corroborates the link between topicality and clause-initiality.

The IBV focus site does not only attract core arguments. Unlike in Mbuun, it can also host adjuncts, although focused adjuncts can also appear post-verbally. What is more, one way of expressing predicate-centred focus in Nsong is by fronting the infinitive form of the finite main verb to the IBV position. This

fronted infinitive construction is attested in several other languages of the wider region (De Kind *et al.* forthcoming; Güldemann 2003; Hadermann 1996), where preverbal focus is probably more prominent than assumed so far. Infinitives are not only fronted to IBV position in Nsong, but also to clause-intial position, in which case they are topical.

To conclude, we wish to stress that the mono-clausal OSV word order associated with subject focus is far more prominent in our Nsong text corpus than (S)OV word order associated with object focus. More generally, bi-clausal cleft constructions seem to be much frequent argument focus strategies in natural discourse than word order variations within a mono-clausal structure. A dedicated corpus-based study of different cleft constructions in Nsong is needed. To be continued…

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The preverbal position(s) in Bantu inversion constructions Theoretical and comparative considerations*

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Inversion constructions in Bantu have been discussed from a variety of perspectives over the last decades. Well-known construction types include locative inversion and subject-object reversal, while more recently semantic locative inversion and instrument inversion have been described. Theoretical studies of Bantu inversion constructions have focused on different aspects of the construction, including the licensing and grammatical function, information structure properties and the formal characteristics of pre- and postverbal NPs. With respect to the status of preverbal NPs in inversion constructions, different analyses have probed the status of the NP as subject or topic, or, more recently, as the subject of a Predication relation. The present paper summarises and compares different analyses of the preverbal domain in inversion constructions and brings out empirical and conceptual similarities and differences. In addition, different analyses are related to comparative studies of Bantu inversion constructions, so as to probe how attested variation across Bantu relates to findings of different formal accounts. The paper aims to summarise current research on the preverbal domain in inversion constructions and to indicate directions for future work.

1   Introduction

Bantu inversion constructions have been subject to extensive discussion and analysis and remain a central topic in Bantu linguistics. Examples of inversion

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constructions include locative inversion (1), subject-object reversal (also called patient inversion) (2), semantic locative inversion (3), instrument inversion (4) and complement inversion (5):

(1) M-nándà   mù-wéléngél-à   Kàtíshà
18-9.house   SM18-read-FV   1.Katisha
'In the house Katisha is reading.' (Nsenga, Marten et al. 2007: 227)

(2) Ama-tá   y-á-nyôye   abâna.
6-milk   SM6-PST-drink.PRF   2.children
'Children drank milk.' (Kirundi, Ndayiragije 1999: 400)

(3) I-khishi   li-phek-el-a   u-mama.
5-kitchen   SM5-cook-APPL-FV 1a-mother
'Mother is cooking in the kitchen' (Zulu, Zeller 2013: 1111)

(4) Isi-punu   si-dl-a   u-John.
7-spoon   SM7-eat-FV   1a-John
'John is using the spoon to eat.' (Zulu, Zeller 2012: 134)

(5) a. Gu-kina   gu-kuunda   aba-ana.
15-play   SM15-like   2-children
'It is the children who like to play.' (Kinyarwanda, Morimoto 2000: 183)

b. [Ko   aba-ana   b-a-gii-ye]   by-iibagiw-e   umu-gore
COMP   2-children   SM2-PST-leave-PRF SM8-forget-PRF 1-woman
'It is the woman (not the man) who forgot that children have left.'
(Kinyarwanda, Kimenyi 1980: 193)

While differing in detail, Bantu inversion constructions share a number of core aspects and can characterised by the qualities in (6). I follow Marten and van der Wal's (2014) work on subject inversion here and take as the core quality the inversion of the predicate and the logical subject, rather than the promotion of a non logical-subject to preverbal position. This is mainly because it allows the inclusion of so-called presentational constructions, which do not have a preverbal NP (although I won't have much to say on these presentational constructions in what follows):

(6) Bantu inversion constructions (Marten and van der Wal 2014)

1) The logical subject follows the verb and cannot be omitted
2) The postverbal subject is non-topical (but often underspecified for narrow subject focus or use as a thetic sentence)
3) Object marking is not possible
4) Close 'bonding' between verb and postverbal NP is often indicated in phonological phrasing, absence of augment, conjoint verb form, or complement tone pattern

In addition, as noted above, a non logical-subject NP, such as a locative, may precede the verb, often functioning as topic, and verbal agreement will be with this preverbal NP. Inversion can also be found in relative clauses, but I will concentrate on main clauses here. Although not strictly speaking an inversion construction as defined in (6), passives share a number of properties with inversion constructions and can be regarded as a related construction type.

Bantu inversion constructions are typologically interesting, as Bantu languages display a family of related but different inversion constructions, with a high degree of variation between different Bantu languages, and they also pose a challenge to theoretical analysis as they (appear to) present a mismatch between the syntactic coding and semantic roles of an event's participants. In addition, inversion constructions are related to a specific pragmatic/information structure interpretation, as well as being subject to particular semantic/thematic constraints, and thus provide valuable evidence for the study of structure-meaning interaction.

The present paper presents a summary of recent work on Bantu inversion constructions, bringing together findings from formal and comparative analysis, highlights central issues in the analysis of inversion constructions, and shows some directions for future research.

The paper is organised as follows. Section 2 presents a survey of formal analyses and the specific insights they have produced about different aspects of inversion constructions. Section 3 discusses comparative analyses and relates inversion constructions to their wider cross-linguistic distribution. Finally, Section 4 presents a summary and discussion of the findings.

2 Formal analyses

The most well-analysed Bantu inversion constructions are probably locative inversion and subject-object reversal. The two constructions share a number of similarities – which are also found to varying degrees in other inversion

constructions – but have also been argued to differ in some respects, in part to explain the differences between the two constructions in terms of cross-Bantu distribution. More recently semantic locative inversion – where the preverbal locative NP is not marked morphologically as locative – and instrument inversion have attracted theoretical attention. In this section I discuss a number of different analyses of Bantu inversion constructions to show the conceptual space in which theoretical discussion is taking place, without, however, providing full descriptions or detailed critiques of specific analyses.[1]

2.1 Chichewa locative inversion: Bresnan and Kanerva (1989)

Although found in a number of languages across the world, locative inversion is most widely attested, and most widely studied, in Bantu languages (cf. Salzmann 2011). An early and influential study is Bresnan and Kanerva's (B&K, 1989) LFG analysis of locative inversion in Chichewa, illustrated in (7):

(7) M-nkhalǎngo   mw-a-khal-á   mí-kângo
    18-9.forest   SM18-PERF-remain-FV   4-lion
    'In the forest have remained lions' (Chichewa, B&K 1989: 9)

B&K establish a number of key aspects of locative – and related – inversion constructions which in many ways have framed subsequent discussion:

(8) Central aspects of Chichewa locative inversion (B&K 1989)

    1) Information structure: The preverbal, locative NP is a (discourse) topic; the postverbal NP (the logical subject) is (presentationally) focussed
    2) Grammatical function: The preverbal, locative NP is the grammatical subject, and the postverbal NP the grammatical object
    3) Verb morphology: The subject marker is an incorporated pronoun, ambiguous between grammatical and anaphoric agreement; no object marker is possible as the postverbal NP is focus, not topic (and object markers are unambiguously topical)
    4) Thematic restriction: Locative inversion is restricted to unaccusative predicates, where the highest thematic role is <theme>
    5) Prosody: The verb and the postverbal NP are phrased together and constitute a phonological unit

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[1]   Detailed discussion of (then) previous work on inversion constructions can be found for example in Morimoto (2000) or Iorio (2014).

In B&K's formal LFG analysis of Chichewa locative inversion a special subject default rule applies by which the locative role is optionally classified as unrestricted when the highest thematic role of the predicate is <theme> (9). The rule applies if there is a focus feature associated with the proposition (10):

(9)   Special subject default rule for locative subjects (B&K 1989: 29)

        <th … loc>
              |
           [–r]

(10) Focus as context for LI (B&K 1989: 37)

     [f]   *loc / expl*
              |
        [–r]

This special subject default allows the locative to be assigned the feature [–r] (that is, unrestricted in terms of grammatical function), and since locatives are also [–o] (non-objects), and themes are intrinsically [–r], the locative comes out as subject and the theme as object (well-formedness conditions – w.f. – require that there can only be one subject and one object):

(11) Chichewa locative inversion with special locative subject default rule (B&K 1989: 29)

	khăla	< *th*	*loc* >	'remain'
		|	|	
Intrinsic:		[–r]	[–o]	
Defaults:			[–r]	
		O/S	S	
w.f.:		O	S	

Through the central place accorded to the thematic roles of the predicate, B&K's analysis closely relates locative inversion and predicate type. However, subsequent work has shown that there is considerable cross-Bantu variation in this respect, with languages like Ciluba restricting locative inversion to the copula only, Shona also allowing unergatives, and Otjiherero and Ndebele

allowing locative inversion with an even wider range of predicate types, including transitives (cf. Marten and van der Wal 2014). The availability of different predicate types – and the cross-linguistic variation – is unexpected in B&K's analysis, and it is not fully clear how their analysis can be extended while maintaining their stance on grammatical functions.[2] The analysis of subject and object in inversion constructions has been criticised independently in subsequent work, and from different theoretical perspectives. Another question is whether the observation that locative inversion involves presentational focus (as opposed to, for example, subject-object reversal, which often shows contrastive focus on the postverbal NP) is related to the restriction to specific predicate types, or is quality of the construction.

In sum, B&K have provided key hypotheses about the analysis of Bantu locative inversion, and although there has been considerable subsequent discussion about details in the recent literature, the fundamental dimensions of information structure, morphosyntax, semantics and prosody identified by B&K remain at the heart of current analyses.

2.2 Kinyarwanda/Kirundi subject-object reversal (Morimoto 2000, 2006)

Like locative inversion, subject-object reversal is characterised by an atypical or marked syntactic coding of semantic roles, where the logical object appears in preverbal position, and the logical subject follows the verb:

(12) Igi-tabo   ki-som-a   umu-huûngu
     7-book   SM7-read-FV 1-boy
     'The boy is reading the book' (lit. 'the book is reading the boy')
     (Kinyarwanda, Morimoto 2006: 163)

In many respects subject-object reversal is similar to locative inversion – and indeed to other inversion constructions and passives, all of them sharing similar information structure properties, restrictions on object marking and dependency on specific thematic/semantic restrictions. However, the distribution of the two constructions differs, with many more Bantu languages having locative inversion than subject-object reversal.[3] Indeed, Morimoto (2000, 2006) proposes

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[2]   Although see e.g. Harford's (1990) analysis of Shona locative inversion for extensions of this approach.

[3]   At least according to the findings in Marten and van der Wal (2014). There is a residue doubt about the differences in felicity and frequency between the two constructions, which may have an effect of what has been reported for different languages, but I assume here

that the two constructions are very different structurally. While locative inversion involves a change in grammatical function – the locative becomes subject, the theme becomes object, contrary to unmarked assignments – subject-object reversal in Morimoto's analysis does not. Rather, in her analysis of subject-object reversal in Kinyarwanda and Kirundi, verbal agreement is with an (internal) topic, and not with the subject. The preverbal NP is thus both topic and object, while the postverbal NP is focus and subject. The main points of Morimoto's analysis are summarised in (13):

(13) Central aspects of Kinyarwanda subject-object reversal (Morimoto 2000)

1) Information structure: The preverbal NP is a (discourse/external or internal) topic; the postverbal NP (the logical subject) is focussed
2) Grammatical function: The preverbal NP is the grammatical object, the postverbal NP the grammatical subject
3) Verb morphology: The initial agreement marker is a topic marker (not a subject marker); no object marker is possible as the postverbal NP is the subject
4) Thematic/semantic restriction: Subject-object reversal is restricted by animacy conditions – the logical subject needs to be more animate than the object, or of the same animacy if there is no ambiguity, e.g. if the predicate disambiguates the roles

Among the main differences between Chichewa locative inversion (LI) and Kinyarwanda/Kirundi subject-object reversal (SOR) Morimoto identifies are 1) that SOR, but not LI, is clause-bound, with any extraction from the inversion clause disallowed, 2) that there is no evidence that the preverbal NP has subject status (in contrast to the preverbal locative NP in Chichewa LI where B&K show that such evidence exists), and 3) that Kinyarwanda, which has SOR, does not allow 'grammatical agreement' with the 'subject marker' – that is, all NPs which the subject marker agrees with are topics – while in Chichewa, which does not have SOR, the subject marker can agree with either topics or with (non-topical) subjects. Of these, I will leave to one side the clause-boundedness (which rests on interesting and complex empirical evidence detailed discussion of which would lead us too far afield) and the absence of evidence for

that the overall conclusion about the cross-Bantu distribution of the two constructions is robust.

subjecthood (which – being absent – is hard to assess)[4], and will briefly comment on the cross-linguistic argument.

Morimoto (2000: 283) proposes three types of Bantu languages with respect to the difference between topic agreement and subject agreement and concomitant presence or absence of SOR. Type I has topic agreement and SOR (Kinyarwanda, Kirundi, Dzamba), Type III has subject agreement and no SOR (Chichewa), while Type II languages (Sesotho, Setswana) are in the middle between Type I and Type III and have simultaneous topic and subject agreement and no SOR – like Kinyarwanda, there are no non-topical subjects, but like Chichewa, there is no SOR. This last type is conceptually less convincing than the other two types – the evidence from the absence of non-topical subjects in Setswana or Sesotho indicates topic agreement, and the subject agreement feature appears to have been added to explain the absence of SOR without much further empirical support. Furthermore, the proposed typology is not easy to extend to a wider set of languages: Swahili, for example, has subject agreement like Chichewa (e.g. Marten 2011) but also SOR, unlike Chichewa. Similarly, there are a number of languages which look like 'topic' languages – and so similar to Kinyarwanda – but which do not have SOR, for example Otjiherero (Marten 2011) or Bembe (Iorio 2014), but which, on the other hand, differ from Setswana or Sesotho with respect to, for example, inversion in object relatives (Bembe) or locative agreement (Otjiherero), and thus do not look like belonging to exactly the same type in terms of agreement properties. While it seems correct that there is a difference between SOR and LI, and between the languages which allow the two constructions, and that this difference might be related to the relation between topics, subjects, and agreement, it seems unlikely, in view of cross-linguistic variation, that it can be reduced solely to a difference between subject and topic agreement.

Morimoto (2000) also notes the central role played by the semantic restrictions on subject-object reversal, and this seems to be a promising line of research. The complexity of these semantic factors has been described in some detail in Gibson (2008), who discusses different models of semantic analysis to explain it – including next to animacy, a contained-container metaphor. It is also noteworthy that while both SOR and LI are subject to comparable semantic/thematic constraints on the participating NPs, in LI the semantic difference between the two NPs is almost by definition greater and more predicable than in SOR, and it might be that this provides a key aspect to

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[4]   But cf. e.g. Ndayiragije (1999) who assumes that the preverbal NP in Kirundi SOR is the grammatical subject.

explaining the difference between LI and SOR, instead of, or in addition to, differences in agreement and topic/subject status of the preverbal NP.

2.3   Movement analyses of subject-object reversal and locative inversion

The interplay between topic and subject agreement, which was central to Morimoto's analysis, has also played a central role in movement analyses of subject-object reversal and locative inversion.

   Ndayiragije (1999) proposes for subject-object reversal in Kirundi that the logical object moves to Spec,TP, the position normally occupied by subjects, while the logical subject moves to a right-branching focus phrase (FocP). The verb moves to T and agrees with the logical object in the specifier.

(14) Ibi-tabo   bi-á-somye   Yohani.
    8-book   SM8-PST-read.PRF   1.Yohani
    'Yohani (not Peter) read the books.' (Kirundi, Ndayiragije 1999: 415)

(15) SOR in Kirundi with overt A' movement of the logical subject to [Spec, FocP] and raising of Obj to [Spec, TP] (Ndayiragije 1999: 415, 424)
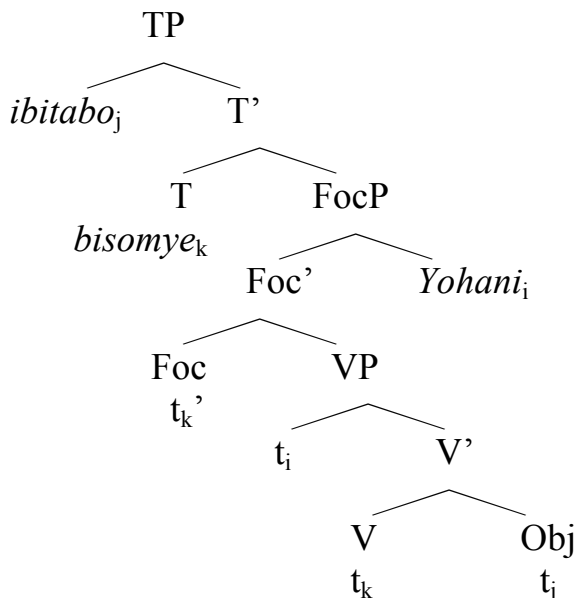
Ndayiragije emphasises the focus reading of the logical subject, and assumes that the logical object ends up as the grammatical subject, based on the observation that, like ordinary subjects, the preverbal subject controls agreement and can be omitted, as well as based on weak cross-over and embedding facts (Ndayiragije 1999: 418-422, cf. Carstens 2011: 723). Kinyalolo (1991) presents similar arguments for Kilega. However, subsequent analyses have explored

options of moving the logical object to topic position, rather than the logical object to focus.

Henderson (2006, 2011), for example, builds on the parallelism between subject-object reversal and subject inversion in object relative clauses in languages like Dzamba, arguing that both involve information-structure related movement of the object to some discourse-relevant head within the complementizer domain. Two potential problems need to be addressed to make this work: The object needs to move/match across the subject and the intervening T head, and verbal agreement with the object/topic rather than with the subject needs to be explained. The movement of the object is assumed to result from an unvalued TOP feature in C which can be checked against the TOP feature of the object. Since under this analysis the subject is in its normal position (e.g. in Spec,vP), and there are presumably unvalued features in T, it is not clear why verb agreement can be with the topic in this case.

(16) SOR with TOP feature (Henderson 2011: 746)

```
                    CP
                  /    \
          OBJ[Top]       \
                  C        TP
              [Top][Φ]    /  \
                        T     vP
                           /     \
                        SUBJ      \
                              tᵥ     VP
                                   /    \
                                 tᵥ     t[Obj]
```
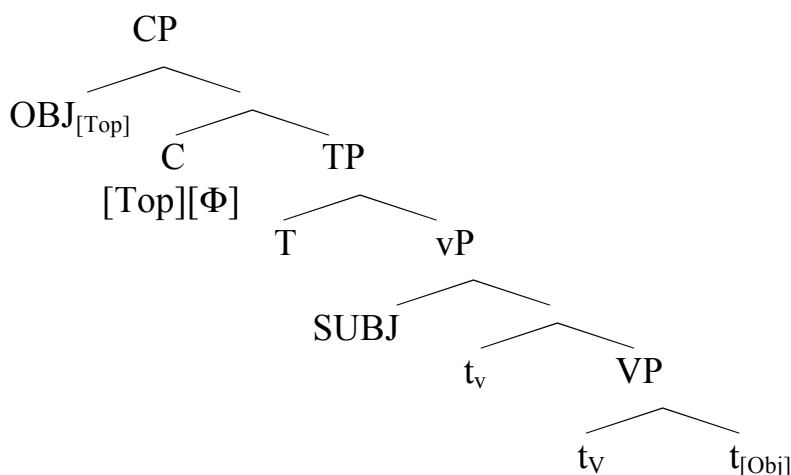
In (16), the TOP features in C match the TOP features of the topicalised object, but the phi-features in C match the phi-features of the subject, so the question arises which features are spelled out. The solution to this involves modifications to the technical apparatus of the theory with respect to the direction and locality of agree relations and how they are computed, as well as to the nature of (morphological) agreement as reflecting structural configuration (such as c-command) or feature dependencies. One analysis based on relevant modifications is that phi features in T agree with phi features in C, with one set of features subsequently erased – this resulting in verb agreement with the preverbal object/topic (cf. Carstens 2011). Apart from technical implementation, Henderson's analysis resembles Morimoto's (2000) analysis in several respects

– the initial NP is analysed as object/topic, the postverbal NP as subject, and verbal agreement is analysed as topic agreement.

A slightly different implementation of an information-structure induced movement analysis is developed by Hamlaoui and Makasso (2013), who approach subject-object reversal within the context of passive and passive-like structures. They propose that the logical subject moves to Spec,TP – and is thus a standard grammatical subject – that the verb moves to a TopP – this movement possibly triggered by a preference for the focused subject to be clause-final, and that the logical object moves to the specifier of this topic projection (Spec,TopP), which is, however, within the I-domain, that is lower than in, for example, Henderson's (2006) proposal. Cross-linguistic variation in agreement is related to a difference between role-based agreement, where the verb agrees with the highest thematic role or logical subject, and configuration-based agreement, where the verb (in TopP) agrees with the topic in the specifier of TopP. Subject-object reversal like in Kinyarwanda under this analysis results from the verb movement to TopP and the configuration based agreement preference in the language. A typological prediction of the analysis is that languages with subject-object reversal should have no or very limited agreeing inversion, as this would result from role-based agreement. However, languages like Kagulu, Luguru and Lusoga pose a challenge for this prediction as these languages have both subject-object reversal and agreeing inversion.

A particular aspect of the movement analyses discussed so far is that, in contrast to the LFG analysis developed by Morimoto, the grammatical subject needs to be structurally represented – through a structural position, relevant features, or through the postulation of an empty element like pro. This is because movement analyses can only make reference to one level of syntactic representation, and not, as in LFG, define grammatical relations in f(unctional)-structure, rather than in c(onstituent)-structure: In Morimoto's (2000) analysis, subject is an f-structure attribute, and verbal agreement is part of the lexical features of the verb – an incorporated pronoun – rather than a syntactically active head. A different approach to Bantu subject agreement in GB/MP is developed by Iorio's (2014) analysis of inversion in object relatives in Bembe. Following Roberts (2013), Iorio proposes that Bantu agreement markers are φ-phrases (φP) – phrases which adjoin to an attracting head, and so function as phrases in argument position, but as heads when moved, somewhat mimicking a pronoun incorporation analysis. Bembe does not allow subject-object reversal, but the φP analysis can be applied to locative inversion:

(17) M-numba   mwa-a-hingel-a   ba-ana.
     18-9.house   SM18-N.PST-enter-FV   2-child
     'Into the house have entered children.' (Bembe, Iorio 2014: 323)

(18) Bembe locative inversion (Iorio 2014: 324)
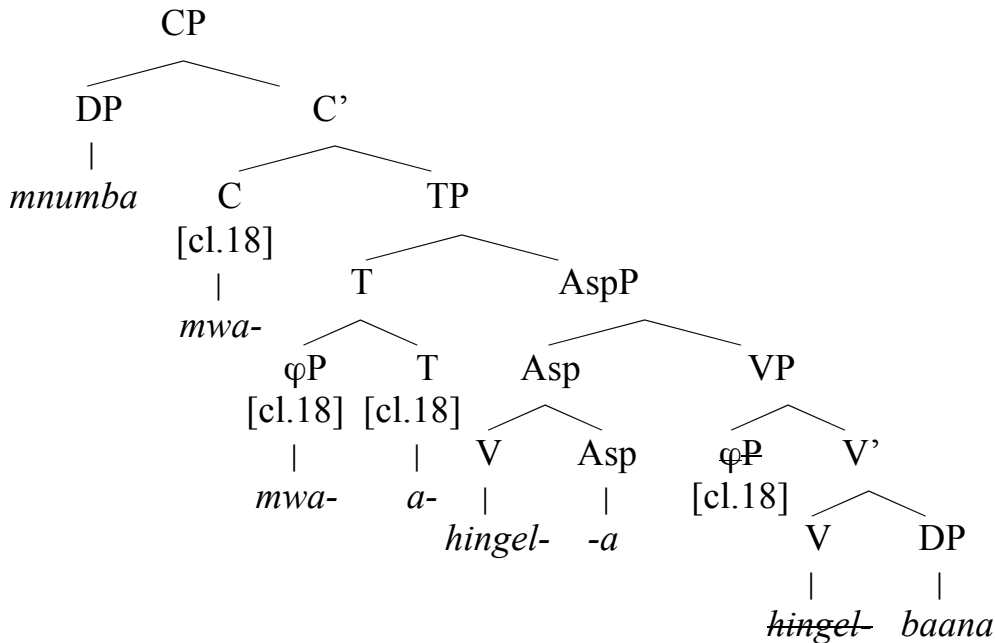
According to Iorio's analysis, the locative NP is a topic in CP, but the locative φ-phrase originates as subject, and then adjoins to T. The logical subject is analysed as object, and is non-topical – the absence of a TOP feature is according to Iorio the explanation for the absence of SOR in Bembe. Of the two agreement markers in C and T, one is erased under identity, as already noted briefly above. In Iorio's analysis, while the locative NP is a topic, the locative agreement marker is the subject, and no TOP feature is assumed.

A further question raised by inversion constructions in movement analyses is the licensing of the postverbal NP. While the postverbal NP was analysed as being in a dedicated focus position in Ndayiragije's (1999) analysis, there remains a more general question about its syntactic status: If the preverbal NP is licensed by agreement with the verb, it is not clear how the postverbal NP is licensed, since it does not show agreement, and is not licensed through a semantic relation with the verb as objects might be (unless in possibly with unaccusative predicates in locative inversion). This observation has led to the proposal that Bantu languages lack abstract case – the standard regulative for licensing overt NPs – and that this accounts for the presence of subject-object reversal and other constructions not found commonly in, for example, European languages (e.g. Carstens 2011, Dierks 2012).

In sum, several movement/match analyses address subject-object reversal and locative inversion focussing on information structure, grammatical function and syntactic coding, verbal agreement, and, to a lesser extent, semantic constraints on inversion. However, a different approach is taken by Zeller (2012, 2013), discussed in the next sub-section.

2.4 Inversion and predication (Zeller 2012, 2013)

A somewhat different approach to Bantu inversion constructions is developed in Zeller (2012, 2013). Based on evidence from Zulu semantic locative inversion – locative inversion constructions without formal marking of the preverbal locative phrase (Buell 2007) – and instrument inversion, Zeller proposes that these inversion constructions involve a predication relation, formally expressed by a predication phrase (PrP, Bowers 1993), in which the preverbal NP is base generated in Spec,PrP and where the Predication head takes a VP complement – analogous to, for example, copula constructions, or adjectival or nominal predicates.

(19) Lezi   zindlu   zi-hlala   aba-ntu   aba-dala.
     10.these   10.houses   SM10-live   2-people 2-old
     'Old people live in these houses.' (Zulu, Buell 2007: 108)

(20) Inversion involving a Predication Phrase (Zeller 2013: 1123)

The locative/instrument phrase thus does not originate in the VP, but as part of the PrP. The verb moves to the Pr head and subsequently to T, while the

preverbal NP moves from Spec,PrP to Spec,TP to check relevant unvalued features. In parallel to other predication relations, inversion is restricted to unaccusative predicates, or if used with other predicates requires the presence of an applicative marker, which Zeller proposes might be an overt reflex of the predication relation. While the analysis does not centrally address information structure properties of inversion constructions, it provides a direct answer to two syntactic properties of inversion: the restriction to certain predicate types, and the syntactic inertness of the VP. The restriction to particular predicate types has been noted above, with reference to locative inversion, and receives here a different, principled explanation. However, it is the evidence from the syntactic inertness of the VP which probably provides the strongest evidence for the analysis. The most obvious aspect of this inertness is the absence of object marking in locative inversion – and indeed in most other inversion constructions. This is usually explained as resulting from the analysis of the postverbal NP as subject, not object, and so object marking is reasonably debarred. However, what is less straightforward under this analysis is the absence of object marking not only of the postverbal logical subject, but of any postverbal NP, including any remaining object in transitive locative inversion:

(21) a.   Pò-ndjúwó   pé-tjáng-èr-à   òvá-nàtjè   ò-mbàpírà
            16-9.house   SM16.HAB-write-APPL-FV 2-children   9-letter
            'At the house write the children a letter' (Marten 2006: 115)

     b.   *Pò-ndjúwó   pé-ì-tjáng-èr-à   òvá-nàtjè
            16-9.house   SM16.HAB-OM9-write-APPL-FV   2-children
            Intd.: 'At the house write it the children' (Zeller 2013: 1138)

In (21), *òvánàtjè* 'children' is the postverbal subject, and so absence of class 2 object marking is expected, but what (21b) shows is that also the theme object *òmbàpírà* 'letter' cannot be object marked, and this is surprising given the analyses discussed so far. However, from the point of view of the PrP analysis, the Pr head is a phase head, and so intervenes between the object and any necessary functional structure relevant for object marking which is assumed to project higher in the structure (cf. Riedel 2009) – object marking is thus impossible for any postverbal NP, irrespective of its grammatical status.

    The predication analysis of inversion proposes that there is no direct syntactic relation between the preverbal NP and the object position of the predicate. The locative and instrument NPs are assumed to be base-generated as part of the PrP, and the semantic relation between the location/instrument and the event expressed by the verb is established through a semantic operation of

event identification. However, it is not quite clear to what extent this analysis can be extended to subject-object reversal as here the preverbal NP is much more clearly an argument of the predicate itself and so less easily analysed as an argument of which a (saturated) predicate holds. In some sense, the predication analysis thus assumes that locative and instrument inversion differ structurally from subject-object reversal – a conclusion similar to the one proposed by Morimoto (2000), although for rather different reasons.

2.5 Inversion and the dynamics of structure building (Marten and Gibson 2013)

A final approach briefly reviewed here is the Dynamic Syntax analysis of passives and inversion constructions developed in Marten and Gibson (2013). Dynamic Syntax is a parsing-based model of syntax, in which syntactic well-formedness is construed as the possibility to derive an interpretation by constructing on-line semantic representations from the words encountered in the utterance. Semantic representations are formalised as partial trees, and growth of information as tree growth process which is driven by lexical information and restricted by general constraints on tree growth (Cann et al. 2005).

The specific analysis developed in Marten and Gibson (2013) draws on parallels between different inversion constructions, as well as passives, and proposes that they share certain formal characteristics: The initial NP is projected onto a Link structure (used for establishing a contextual value against which the ensuing proposition is parsed) or onto an unfixed node (a structural option to project semantic information early in the parse without specifying as yet the eventual semantic contribution to the overall proposition). The subject marker then projects a locally unfixed node, which allows the early projection of semantic information within a propositional domain, and which can be merged with the information already available (that is, the information from the preverbal NP). This means that before the verb is parsed, underspecified information – possibly, if projected on a Link structure, marked as 'discourse topic' – is available about an argument of the verb, without information as to this argument's role in the proposition. Next tense-aspect morphology and/or the verb is parsed, providing relevant argument positions for the logical subject and any logical objects. At this stage, the information from the preverbal NP holding at the locally unfixed node can be merged with either argument position. If it is merged in subject position, a 'non-inverted' interpretation will result, which might be a 'fairy tale' interpretation if one is available (for example, 'The evil spoon ate the little boy'). However, the locally unfixed node may merge with the logical object position, in which case the interpretation of the logical subject

remains to be established. This (i.e. the interpretation of the logical subject) can now be achieved either by the use of a passive suffix, which under this analysis provides a weak subject annotation (the existence of an 'agent'), or by the parsing of the postverbal NP. Since in inversion constructions no passive morphology is involved, this latter strategy is the only option to complete the parse, and so the presence of the postverbal NP is obligatory. The late placement of the logical subject in the linear string, and the attendant delay of providing a subject interpretation can be seen as giving rise to pragmatic effects, resulting in a focus or thetic reading. A further structural claim of the analysis is that the absence of object marking follows from the presence of the locally unfixed node until a fixed object argument position is introduced by parsing the verb. Up to this point, no further locally unfixed node can be constructed to host information from a potential object marker, since the system only allows the presence of one locally unfixed node at any one time in the parse.[5]

(22) M-òn-gàndá   mw-á   hìtí   òvá-ndù.
     18-9-house   SM18-PST enter   2-people
     'Into the house entered people.' (Otjiherero, Marten 2006: 98)

(23) Locative inversion as dynamic structure building: Snapshot of the derivation after parsing *hìtí* 'enter' (Marten and Gibson 2013)

$$?Ty(t), Tns(Past)$$

$$?Ty(e) \qquad ?Ty(e \rightarrow t)$$

$$\langle\uparrow_0\rangle\langle\uparrow_1{*}\rangle Ty(t)$$
$$Fo(mòndgàndá'),$$
$$Ty(e) \qquad\qquad ?Ty(e), \lozenge \qquad Ty(e \rightarrow (e \rightarrow t)),$$
$$Fo(hit')$$
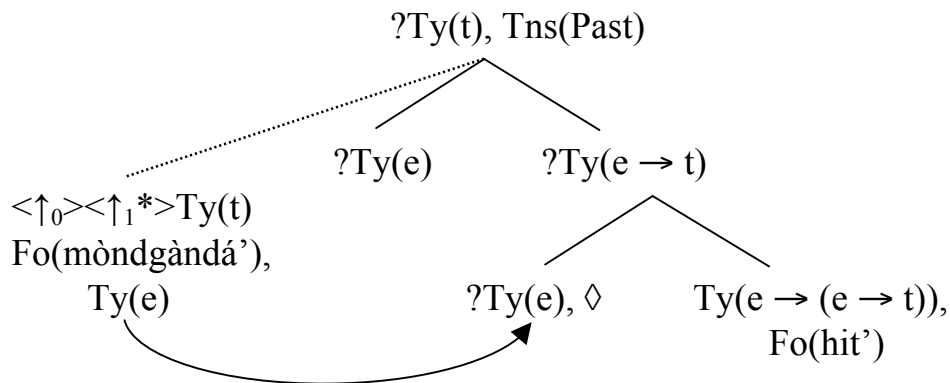
The stage of the derivation seen in (23) shows the imminent merger of the unfixed node holding the information from the locative with the fixed (logical) object position. This position has been lexically supplied by the verb, so only

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[5] Logical annotations in the Dynamic Syntax tree are Ty = logical type, Fo = formula, Tns = Tense. Type values 'e' (for entity) and 't' (for truth-evaluable) and their combination are familiar type-logical grammar types. The question mark '?' indicates a requirement for information yet to be supplied; the diamond '$\lozenge$' indicates the current node under development; expressions in angled brackets such as $\langle\uparrow_0\rangle$ are tree modalities, expressing relations between different tree nodes, which might be underspecified.

becomes available when the verb has been parsed. Note that the semantic subject position still requires proper annotation. This will be supplied when the postverbal NP is parsed.

The dynamic analysis is similar to Zeller's (2012) PrP analysis in that it addresses the absence of object marking in (presumably) all inversion constructions as well as in passives in a number of Bantu languages, and provides a structural reason for this. However, like most other analyses of inversion constructions, it assumes a monoclausal structure where both the preverbal and postverbal NP are analysed as arguments of the same clause. It is just that a number of qualities of the construction are attributed to the way inversion constructions allow hearers to dynamically construct semantic representations, rather than to aspects of a static syntactic representation.

2.6 Summary

This section has surveyed major analyses of Bantu inversion constructions, and shown both similarities and differences between them. While there is widespread agreement that inversion constructions involve information structural, morphosyntactic and semantic aspects, there are a variety of approaches to spell these out in detail. With respect to the preverbal position, different proposals about their syntactic role and information structure have been made. Syntactically, the preverbal NP has been analysed as (verbal) subject, as topic, or as predication subject. Correspondingly, the information structural function of the preverbal NP has variously been analysed as external discourse topic, as internal topic, or as 'holder' (of the predication), that is, an entity of which a given state (introduced by the VP) holds as a property. A related difference is found with the analysis of verbal agreement, with analyses varying between analysing agreement as incorporated pronoun, as agreeing with a topic, or as agreeing with the subject. While some differences between different analyses result from varying theoretical assumptions, the development of different formal analyses has also been driven by the consideration of cross-linguistic data and variation in inversion constructions across different Bantu languages. In a way it is the cross-linguistic variation which provides one of the most interesting aspects of Bantu inversion constructions, and so it is this variation which will be discussed in the following section.

3   Comparative analyses

The previous discussion of different formal approaches to inversion constructions has shown that comparative, cross-Bantu evidence is often central

for showing specific aspects of a given analysis. On the other hand, the very complex variation in inversion constructions also means that often specific analysis are too restricted to fully address the variation encountered, and that variation cannot easily be reduced to two or there underlying parameters. In this section I provide a brief discussion of three comparative studies of Bantu inversion constructions, each of them shedding a different light on aspects of variation, and setting inversion constructions in different contexts.

3.1 Variation in locative inversion

Variation in locative inversion has already been mentioned in Section 2.1 above. While originally assumed to be restricted to unaccusative predicates, subsequent research in locative inversion has shown that at least five predicate types need to be distinguished to account for variation between different languages. This is summarised in Table 1 (based on Marten and van der Wal 2014).

Table 1: Inversion variation with respect to predicate type (*italics: languages with only default agreement inversion*)

	Copula 'be'	Unaccusative active	Transitive passive	Unaccusative passive	Unergative passive	Unergative active	Transitive active
Cilubà	OK	*	*	*	*	*	*
Chichewa, Chaga	OK	OK	OK	*	*	*	*
Shona	OK	OK	OK	OK	OK	*	*
Sesotho, Tswana	OK	OK	OK	OK	OK	OK	*
Otjiherero, *Ndebele*	OK	OK	OK	OK	OK	OK	OK

The eight languages in Table 1 fall into five distinct types with respect to the predicates which are licensed in locative inversion. The difference cross-cuts the distinction between languages which have 'true' locative inversion such as Chichewa, and those which have default agreement inversion, with an optional preposed locative, such as Tswana. Although other inversion constructions show restrictions on the participating predicates, it is not clear whether the thematic

restrictions (or at least what looks like thematic restrictions) seen in locative inversion play a role for other inversion constructions.

3.2   Inversion and passives

The similarity of inversion constructions and passives has often been noted. Birner and Ward (1998), in a study of different constructions of English and their relation to information structure, note that in both inversion constructions and *by*-phrase passives the preverbal NP is relatively familiar in the discourse, while the postverbal NP is relatively unfamiliar (1998: 256/7, cf. Morimoto 2000: 17). In Bantu, Demuth (1989: 68) and Demuth and Kline (2006) note the use of passives for agent questions in Sesotho. Following intuitions like this, Hamlaoui and Makasso (2013) include subject-object reversal in their study of (non-canonical) passives, showing that subject-object reversal falls naturally into a typology of passive marking as summarised in Table 2.

Table 2: A 'mini typology' of transitive passives (Hamlaoui & Makasso 2013: 9)

	Grammatical promotion of object	Grammatical demotion of subject
O-V by S **(English, French)**	+	+
O expl-V by S *expl-V O by S* **(Bemba)**	–	+
O-VS **(Kinyarwanda)**	+	–
OS-V (pro) **(Bàsàa, Mbuun)**	–	–

The constructions identified in Table 2 share their basic syntax – the logical object precedes the logical subject – and have comparable information structure – the logical object is topical, the logical subject often focal – but differ in terms of exact morphosyntactic coding. However, the participation of subject-object reversal in this typology serves as a reminder that passives are a construction type which is useful to keep in mind when thinking about inversions.

3.3 A Bantu inversion typology

A more comprehensive study of cross-Bantu comparison is Marten and van der Wal (2014) which compares seven inversion constructions types (plus passive) across a sample of 46 Bantu languages. Although for many languages available information is incomplete, the study shows that there is some variation with respect to the presence of different inversion constructions across Bantu. A snapshot of the findings of the study is provided in Table 3.

Table 3: Distribution of inversion constructions (based on 46 languages in total) (Marten and van der Wal 2014)

	Formal Locative Inversion	Semantic Locative Inversion	Patient Inversion	Instrument Inversion	Complement Inversion	Default Agreement Inversion	Agreeing Inversion
Languages with data	41	19	28	18	9	30	26
Yes (n/%)	25 (61%)	9 (47%)	10 (36%)	6 (33%)	2 (22%)	24 (77%)	16 (62%)
No (n/%)	16 (39%)	10 (53%)	18/64%	12 (67%)	7 (78%)	6 (19%)	10 (38%)
Languages without data	5	27	18	28	37	16	20

The data in Table 3 show that among languages for which there are data, formal locative inversion, default agreement inversion and agreeing inversion are the more widely attested constructions, while the remaining constructions are less common. The study also shows that formal locative inversion and semantic locative inversion are almost in complementary distribution,[6] and that all languages which have instrument inversion, and all languages which have patient inversion (= subject-object reversal) also have (either formal or semantic) locative inversion. If this latter observation remains true when more languages are included in the sample, it seems to indicate that, rather than being

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[6]   Languages which have both formal and semantic locative inversion are Swahili and Olutsootso, as well as Cuwabo (Guérois, this volume) which was not part of the database of Marten and van der Wal (2014).

complementary, subject-object reversal implies the presence of locative inversion (though not the other way around).

3.4 Summary

The three typologies discussed in this section provide ample evidence for the high degree of microvariation in Bantu inversion constructions. In part because of this, most typologies focus on comparing specific constructions and their distribution, rather than on comparing specific languages. While ultimately necessary in order to gain a full understanding of inversion constructions, it seems premature to develop a robust typology of Bantu languages based on inversion constructions. However, the typological context provides a valuable background for better understanding of inversion constructions, and for assessing different formal analyses.

4   Conclusions

The present paper has aimed to provide an overview of formal and comparative aspects of Bantu inversion constructions. Given the rich literature on the topic, and the high degree of cross-linguistic variation, the discussion was necessarily confined to main aspects and a number of details have been omitted. Rather the discussion has focused on the main parameters involved in analysing the construction, and on the relation between the analysis of different construction types and their cross-linguistic distribution.

A key area of theoretical discussion is the distinction between subject and topic, the corresponding agreement relations, and how these are syntactically represented. In subject-object reversal, the preverbal NP is in most analyses analysed as a topicalised object, and the postverbal NP as both the logical and the grammatical subject. In contrast, analyses of locative inversion and instrument inversion often assume that the preverbal NP is the grammatical subject, and the postverbal NP is the grammatical object. The difference is based mainly on the absence of extraction from subject-object reversal (at least in Kinyarwanda and Kirundi),[7] whereas the initial NP in locative inversion displays a higher degree of syntactic freedom, in parallel with subjects.

However, in terms of information structure all inversion constructions are remarkably similar – with the preverbal NP topical and the postverbal NP focused, or optionally expressing thetic focus – even though the question

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[7]   Although the situation for Kirundi and Kinyarwanda is unclear. Kilega (Kinyalolo 1991) and Kagulu (Petzell 2008: 171/2) appear to place fewer restrictions on preverbal NPs in subject-object reversal.

remains whether there is a systematic relation between different inversion constructions and focus type. Furthermore, absence of object marking seems to be consistently found in all inversion constructions (and in some languages also in passives), indicating some shared morphosyntactic underlying structure.

The question of how many different kinds of inversion constructions there are and how they are related is also addressed in the comparative studies discussed. Here it becomes clear that different inversion constructions are found across different languages. However, some distributional patterns seem to be emerging, although it is too early to tell whether they are fully reliable. Among them is the near-complementarity of formal and semantic locative inversion, and the implicational relations between locative inversion and subject-object reversal and instrument inversion respectively.

In part this distribution might be explained by varying degrees of explicit morphological marking and the degree of divergence from the unmarked case (cf. Morimoto 2000). Thus passives are more explicitly marked (by passive morphology) than 'proper' inversion constructions, and are more common, and formal locative inversion is more explicitly marked (by locative morphology) than other inversion constructions, and is more common than other inversions. Furthermore, the semantic/thematic difference between locatives and agents in locative inversion is bigger than the difference between patients and agents in subject object reversal, and possibly the initial NP in locative inversion is easier to parse correctly (as not being the agent) in language comprehension than the initial NP in subject-object reversal. This would at least in part explain both the restricted syntactic freedom of subject-object reversal, as well as the restricted distribution.

A final question which deserves further investigation is the effect of semantic/thematic restrictions on inversion constructions. These have been identified as central for all inversion constructions, although in different terms – e.g. in terms of thematic relations of the predicate or in terms of (differences between) animacy of the participants. However, more detailed studies of the lexical semantics involved in inversion constructions may well prove fruitful.

The short summary of findings presented in this section has highlighted the two – to my mind – central areas of research in inversion constructions. On the one hand, there is the question of how the different and often quite distinct qualities of inversion constructions along different dimensions – information structure, morphosyntax, semantics and pragmatics, and, although I haven't mentioned this here in much detail, prosody – can be explained in a unified analysis. And on the other hand, there is the question of how the complex cross-Bantu variation of inversion constructions can be explained as following from

(the interaction of) relevant underlying structures or parameters in a principled way.

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A note on bare-passives in (selected) Bantu and Western Nilotic Languages[*]

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In the present paper, we concentrate on (selected) Bantu and Nilotic bare-passive strategies and lay out the basis for a typology of transitive passive constructions in these languages. We argue that bare-passives constitute an optimal strategy to change prominence relations between arguments, in languages that strongly hold to the default mapping between the highest thematic role available and the grammatical subject (i.e. Spec,TP). The Nilotic and Bantu languages discussed here differ in their way of satisfying this default mapping. In particular, impersonal bare-passives satisfy it by resorting to an agentive place-holder (an indefinite subject marker) and realizing the logical agent as a lower thematic/semantic role (e.g. instrument or locative). Left-dislocation and so called 'subject-object' reversal bare-passives realize the default matching between agent and subject in a more straightforward way, but locate the patient in a higher argument position within the inflectional domain (Spec,TopP). As argued in Hamlaoui and Makasso (2013) and Hamlaoui (2013), and in line with Noonan (1977), the present languages display a clause-internal split between subjecthood (being the grammatical subject in Spec,TP) and topicality (being the subject of the predication, in an inflectional-domain internal Spec,TopP).

1 Introduction

Passive forms are generally taken to express a change in argument relations (Shibatani, 1988). They display morphological or syntactic marking that indicates that the default mapping between subject/agent and non-agent/non-subject is not observed (in languages in which this is of course the default mapping) (Keenan and Dryer, 2007). From an information-structural perspective, passive sentences are often viewed as making the patient the "topic" of the sentence

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and thus as indicating that the agent is not. In languages in which there is a requirement for aligning foci with the right edge of the clause, passive structures can additionally achieve this goal for agents. Or, alternatively, they can also be a way of leaving out a discourse-given, unspecified or voluntarily-left-anonymous agent.

'Bare-passives', 'pseudo-passives' or 'zero-coded passives' are a crosslinguistically common phenomenon. They have been reported in a growing number of languages, stemming from various language families. They consist in sentences that 'fulfill all or most criteria for being called a passive but one: morphological or periphrastic marking of the verb phrase' (Cobbinah and Lüpke, 2009).

In the present paper, we concentrate on (selected) Bantu and Nilotic bare-passive strategies and lay out the basis for a typology of transitive passive constructions in these languages. Interestingly, Bantu languages are characterized by their rich verbal morphology. Some of the languages discussed in the present paper actually have a passive morpheme and thus depart from the ones discussed by Cobbinah & Lüpke, for which 'the absence of morphological marking for the passive is in line with the general paucity of morphological categories' (p154).

We propose that bare-passives constitute an optimal strategy to change prominence relations between arguments, in languages that strongly hold to the default mapping between the highest thematic role available and the grammatical subject (i.e. Spec,TP). In other words, bare passives allow to pragmatically and/or syntactically promote a non-agent argument, without departing from this default mapping. We contend that the Nilotic and Bantu languages discussed here differ in how they satisfy it. In particular, impersonal bare-passives (Section 2) resort to an agentive place-holder (an indefinite subject marker) and realize the logical agent as a lower thematic role (e.g. instrument or locative). Left-dislocation (Section 3) and so called 'subject-object' reversal bare-passives (Section 4) realize the default matching between agent and grammatical subject in a more straightforward way, but locate the patient in a higher argument position within the inflectional domain. So, as argued in Hamlaoui and Makasso (2013) and in line with Noonan (1977), the Bantu and Nilotic languages discussed in this paper display a clause-internal split between subjecthood (being the grammatical subject in Spec,TP) and topicality (being the subject of the predication). Together, they provide evidence for an inflectional-domain internal topic position right above TP, which hosts syntactically promoted objects in all three types of bare-passives discussed. In addition, this projection attracts the verb in the Kinyarwanda/Kirundi-type of OVS, which, we argue, is meant to align focused subjects with the right edge of the clause. Contrary to previous accounts according to which this type of OVS is derived by leaving the subject in Spec,*v*P/VP or adjoining it to VP (see references *infra*), in our account, this

order is derived by the verb and object simply moving higher than the position normally hosting subjects, i.e. Spec,TP. We conclude this note (Section 5) with a few typological remarks.

Before tackling the issue of bare-passives, let us however first introduce the type of languages that are discussed in the present paper. All five languages have SVO as their canonical word order, where S realizes the argument with the highest thematic/semantic role (we will here limit our discussion to agents). By default, the first nominal argument (linearly speaking) is understood as the most topical argument. In simple canonical sentences and all-focus contexts, the agent is thus simultaneously the grammatical subject and the topic. The pseudo-passive sentences discussed in the remainder of this paper emerge whenever another argument of the verb is more topical than the agent. We will not provide a full Optimal Theoretic account (Prince and Smolensky, 2004) in the present paper, but we take it that the constraint given in (1) (Zerbian (2007, 342), following Gundel (1988, 229)) plays a crucial role, as the different structures discussed subsequently are also meant to optimally satisfy it.

(1) First Things First Principle
'Provide the most important information first.' [where "most important" should be understood as the most topical nominal phrase]

Whereas a number of SVO languages can satisfy this constraint by realizing a non-agent argument as the grammatical subject (i.e. in regular long passives), this is not the case in the Bantu and Nilotic languages discussed here. We believe that what the present languages have in common is that the agentivity of the grammatical subject (Spec,TP) is more important as its topicality.

2 Impersonal passives

Impersonal sentences are commonly found across languages. They display "an unspecified human agent which is also the subject of the sentence" (Frajzyingier, 1982). In the (standard) French sentence in (2), this unspecified human agent is expressed by means of a dedicated impersonal pronoun, *on*.

(2) En effet, on   construisit le premier tabernacle, dans lequel était
In effect INDEF.PRO built   the first   tabernacle   in   which was
le chandelier, la table, et les pains de proposition; et il était appelé
the candlestick   the table   and the breads of propositions   and it was   called
le lieu saint. (Hébreux 9:2-3)
the holy place
'For there was a tabernacle prepared, the first, wherein [were] the candlestick, and the table, and the showbread; which is called the Holy place.' (Hebrews 9:2-3, American Standard Version)
'For a tent was prepared, the first section, in which were the lampstand

and the table and the bread of the Presence. It is called the Holy place.'
(Hebrews 9:2-3, English Standard Version)
'They pitched the first tent called the holy place. It contained the lamp-
stand, the table, and the loaves of bread presented to God.' (Hebrews
9:2-3, Common English Bible)

As shown by the different translations given in (2), there are several means to
express the unspecified nature of an agent. A number of Bantu languages have
been reported to use the class 2 subject marker, that is, a 3rd person plural
marker. This is the case in Bàsàá, in (3), and in Mbuun, in (4). In the former
case, the object occupies its canonical postverbal position, whereas in the latter
case, it is preposed.[1]

(3)   ɓá-ḿ-má⁺á   ɔ́ŋ   ɓôm.
      SM2-PST1-finish construct 7-market
      'They finished constructing the market.' (Hamlaoui and Makasso, 2013)

(4)   m-báa bá-é-dzim-i.
      9-fire   SM2-OM2-extinguish-PERF
      'The fire has been extinguished (by someone)'
      (Bostoen and Mundeke, 2011)

The impersonal structures that are of particular interest to us here, and which
we call "impersonal passives" are those which, in addition to an unspecified
agent marker, display what looks like an oblique agent. This type of impersonal
passive, which is not found in French, Bàsàá or Mbuun, is briefly illustrated with
(5) and (6) for Bantu (Bemba and Lunda, respectively) and in (7) for Nilotic
(Dholuo). In all three languages, the patient can either precede or follow the
verb. We will come back to the issue of object preposing in the following. Note
that neither the agent, nor the patient determine the noun class of the subject
marker (class 2 in Bantu and {-o-} (perfect)/{-i} (imperfect) in Dholuo).

(5)   umw-áàna bá-alí-mu-ít-a   ku mu-mbúlu.
      1-child   SM2-PAST-OM1-call-FV by 3-wild.dog
      'This child was called by the wild dog.' (Kula and Marten, 2010)

(6)   nyi-kabu a-a-yi-nat-a   kúdi a-tu-ánsi.
      4-fruit   SM2-PST-OM4-throw-fv by   2-13-child
      'The fruits were thrown by the children.' (Kawasha, 2007, 39)

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[1]   Abbreviations: AGR: agreement, CONN: connective, EXPL: expletive, FV: final vowel
      (Bantu), IMPERF: imperfective, INDEF: indefinite marker, lit: literally, NEG: negation,
      OM: object marker (Bantu), pl: plural, PASS: passive, PERF: perfective, PRES: present,
      PRO: prnoun, PST: past, REL: relative marker, sg: singular, SM: subject marker (Bantu, the
      number indicates nominal class)

(7) Chàlí n-ò-gò   gi Dòrínà.
    Chali   PST-EXPL-beat by Dorina
    'Chali was beaten by Dorina.' (Ochola, 1999, 31)

Whereas Dholuo does not have a passive marker, Bemba (M42, Zambia) does
({-w-}), and thus casts doubt on the idea that the use of bare-passive strategies is
caused by the paucity of morphological categories. Interestingly, long passives
are 'judged ungrammatical or degraded' in Bemba. This is illustrated in (8).

(8) a. úmu-náni u-alí-ípík-w-a.
         3-food   SM3-PST-cook-PASS-fv
         'The food was cooked.'
     b. ?? úmu-náni u-alí-ípík-w-a   kulí Mutalé.
         3-food   SM3-PST-cook-PASS-fv by   1.Mutale
         'The food was cooked by Mutale.' (Kula and Marten, 2010)

Kula and Marten (2010, 126) (henceforth K&M) note that, in contrast, long
passives are acceptable with instruments, as illustrated in (9).

(9) úmu-náni w-alí-ípík-w-a   na supuuni.
     3-food   SM3-PST-cook-PASS-fv with 9.spoon
     'The food was cooked with a spoon.'

These facts are consistent with the idea that bare-passive strategies find their
source in the strong requirement for the selected argument with the highest the-
matic/semantic role to realize the grammatical subject. The underlying structure
of sentences (5) to (7) however remains a controversial topic.[2] In particular,
researchers disagree on whether or not to analyze them as structural passive
sentences, in which what we have been referring to as an unspecified agent
marker should be treated as a passive-voice marker. Depending on the type
of underlying structure associated with these sentences, one can draw different
generalizations as to the existing types of natural languages.
    By way of illustration, Cable (2012), who views Dholuo impersonal passives
as structural passives, argues that this Nilotic language provides clear evidence
for the existence of natural languages in which the preverbal subject position
of a tensed verb can optionally be left empty. Indeed, if the sentences in (5)
to (7) are structural passives in which the patient is the grammatical subject of
the verb, it is noteworthy that this subject does not obligatorily occupy the pre-
verbal, subject position, but can remain postverbal. Bantu impersonal passives
have also been treated as structural passive sentences (Givón (1979), Haspel-
math (1990) and to some extent Kula and Marten (2010)). In this approach, the

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[2] This controversy is reflected e.g. in how authors vary in their glossing of Dholuo verbs.
     Whereas Cable and Okoth-Okombo use a PASS(ive) gloss, Ochola uses EXPL(etive) and
     Tucker talks about an impersonal subject prefix. We generally only minimally adapted the
     original glossing of the examples for reasons of uniformity.

fronted patient is considered to be the grammatical subject and the class 2 prefix a possible passive marker

In contrast, if the sentences in (5) to (7) are structurally active, impersonal sentences, and only functionally equivalent to passives, we believe that they show that there exists languages in which the grammatical subject position can only be filled by the highest thematic/semantic argument selected by a verb.[3]

2.1 On the oblique-agent

One of the main arguments in favor of the structural passive treatment of sentences of the type in (5) to (7) is the presence of the oblique-agent. According to the theta-criterion given in (10), the role of agent cannot be assigned twice, i.e. once to the indefinite pronoun and once to the oblique agent.

(10)   'Each argument bears one and only one θ-role, and each θ-role is assigned to one and only one argument.' (Chomsky, 1981, 35)

Note however that in the impersonal passive sentences we have reviewed so far, the oblique-agent is expressed either as a locative or an instrument. It seems worth considering that the co-occurrence of an indefinite subject pronoun and the instrumental/locative oblique-agent does not (at least on a certain level) violate the theta-criterion. We will not address the syntactic representation of impersonal passives in the present note. We hope to address it in future work.

In the case of Bemba, K&M indicate, referring to Schadeberg (2003, 79), that the prepositions *ku* and *kuli*, which introduce Bemba oblique agents, probably stem from the class 17 locative concord *ku-* and the copula *li*.

As for Dholuo, Tucker (436, fn. 8) mentions that although the prepositions *gi*/*ko′d* normally introduce an instrument, the young generation, "perhaps under the influence of Swahili and/or English", sometimes introduce an agent. This is the case in the example (11). The possibility of expressing an oblique agent seems to be dependent on the age of the speaker (Siewierska, 2010). With the possibility of the demotion of an agent from subject to oblique, we might be witnessing a transitional stage in the Dholuo grammar: a reanalysis from impersonal-pseudo-passive to structural-passive. This however remains to be shown.

(11)   tát-wá-nó íruŋo-ŋga gí yáwúót ló ̀ ká.
        'Our roof is normally carried by the young men from the other side (of the river). [Tucker's fn. 8]

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[3]   As noted by an anonymous reviewer for Hamlaoui (2013), this does not necessarily contradict Cable's claim if it can be shown that the Bantu class 2 subject marker and its Nilotic counterparts do not occupy the subject position but e.g. attach to the verbal complex. More research is necessary on this topic.

To us, Tucker's observation suggests that the Dholuo impersonal passive might have evolved from a regular impersonal structure, with an unidentified or irrelevant agent (hence the use of an indefinite pronoun, just like in French, Bàsàá and Mbuun) in a (not so long ago) former stage of the language. The St. Joseph Society's grammar (1921) corroborates this view, by suggesting that in the presence of an identified agent, the basic SVO order used to be favored (over all possible alternative orders and despite the agent's lesser topicality). In the same footnote, Tucker adds the following: "But a sentence of the type 'our goat has been eaten by a hyena' is normally expressed 'díénd-wá óndíek oca-mo' lit 'Our goat a hyena has eaten'." This indicates that (at least some) Dholuo speakers (also?) have at their disposal bare-passive left-dislocation (see Section 3.2.).

Note in passing that the motivation for the clause-final location of the agent needs to be investigated. Interestingly, Okoth-Okombo (1997, 4) translates the following impersonal passive as a cleft-sentence, suggesting that in Dholuo, the clause-final agent is focused.

(12)   mon   matiin ikendo   gi jochan.
        women rel.few INDEF.marry by people.of.poverty
        'Few women are married by the poor.'
        (It is the poor who marry few women)

We will see in Section 3.2., in connection to Bàsàá, that the use of bare-passive strategies is not necessarily related to agent-focusing.

2.2   On subjects and objects

A number of facts seem hardly compatible with the structural passive analysis and suggest a different approach to impersonal passives that we will make explicit below. First, in Dholuo, subjects of active verbs do not occur postverbally. This is also the case for unaccusative verbs. This is illustrated in (13) and (14). If a subject's movement to the preverbal position is optional in passive sentences, it is unclear why it is not also optional in active sentences.

(13)   a.   Ochieng′ ne   ok oneno Onyango.
              Ochieng′ PAST NEG saw   Onyango
              'Ochieng didn't see Onyango.' [Cable's (7)]

        b.   Ne   ok oneno (*Ochieng′) Onyango (*Ochieng′)
              PAST NEG saw   Ochieng′   Onyango Ochieng′
              'Ochieng′ didn't see Onyango.' [Cable's (14)]

(14)   Ot   wang′ (*ot).
        house burn   house
        'The house is burning.' [Cable's (16b)]

Second, and this is particularly visible in the morphologically rich Bantu languages, the patient does not control subject-agreement, no matter whether it is pre or postverbal (Kula and Marten, 2010). This is illustrated in (15). This pattern is quite unexpected if the preverbal patient actually realizes the grammatical subject of the verb.

(15)　a.　bá-alí-poos-a　ífy-ákulya (ku bá-àna).
　　　　　SM2-PST-throw-FV 7-food　　by　2-children
　　　　　'The food was thrown away by the children.'

　　　b.　ífy-ákulya bá-alí-poos-a　(ku bá-àna).
　　　　　7-food　　　SM2-PST-throw-FV by　2-children
　　　　　'The food was thrown away by the children.'

Third, and this is also visible in Bemba: fronted patients trigger object marking on the verb (Kula and Marten, 2010). This is visible with animate objects, as in (16).

(16)　umw-áàna bá-alí-mu-ít-a　　ku mu-mbúlu.
　　　1-child　　SM2-PST-OM1-call-fv by 3-wild.dog
　　　'The child was called by the wild dog.'

In Dholuo, the pronominalized patient of a transitive predicate is consistently realized as a suffix/enclitic (17), whereas the pronominalized subject is consistently realized as a prefix/proclitic (18) (The St Joseph's Society, 1921; Omondi, 1982; Tucker, 1994; Okoth-Okombo, 1997; Ochola, 1999).

(17)　(Dòrínà) n-ó-gò-yè/yì/yà.
　　　Dorina　　PAST-3s-beat-3s/2s/1s
　　　'She (Dorina) beat him/her/it//you/me.' [Adapted from Ochola's (8b)]

(18)　a/i/o-té` do.
　　　3s/2s/1s-cook.PERF
　　　'I have cooked.'

Additionally, a strong pronoun is illicit without the additional presence of a weak pronoun on the verb. In impersonal passives, whenever the patient is a strong pronoun, the weak pronoun attached to the verb is a suffix/enclitic rather than as a prefix/proclitic. This is shown in (19) (Ochola, 1999, 39).

(19)　ân　n-ò-gò-yà　　　(gi Dòrínà).
　　　I/me PAST-EXPL-beat-1s (by Dorina)
　　　'I was beaten (by Dorina).'

(19) is a regular case of fronting of the patient. Obligatory object marking on the verb here makes it visible that the patient is 'foregrounded' (topicalized) rather than promoted to grammatical subject (Keenan and Dryer, 2007).

In sum, what we have shown so far is that is that in impersonal passives, patients do not behave like regular grammatical subjects, but rather like grammatical objects.

2.3 On topicalization

We have seen that the patient can either remain in its canonical postverbal position or appear preverbally. This is illustrated again in (20) and in (21-b).

(20) (Onyango) ne   (Onyango) ok   (Onyango) one   (Onyango) gi
      Onyango   PAST Onyango   NEG Onyango   see.PASS Onyango   by
      Ochieng′.
      Ochieng′
      'Onyango wasn't seen by Ochieng′.' [Cable (2012) (12)]

(21) a. bá-alí-ly-a   ífy-ákulya (ku mu-mbúlu).
          sm2-PAST-eat-fv 7-food   by 3-wild.dog
          'The food was eaten by the wild dog.'

      b. Ify-ákulya bá-alí-ly-a   (ku mu-mbúlu).
          7-food   sm2-pst-eat-fv by 3-wild.dog
          'The food was eaten by the wild dog.' (Kula and Marten, 2010)

K&M do not elaborate on what determines the position of the patient in Bemba. In Dholuo, its position depends on it being assigned the 'Topic function' (Okoth-Okombo, 1997, 111). Although truth-conditionally equivalent, the examples in (22) are described as having distinct appropriateness conditions.

(22) a. Inego   kwach.
          kill.PASS.IMPERF leopard
          'A leopard is being killed.' [Okoth-Okombo, p112 (78)]

      b. Kwach inego.
          leopard kill.PASS.IMPERF
          'A leopard is being killed.' [Okoth-Okombo, p112 (79)]

(22)a is appropriate as an answer to a question about 'what is taking place', as in (23)a. (22)b preferably answers a question related to 'what is happening to the *leopard*', as in (23)b.

(23) a. Ango ma timore   ka?
          what   REL happen.IMPERF here
          'What is happening here?' [Okoth-Okombo, p112 (80)]

      b. Itimo   kwach nade?
          do.PASS.IMPERF leopard how
          'What is being done to the leopard? [Okoth-Okombo, p112 (81)]

We proposed in Hamlaoui and Makasso (2013) and Hamlaoui (2013) that whenever the patient is preverbal, it occupies a clause-internal, argumental, topic po-

sition. Substantiation of this claim will also come from the two other types of bare-passives discussed in Section 3 and 4. In our view, this position is reminiscent of the German Spec,CP except that it is located in the inflectional domain, hence the possibility for the fronted patient to subject-agree with the verb (see Section 4) and possibly develop into a grammatical subject. In the case of Dholuo, Cable (2012) shows that the position occupied by a fronted object is an A(rgument)-position.[4] Obviation of Principle C violations, in (24), and tolerance of 'weak crossover', in (25) are considered characteristic of movement to an A-position (we do not go into too much detail here, and refer the interested reader to Cable's paper). These facts, which are consistent with our proposal, are taken as evidence that the preverbal object occupies the regular grammatical subject position by Cable.

(24) a. Ne ok other [japuonj **Otieno**$_1$] gi en$_{2/*1}$.
          PAST NEG like.PASS [teacher Otieno] by him
          'Otieno$_1$'s teacher is not liked by him$_{2/*1}$.'

      b. [Japuonj **Otieno**$_1$] ne ([Japuonj **Otieno**$_1$]) ok ([Japuonj
          [teacher Otieno] PAST ([teacher Otieno]) NEG ([teacher
          Otieno$_1$]) oher gi en$_{1/2}$.
          Otieno]) like.PASS by him
          'Otieno$_1$'s teacher is not liked by him$_{1/2}$. [Cable's (25)]

What we see in (24)a is that the pronoun cannot corefer with an expression that it c-commands, in accordance with Principle C of binding theory. According to Cable, who assumes that the *gi*-phrase c-commands the postverbal patient, the fact that the pronoun can corefer with the patient whenever the latter is fronted, as in (24)b, suggests that fronted patients occupy an argument position. A similar conclusion can be drawn from (25), with a quantificational expression. The fact that the fronted expression in (25) can bind the pronoun *his* also suggests that it occupies an A-position (again, see Cable for more details).

(25) a. Oka [wuoi ka wuoi]$_1$ gi guoge$_{2/*1}$.
          bite.PASS every.boy by dog.his
          'Every boy$_1$ was bitten by his$_{2/*1}$ dog.

      b. [Wuoi ka wuoi]$_1$ oka gi guoge$_{1/2}$.
          every.boy bite.PASS by dog.his
          Every boy$_1$ was bitten by his$_{1/2}$ dog. [Cable's (29)]

These results go in the same direction as previous accounts of pseudo-passive object-topicalization according to which (i) the object is fronted to a position *within* the clause (rather than somewhere in the left-periphery of the clause), (ii)

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4   Legate (2012) also argues that in the Ahcenese (Malayo-Polynesian, Indonesia) impersonal passive, the fronted object occupies an A-position. Like Cable, she however interprets this fact as an argument in favor of the structural passive analysis of this construction.

the fronted object is still treated as a core argument of the verb, despite possible resumption (Noonan and Bavin Woock, 1978; Woolford, 1991; Ochola, 1999; Bostoen and Mundeke, 2011).

Just like in Mbuun and Bàsàá (see Section 3), (25)b additionally shows that 'topicalization' of non-referential expressions is also licit in Dholuo. By way of illustration, the left-dislocation of a non-referential expression is illicit in French. See (26) and (27) from de Cat (2007).

(26) *Tout   homme, il est mortel.
        any/every man   he is   mortal
        'Every man is mortal.'

(27) *Chaque potager, il a   son robinet.
        each   allotment it has its   tap
        'Every allotment has its tap.'

In sum, what we have proposed in this section is that there is a type of language in which the grammatical subject must match the thematically highest argument available. Whenever this requirement cannot be fulfilled, most probably due to conflicting information-structural requirements related to topicality (see (1)), what we see in languages like Dholuo and Bemba is that an agentive place-holder is used as the grammatical subject. The patient remains an object, and the logical agent is introduced with a lower thematic/semantic role, typically as a locative or an instrument. By doing so, these languages can simultaneously satisfy the default subject/agent mapping, and have a (full, nominal) agent outside of the Spec,TP position. A side-effect of this matching restriction is a clearer structural split between subjecthood and topicality. A phrase with greater topicality than the preferred grammatical subject can either stay in its canonical object position, or occupy a clause-initial, topic-like, A-position *within the inflectional domain*. In both cases, the object is however the first nominal argument (linearly) and thus satisfies the constraint in (1).

Let us now turn to zero-coded passive left-dislocation, in which the selected argument with the highest thematic role occupies Spec,TP and an argument with higher topicality is left-dislocated to our Spec,TopP.

3   Left-dislocation passives

Just like impersonal passives, Zero-coded passive left-dislocation is found in both Bantu and Nilotic languages. In Lango (Nilotic, Uganda), bare-passive left-dislocation has been discussed in a series of papers (Noonan, 1977; Noonan and Bavin Woock, 1978; Woolford, 1991) as well as in a grammar (Noonan, 1992). What Noonan calls a 'passive-analog', and which is 'created by a rule of NP-fronting', is illustrated in (28) to (30). What we see for instance in (28)

is that the object 'you', whose canonical position is after the verb, is located at the left-edge of the clause and resumed by an object marker. As noted by Noonan, fronting the object 'advances an NP to sentence initial position' (p128). According to Noonan, resumption is only obligatory for first and second person pronouns and complement of prepositions, as visible in (28) and (29). In contrast, non-human direct objects never display a resumptive pronoun, as illustrated in (30).

(28)   yín dákô òmìyí   dyɛ̀l.
       you woman 3s.give.perf.2s goat
       'You were given a goat by the woman.'

(29)   án rwòt òmìrò   dyàŋ bòtɔ́.
       I   king 3s.give.perf cow to.1s
       'I was given the cow by the king.'

(30)   àpwô àtîn ònɛ̀nɔ̀.
       hare   child 3s.see.perf
       'The hare was seen by the child.'

Bare-passive left-dislocation displays a number of properties that distinguishes it from the type of left-dislocation that has been discussed in many European languages. As shown by the existing literature on Lango bare-passives, the dislocated phrase is syntactically more akin to a grammatical subject than to a hanging topic (see references *infra*). We will illustrate this subsequently, with data from Bàsàá (Bantu, A43) (Hamlaoui and Makasso, 2013; Hamlaoui and Szendrői, in press).

Before turning to Bantu languages, note that Lango does not have a morphological passive. The correlation between the absence of morphological categories and the use of bare-passive strategies established by Cobbinah and Lüpke (2009) thus holds for this Nilotic language. It also holds for Mbuun (Bantu B87, DRC), whose functional passive left-dislocation has recently been discussed. Bostoen and Mundeke (2011) (henceforth B&M) show that in this language, which also lacks morphological passive marking, left-dislocating an object is the functional equivalent of a long passive. One of their examples of "functional-passive" left-dislocation is given in (31).

(31)   ba-án taar o-á-(bá-)bol.
       2-child father SM1-PRES-(OM2-)beat
       'The children are beaten by father.'

According to B&M, this pattern contrasts with what is observed in contrastive left-dislocation, where resumption is obligatory. This is illustrated in (32), in which both types of left-dislocation are at play.

(32)   a.   taar o-á-pa   nkáb i-kɔɔn.
                father SM1-PRES-give beggar 5-banana
                'Father gives the beggar a banana.'

        b.   nkáb i-kɔɔn taar o-á-(lá-)mó-pa
                beggar 5-banana father SM1-PRES-(OM5-)OM1-give
                'The beggar, a banana is given to him by father.'

        c.   i-kɔɔn nkáb taar o-á-lá-(mó-)pa
                5-banana beggar father SM1-PRES-OM5-(OM1-)give
                'The banana, the beggar is given it by father.'

Note however that whenever a speech act participant is involved in passive left-dislocation, resumption is obligatory. This is illustrated in (33) (B&M, p77).

(33)   mmɛ a-mpúlúús ba-á-mé/N-leŋ.
         me   2-police   SM2-PRES-OM1sg-search
         'I am wanted/searched by the police.'

Patterns of resumption thus vary both language internally and cross-linguistically, and more research is needed to account for resumption in pseudo-passives.

    Importantly to us, zero-coded left-dislocation is not limited to languages that lack passive morphology, suggesting, again, that paucity of morphological categories is not the source of bare-passives. Northern Bàsàá is yet another language that displays this special type of left-dislocation. In contrast to Mbuun and Lango, Bàsàá has a passive extension, which is used in short (neutro) passives, as in (34)b. As shown in (34)c, in this language long passives are ill-formed.

(34)   a.   síŋgá ì-ǹ-ʤɛ́   tólò.
                9.cat   9.AGR-PST1-eat 1.mouse
                'The cat ate the mouse.'

        b.   tòlò   à-n-ʤé-βâ.
                1-mouse 1.AGR-PST1-eat-PASS
                'The mouse was eaten.'

        c.   *tòlò   à-ǹ-ʤé-βâ   nì síŋgá.
                1.mouse 1.AGR-PST1-eat-PASS by 9.cat
                'The mouse was eaten by the cat.'

What we call the neutro-passive in (34)b is a structure in which no agent argument is in fact selected by the verb. This is consistent with the fact that an adverb like 'voluntarily' cannot be inserted in this type of sentences, as in (35).

(35)   tòlò   à-ǹ-ʤé-βâ   (*nì ǹʃɛŋ).
                1.mouse 1.AGR-PST1-eat-PASS with will
         'The mouse was (*voluntarily) eaten.'

The grammatical alternative to the long passive in (34)c is given in (36). Just like in Lango and Mbuun, it consists in 'foregrounding' the patient by left-dislocating it.

(36) tòlò   síŋgá ì-n̄-ʤɛ́   ɲɛ́
      1.mouse 9.cat 9.AGR-PST1-eat 1.PRO.
      'The mouse was eaten by the cat.'

In Hamlaoui and Makasso (in press), we argue that just like Lango, Bàsàá is an "indirect role marking language", in that surface positions primarily encode grammatical relations. In both languages, there are few deviations from the basic SVO order. In our view, the fact that the expression of argument structure tends to take the upper hand on the expression of information structure might be the source of bare-passive left-dislocation in these two languages. This hypothesis remains to be tested in Mbuun.

3.1 Bare-passive *vs* morphological passive

Bare-passive left-dislocation is somehow less restricted that the morphological passive as, as shown in (37) and (38), it can target either of the two objects of a ditransitive passive. A similar pattern is observed in Mbuun and Lango, in which bare-passive left-dislocation is not limited to patient arguments (Noonan, p151; B&M, p77).

(37) ɓ-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgɛ́ ɓɔ́-ɓá-sô   sóɣól   à-n̄-tí   ɓɔ́ ndáp.
      2-children 2.PRO-2CONN-all 1.grandfather 1.AGR-PST1-give 2.PRO 9.house
      'All the children, the grandfather gave them a house.'
      (= All the children were given a house by the grandfather)

(38) ndáp sóɣól   à-n̄-tí   jɔ́ ɓ-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgɛ́ ɓɔ́-ɓá-sô.
      9.house 1.grandfather 1.AGR-PST1-give 9.PRO 2-children 2.PRO-2CONN-all
      'A house, the grandfather gave it to all the children.'
      (= A house was given to all the children by the grandfather)

Note however that, just like Lango (Noonan, 1992, 150) (and what seems to be the case in Mbuun too), this type of left-dislocation only targets one argument of the verb at a time, as illustrated in (39).

(39) *ndáp ɓ-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgɛ́ ɓɔ́-ɓá-sô   sóɣól   à-n̄-tí   ɓɔ́ jɔ́.
      9.house 2-children 2.PRO-2CONN-all 1.grandfather 1.AGR-PST1-give 2.PRO 9.PRO
      'A house, all the children, the grandfather gave it to them.'

This restriction might indicate that, contrary to the process of left-dislocation found in French, in which several phrases can simultaneously be dislocated, Bàsàá, Mbuun and Lango's left-dislocated arguments occupy a specific (argument) position. An example of (colloquial) French multiple left-dislocation is given in (40).

(40) Tu comprends Jacqueline, sa mère, la bonne,   elle la lui
      you understand   Jacqueline   her mother the housekeeper she   her to-her
      refile.
      gives(familiar)
      'You understand, Jacqueline's mother gives her housekeeper to her.'
      (Gadet 1989:171)

Further differences between Romance/Germanic left-dislocation and pseudo-passive left-dislocation are discussed in the following.

3.2 Bare-passive LD *vs* LD

Whereas Romance and Germanic languages can either dislocate phrases to the left or the right of the core-clause, there is no right-hand counterpart to bare-passive left-dislocation. In Bàsàá, right-dislocation gives rise to a reading which has not yet been fully investigated, and in which the object's referent is understood as a special, non-representative member of its class (for instance, particularly big).

(41) síŋgá ì-ǹ-ʤɛ́   ɲɛ́   tòlò.
      9.cat   9.AGR-PST1-eat 1.PRO 1.mouse
      'What a mouse the cat ate!' (In colloquial French: 'Il a mangé une de ces souris!')

Another trait of bare-passive left-dislocation is that singular quantified expressions and non-specific indefinites can participate in this process.

(42) hí⁺ɣí ǹ-tómbá nʤèé ì-ǹ-nóɔl   jɔ́.
      every 3-sheep   9.lion 9.AGR-PST1-kill 3.PRO
      'Every sheep, the lion killed it'
      (= Every sheep was killed by the lion)

Bare-passive left-dislocation can take place in clauses with non-root properties, like restrictive-relative clauses, as in (43), whereas this is not possible in French (44).

(43) í-màà-ŋgɛ́ (nú) βìʤɛ́k gwéé mɛ̀ βí-ʤɛ́ gwɔ́.
      aug-1-child (that) 8.food 8.poss I   pst2-eat 8.PRO
      'The child whose food I ate it.' (Jenks et al., 2012) (= The child whose food was eaten by me)

(44) *le   livre qu'à Marie$_i$, Pierre lui$_i$ a   donné
      The book that-to Marie   Pierre   to-her has given
      'The book that Peter gave to Mary'

Altogether, these properties thus distinguish zero-coded left-dislocation from the Romance or German-type of left-dislocation illustrated from (45) to (48).

(45)   La pluie$_i$, ta salade$_j$, elle$_i$ lui$_j$ fera du bien.
        'The rain will do some good to your salade' [French ClLD, de Cat (2007, 91)]

(46)   Giorgio$_i$, non conosco la ragazza che lui$_i$ vuole sposare.
        'I don't know the girl that Giorgio wants to marry.' [Italian HTLD, Cinque (1983, 97)]

(47)   Hans$_i$, jeder mag ihn$_i$.
        'Everyone likes Hans' [German HTLD, Frey (2005)]

(48)   John$_i$, he$_i$ never does anything right. [English LD, Downing (1970)]

Despite their disagreement on the exact location of these left-dislocated phrases, researchers generally agree on the fact that they are located outside of the inflectional domain. Existing proposals are illustrated in (49) to (52). The most recent approach, in (52), even places these dislocated phrases in a separate clause (Ott, 2013).

(49)   [$_{TP}$ LD-XP [$_{TP}$ ... Resumptive...]] (de Cat, 2007)

(50)   [$_{CP}$ Contrastive Topic [$_{CP}$ Topic [$_{IP}$ Subject [$_{Topic}$ Topic [$_{vP}$ ... Resumptive...]]]]] (Cheng and Downing, 2009)

(51)   [$_{TopP}$ LD-XP [$_{FocP}$ *Op* [$_{IP}$ ... Resumptive ...]]] (Cinque, 1983)

(52)   [$_{CP1}$ LD-XP ~~material identical to CP$_2$~~] [$_{CP2}$ *Op* ... Resumptive ...] (Ott, 2013)

This contrasts with what has been proposed for bare-passive left-dislocation. Not much formal work has been done on the topic. Woolford (1991) however proposes that in Lango, the fronted patient occupies Spec,IP (/Spec,TP), while the agent simply stays in Spec,VP (/Spec,*v*P). This is illustrated in (53).

(53)   [$_{IP}$ NP$_i$ [$_{VP}$ NP V t_i/pronoun$_i$]]

Her analysis, which accounts for the observations made in Lango, Mbuun and Bàsàá that the fronted patient is akin to a second subject, is however problematic in at least two ways. First (from a purely theory-internal perspective), it violates Relativized Minimality (Rizzi, 1990): what would motivate the movement of the patient to Spec,TP over the agent? Second, in a Bantu language like Bàsàá, subject-verb agreement systematically occurs in TP, and one would need to explain why it takes place in *v*P in bare-passive left-dislocation.

Instead, we propose the structure in (54) (Hamlaoui and Makasso, 2013; Hamlaoui and Szendrői, in press), in which both agent and verb occupy their regular position under TP, and the topical patient occupies a clause-internal, argumental, topic position. This position is the one that is occupied by fronted

patients in impersonal passives, and we will argue in Section 3.3. that it is the one occupied by fronted objects in OVS bare passive sentences in Kinyarwanda/Kirundi.

(54) $[_{CP} ... [_{TopP} \textbf{DP}_i [_{TP} \textbf{DP}_j \textbf{V}_k [_{vP} t_j \textbf{V}_k [_{vP} \textbf{V}_k t_i/pronoun_i]]]]]$

Again, we do not address here the issue of resumption, and how the object can sometimes be doubled. We leave this issue open for future research.

In sum, if we are on the right track, Dholuo, Bemba, Lango, Mbuun and Bàsàá are similar in that they need for the most topical argument to come first (linearly). Their strong requirement for matching the highest thematic argument available with the grammatical subject (Spec,TP) prevents them from doing so by realizing the non-agent as the grammatical subject. Instead, Lango, Mbuun and Bàsàá simply locate the topical object in a syntactically higher (argument) position. They operate a clear split between topicality (being the subject of the predication) and subjecthood (being in Spec,TP).

4   Reversal passives

Subject-object reversal passives are our third and last type of bare-passive. They have been extensively discussed in Kinyarwanda/Kirundi (a.o. Kimenyi, 1980, 1988; Morimoto, 2000; Henderson, 2006, 2011). To the best of our knowledge, this strategy has not been observed in Western Nilotic.

The Kinyarwanda/Kirundi-type of OVS, in which the object controls subject agreement on the verb is illustrated in (55) for Kinyarwanda, and in (56) for Kanyok.[5]

(55)   igi-tabo ki-som-a   umu-huûngu.
         7-book   SM7-read-ASP 1-boy
         'The book is being read by the boy.' (Kimenyi, 1980, 192)

(56)   mi-saany yì-dyààdy ba-tùw.
         4-fish   SM4-eat   2-fisherwoman
         'The fish is eaten by the fisherwomen.' (Bostoen and Mundeke, 2011, p165, from p.c. with Timothee Mukash-Kalel)

As the existing literature on this type of OVS shows, the preverbal object and the postverbal subject retain their respective object and subject properties: "NPs advanced to subject by the [Subject-Object] reversal rule do not acquire the properties of basic subjects, such as raising, deletion under identity, and *ha*-insertion" (Kimenyi (1980, 145) from Morimoto (2006, 166)). The only subject-like properties of the object are its linearly preverbal location and its control over

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[5]   We do not discuss Bantu OVS in which subject-agreement is controlled by the postverbal subject. We refer the interested reader to van der Wal (2012). An extension of some of our proposals to Matengo (N13, Tanzania) can already be found in van der Wal (2014).

subject-agreement. It cannot be left-out and represented by a subject marker on the verb, as can be done with regular subjects. In addition, the postverbal agent can neither be left-out, nor substituted by an object marker on the verb.

Several proposals have been made to account for this type of OVS (see Marten, this volume). We will mention only two of them here. Concentrating on the fact that the postverbal subject is interpreted as focused, Ndayiragije (1999) proposes that, in OVS structures, the subject is moved from Spec,*v*P to the specifier of a Focus projection (FocP), thus freeing the non-agent to move to Spec,TP and avoiding a violation of relativized minimality. It is not however entirely clear to us how this proposal accounts for the fact that a preverbal object does not behave like a regular subject in Spec,TP. Morimoto (2000, 2006), in contrast, concentrates on the topicality of the preverbal object. In a nutshell, she proposes that Kinyarwanda/Kirundi is a language in which the verb subject-agrees with a topic and is thus a(n internal) topic-marker rather than a subject-marker. If there are indeed languages in which verbs agree with the most topical element in the clause (rather than with the one realizing a certain case or the highest thematic role), Morimoto's account predicts that we should find languages in which this happens independently of the position of this element (just like, cross-linguistically, subject-agreement based on case/thematic role happens independently of the position of the grammatical subject (i.e. pre or postverbal)). To the best of our knowledge, there are no languages in which a verb identifies the most topical phrase around and subject-agrees with it, no matter where it is located. What we see in Kinyarwanda/Kirundi is that "topic-agreement" is dependent on the position of the most topical phrase. This phrase must immediately precede the verb, and we believe that it must be in a Spec-Head configuration with it.

We propose that in the present type of OVS structure, the agent is a regular subject, that occupies the Spec,TP position. By doing so, it fulfills the requirement that the selected argument with the highest thematic role realize the grammatical subject. This accounts for the non-object properties of this type of postverbal subject. The OVS word order is derived by moving the topical object and the verb to the (inflectional-domain internal) TopP. Contrary to the common view, the postverbal subject here neither stays low (in *v*P/VP) nor moves to the right of the verb. Rather, the verb and the object move to the left of the subject. This proposal is illustrated in (57).

(57)　　[$_{CP}$ ... [$_{TopP}$ **DP**$_i$ **V**$_k$ [$_{TP}$ **DP**$_j$ <V>$_k$ [$_{vP}$ t_j <V>$_k$ [$_{VP}$ <V>$_k$ t_i]]]]]]

As argued by Baker (2008), asymmetric c-command is a strong requirement for subject-agreement in Bantu languages, compared to Indo-European languages, in which subject agreement normally takes place with the argument carrying the subject case/thematic role, no matter its syntactic location. Under the present

view, what we see in Kinyarwanda is an application of this configuration-based agreement: the verb simply agrees with the argument with which it ends up being in a Spec-Head configuration, even if it is not the highest thematic role available.[6] Additionally, and in contrast with (non-passive-related) OVS structures, observed for instance in V2 languages like German, in which O and V sit in the CP domain and do not subject-agree, what is observed in Kinyarwanda suggests that O and V sit within the inflectional domain. If we are on the right track, the Kinyarwanda-type of OVS illustrates Kula & Marten's claim that "subject and object marking cannot [always] be taken as a reliable indication of syntactic subject and object status" (p31).

The relation between the OSV and OVS zero-coded passives was already noted by Bostoen and Mundeke (2011). In our approach, the difference between Bantu languages like Bàsàá and Kinyarwanda/Kirundi is related to how high the verb can move, rather than to the nature of agreement (*contra* Morimoto (2000, 2006)). The main difference between OSV (Section 3) and OVS bare-passives is thus the height of the verb.

In Kinyarwanda/Kirundi, a motivation for the movement of the verb to Top can be found in the need for aligning focused phrases with the right edge of the clause. No such need is found in Bàsàá, for instance (Hamlaoui and Makasso, in press). As already noted in Hamlaoui and Makasso (2013), a number of facts reported by Kimenyi (1980, 1988) and Ndayiragije (1999) indeed suggest that in Kinyarwanda/Kirundi, a focused phrase must align with the right-edge of a clause. By way of illustration, in Kinyarwanda a verb can have up to three prepositionless objects. This is shown in (58). According to Kimenyi, "there is free word order of objects except that it is the new information which always comes last."

(58) Abagabo ba-ra-so-baanur-ir-a   abagóre ábáana ibibazo.
      men   they-TNS-explain-APPL-ASP women   children questions
      'The men are explaining the questions to the children for the women'.
      (Kimenyi, 1988, 356)

Examples (59) and (60) (from Ndayiragije, 1999) further illustrate the relative freedom of word order in the postverbal domain, with the need for the focused phrase to be rightmost within the clause.

(59) Yohani a-á-oógeje   néezá imiduga.
      John   sm1-PST-wash.PERF well   cars
      'John washed CARS well.'

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6   As already mentioned in Hamlaoui and Makasso (2013), our configuration-based agreement proposal makes the prediction that postverbal subject-agreement should be highly restricted/impossible in the Kinyarwanda/Kirundi-type of languages.

(60)   Yohani a-á-oógeje   imiduga néezá.
       John   SM1-PST-wash.PERF cars   well
       'John washed cars WELL.'

As argued in Hamlaoui (2009), cleft-sentences of the type illustrated in (61) can also fulfill this requirement.

(61)   Ni abâna ba-á-nyôye   amatá.
       be children SM2-PST-drink.PERF milk
       'It was CHILDREN who drank milk.' Kirundi (Ndayiragije, 1999, 407)

If we are on the right track, the OVS bare-passive structure is an optimal strategy to align a subject with the right edge of the clause and simultaneously realize the default mapping between Spec,TP and the selected argument with the highest thematic role.

5   Concluding remarks

In this note, we concentrated on three bare-passive structures found in Bantu (Bàsàá, Bemba and Mbuun) and Western Nilotic (Dholuo and Lango). We argued that impersonal passives, zero-coded passive left-dislocations and so-called "subject-object reversal" passives constitute an optimal strategy to change prominence relations between arguments, in languages that strongly hold to the default mapping between the selected argument with the highest thematic role and the grammatical subject (i.e. Spec,TP). The languages discussed in the present paper differ in how they satisfy this mapping. Dholuo and Bemba resort to an agentive place-holder (an indefinite subject marker, whose exact syntactic location remains to be investigated) and turn the logical agent into a lower thematic role (e.g. instrument, locative). By doing so, they can realize the logical agent in a lower syntactic position. Bàsàá, Mbuun, Lango and Kinyarwanda/Kirundi, in contrast, locate the nominal phrase with the highest thematic role under Spec,TP, and locate the most topical argument in a higher argument position within the inflectional domain. From an information-structural perspective, these bare-passive strategies primarily allow to place the argument with the highest topicality first (linearly). Depending on the language, impersonal passives and OVS passives can additionally allow to align a focused agent with the right edge of the clause. In Hamlaoui and Makasso (2013), we proposed the "mini-typology" of transitive passive constructions in Figure 1, in which we also included long passive sentences common in French, English or in Bantu languages like Swahili or Sotho/Tswana, for instance.

Whereas all types of transitive passives represented pragmatically demote agents and pragmatically promote a non-agent, only English/French long passives and Kinyarwanda/Kirundi OVS grammatically promote the non-agent by having it subject-agree with the verb. The grammatical demotion of the agent

is only found in English/French long passives and (partially) in Dholuo/Bemba impersonal passives, as OVS and OSV passives locate the agent in its regular grammatical subject position (Spec,TP). On the syntactic level, grammatical demotion or promotion is thus dependent on the type of transitive passive one considers.

Transitive passive	Grammatical Promotion of Object	Grammatical Demotion of Subject
O-V by S (English, French)	+	+
O expl-V by S expl-V O by S (Bemba)	-	+
O-VS (Kinyarwanda)	+	-
OS-V (pro) (Bàsàa, Mbuun)	-	-

Figure 1 : Mini-typology Transitive Passive (Hamlaoui and Makasso, 2013)

Our work on bare-passives is still in progress, and as the attentive reader will have noted, a number of issues were left open for future research. To be continued...

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