

# NOMINAL LICENSING, FOCUS, & AGREEMENT IN KINANDE

**BASIS BRAINSTORM: BANTU SYNTAX & INFORMATION  
STRUCTURE, LEIDEN**

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Nov 8, 2019

## GOALS & CLAIMS

- Investigate the syntax of agreement in non-verbal predication constructions in Kinande (Bantu JD42) & offer preliminary account of its behavior.
- Kinande is quite rich in agreement, but non-verbal predication relies on an invariant particle in the case of present tense predicational sentences (a property predicated of a subject). Why an invariant particle?
- (I) a. Kambale **ni** mugalímu/múli  
Kambale COP Iteacher/I tall  
'Kambale is a teacher/tall.'
- b. Abana ni .... / Ekitabu ni .... / Oluhi ni ....  
2child NI 7book NI I Iwar NI  
'The children are...' 'The book is ...' 'The war is ...'

## GOALS & CLAIMS

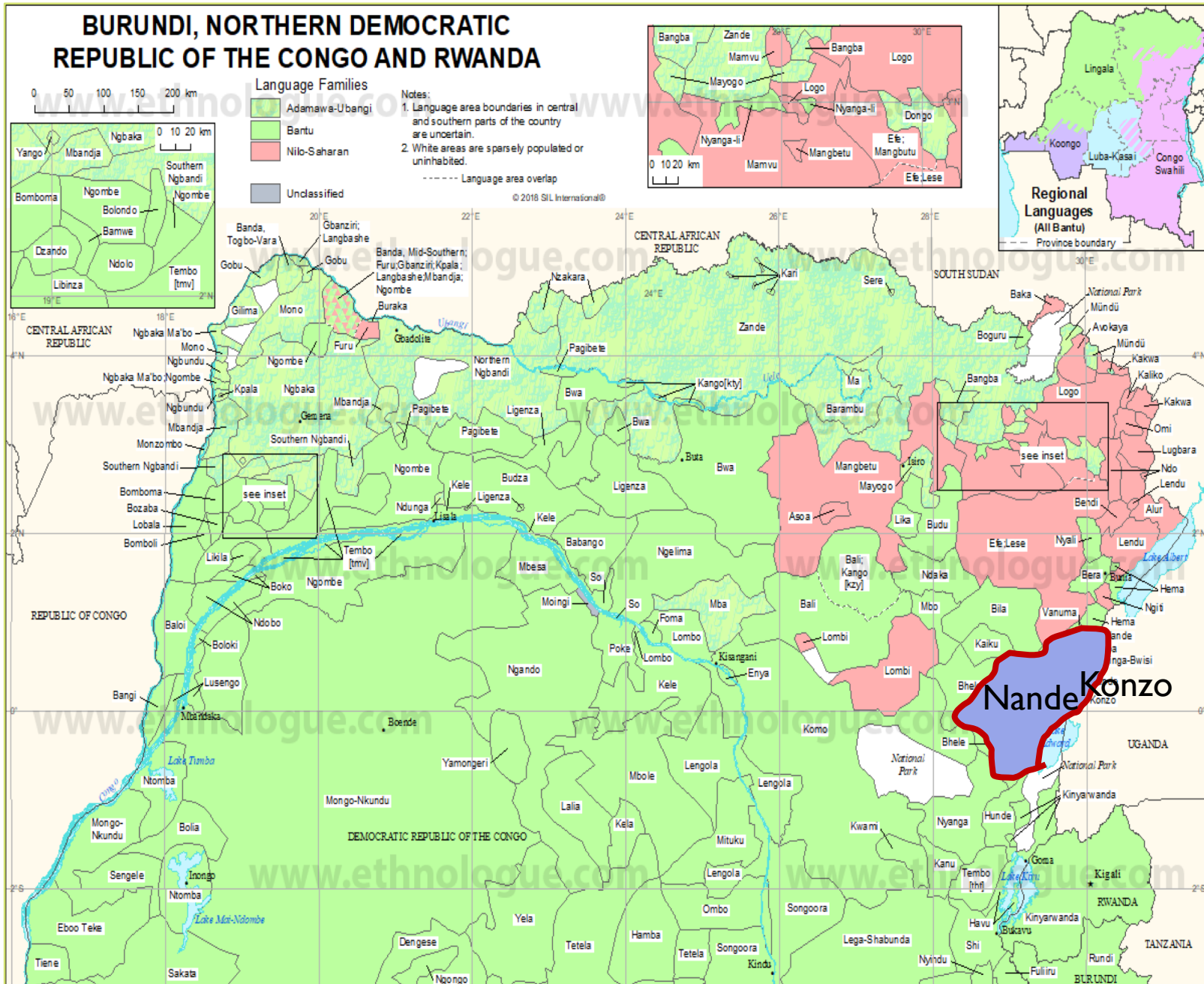
- Invariant particles are restricted to 3<sup>rd</sup> person. 1<sup>st</sup> & 2<sup>nd</sup> person subjects have a different agreement pattern in copular clauses.
- (2) a. **nyi-li**      mugalímu/múli  
1s-LI      1teacher/1tall  
‘I am a/the teacher/I am tall.’  
b. **u-li**      mugalímu/múli  
2s-li(COP) 1teacher/1tall  
‘you are a/the teacher/tall.’
- [+PART] = + PARTICIPANTS: speaker & hearer

## GOALS & CLAIMS

- Add to our empirical knowledge of differing [+PART]/[-PART] agreement & hierarchy patterns
- provide support for Preminger's (2019) **NO-NULL-AGREEMENT GENERALIZATION--** “There is no such thing as morpho-phonologically undetectable  $\varphi$ -feature agreement.”
- Identify instances of unlicensed nominals interfering with agreement.
- Discovery of downward AGREE in Kinande--possible due to lack of vP in copular clauses.

# ROADMAP

- a) brief background on morphology & relevant structures for Kinande
- b) first puzzle: predicational copular clauses
  - [**subject+predicate**] (*varying information structure possibilities*)
- c) second puzzle: predicational copular clauses with focused subjects
  - [syntactic structure: **subject+predicate**] (IS: **FOCUS** **TOPIC**)
- d) third puzzle: specificational copular clauses
  - [syntactic structure: **predicate+subject**] (IS: **TOPIC** **FOCUS**)
- IS = Information Structure



(KI)NANDE/KONZO  
NARROW BANTU –  
(J42)

←

(NEAREST MAJOR CITY:  
BUTEMBO, DRC)

	NC marker	subject AGR:
1 <sup>st</sup> pers		<b>N- (ni-)</b> <b>(nyi-)</b>
2 <sup>nd</sup> pers		<b>u-</b>
3 <sup>rd</sup> per class 1	<b>(o)mu</b>	<b>a-</b>
class 1a	<b>∅</b> <b>names</b> <b>kinship</b>	<b>a-</b>
1 <sup>st</sup> per pl		<b>tu-</b>
2 <sup>nd</sup> per pl		<b>mu-</b>
class 2,	<b>(a)ba</b>	<b>ba-</b>
class 2a	<b>(a)bo</b>	<b>ba-</b>
Class 3	<b>(o)mu</b>	<b>a-</b>
class 4	<b>(e)mi</b>	<b>i-</b>
class 5	<b>(e)li</b>	<b>li-</b>
class 6	<b>(a)ma</b>	<b>a-</b>
class 7	<b>(e)ki</b>	<b>ki-</b>
class 8	<b>(e)bi</b>	<b>bi-</b>

	NC marker	subject AGR:
class 9 9a 9b	<b>(e)N</b> <b>i</b> <b>∅</b>	<b>yi-</b>
class 10	<b>(e)si</b>	<b>si-</b>
	<b>(e)si-oN</b>	
class 11	<b>(o)lu</b>	<b>lu-</b>
class 12	<b>(a)ka</b>	<b>ka-</b>
class 13	<b>(o)tu</b>	<b>tu-</b>
class 14	<b>(o)bu</b>	<b>bu-</b>
class 15	<b>(o)ku</b>	<b>ku-</b>
class 16	<b>(a)ho</b>	<b>ha-</b>
class 17	<b>oko</b>	<b>ku-</b>
class 18	<b>omo</b>	<b>mu-</b>
class 19	<b>(e)hi</b>	<b>hi-</b>
class 24	<b>(∅)e/∅</b>	<b>i-</b>

- 20 genders
- + 1<sup>st</sup> & 2<sup>nd</sup> person sg/pl agreement

TABLE I – THE S/V AGREEMENT PARADIGM IN KINANDE

# KINANDE: NOMINAL STRUCTURE

## Augment - noun class marker (NC) - noun

augmented nouns

o-mu-kali

AUG-NC1-woman 'a/the woman'

a-ba-kali

AUG-NC2-woman '(the) women'

e-ki-tabu

AUG-NC7-book 'a/the book'

esyo-/N/-pago

AUG-NC10-plank '(the) planks'

non-augmented nouns

mu-kali

NC1-woman 'any woman'

ba-kali

NC2-woman 'any women'

ki-tabu

NC7-book 'any book'

/N/-pago

NC10-plank 'any planks'

TABLE 2 – NOMINAL STRUCTURE IN KINANDE



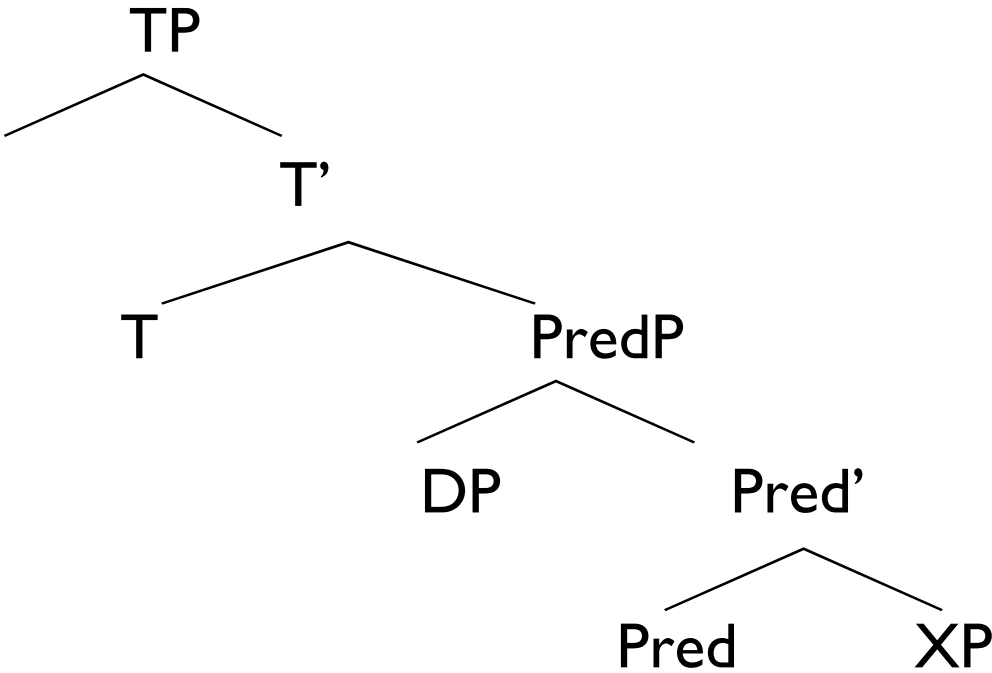
## ROUGH PICTURE OF COPULAS IN KINANDE

<b>ni</b>	invariant form, used in present tense predicational clauses
<b>-li</b>	used with locative predicates
<b>-o</b>	pronominal copula, used in specificational clauses
<b>-b-</b> (-bya)	accepts tense (-PRES)
<b>-ne</b>	evidential copula

TABLE 3 – COPULAS FOUND IN KINANDE

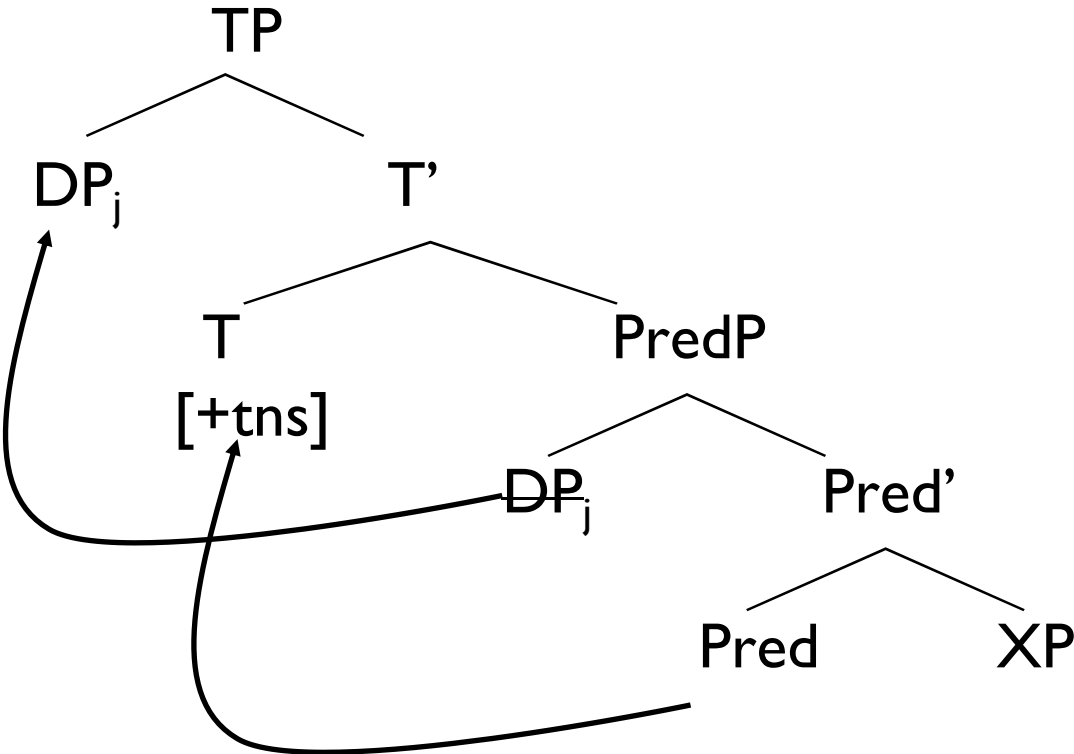
# PRED PHRASE

(3) foundation of copular clause: [<sub>PREDP</sub> ZP [<sub>PRED</sub> Pred [ XP ]]]



# PRED PHRASE

(3') foundation of copular clause: [<sub>PREDP</sub> ZP [<sub>PRED</sub> Pred [ XP]]];  
raising of Pred to T and of DP from spec of PredP to spec of TP



## FIRST PUZZLE

- 1<sup>st</sup> & 2<sup>nd</sup> person subject of predicational copular clause co-occur with a **different copula than 3<sup>rd</sup> person** subject of predication

1 <sup>st</sup> person sg	2 <sup>nd</sup> person sg	3 <sup>rd</sup> person-- all noun classes
a. <b>nyi-li</b> mugalímu/múli 1s-li(COP) teacher/1 tall 'I am a/the teacher/I am tall.'	b. <b>u-li</b> mugalímu/múli 2s-li(COP) teacher/1 tall 'you are a/the teacher/tall.'	c. <b>ni/*li</b> mugalímu/múli ni (COP) teacher/1 tall 'he/she is a/the teacher/tall.'

TABLE 4 – PRESENT TENSE PREDICATIONAL COPULAR SENTENCES; XP = NOMINAL PREDICATE, ADJECTIVAL PREDICATE

## THE LOCATIVE COPULA & ITS DISTRIBUTION

(4) akábisamó      kuwéne *kalí*      éndina      oko      ngíngo  
 12hiding.place   12good   12-li(COP)   24inferior   17LOC   9bed  
 ‘The good hiding place is under the bed.’

<b>1<sup>st</sup> &amp; 2<sup>nd</sup> Pers:</b> locative & non-locative predicates		<b>3<sup>rd</sup> Pers</b> (all NC): locative predicates only
a. <b>nyi-li</b> <b>1s-li(COP)</b> ‘I am (in ...)’	b. <b>u-li</b> <b>2s-li(COP)</b> ‘you are (in...)’	c. <b>a-li</b> [PP] <b>3s-li(COP)</b> ‘he/she is in ...’

TABLE 5 – THE DISTRIBUTION OF LOCATIVE COPULAS

## DISTRIBUTION OF COPULAS, PUZZLE I

	1 <sup>st</sup> Person	2 <sup>nd</sup> Person	3 <sup>rd</sup> Person
XP = Nominal	-li	-li	ni
XP = Adjectival	-li	-li	ni
XP = Locative	-li	-li	-li

TABLE 6 – SUMMARY OF DISTRIBUTION OF COPULAS

## LAST RESORT FOR [+PART] AGREEMENT

- Claim: the 1st & 2nd person agreeing verbal copula forms that occur when  $XP = NP, AP$  are last resort forms
- Last resort flavor: There are perfectly good instances of agreeing third person verbal copulas as well. Why could they not be used when  $XP = NP, AP$ ?

# DISTRIBUTION OF COPULAS, PUZZLE I

	1 <sup>st</sup> Person	2 <sup>nd</sup> Person	3 <sup>rd</sup> Person
XP = Nominal	-li	-li	ni
XP = Adjectival	-li	-li	ni
XP = Locative	-li	-li	-li

TABLE 6' – SUMMARY OF DISTRIBUTION OF COPULAS—”FAKE” –LI  
COPULA (LAST RESORT FORM)



## EVIDENCE FOR T IN COPULAR CLAUSES: SECONDARY PREDICATION

- (5) a. Ngálangira [Nadíné \*(**mo**) mubúya] SMALL CLAUSE  
 I s.see Nadine **MO** I beautiful  
 ‘I find Nadine beautiful.’
- b. kutse muyire [[omuti **mo** mubi] n' [ebĩgũma byago **mo** bibi]]  
 or have 3tree **MO** 3bad and 8fruit 8its **MO** 8bad  
 ...or make the tree bad and its fruit bad. (...Matthew 12:33, *Kinandi New Testament*)
- c. Kám bale mwálya [enyamá \*(**mó**) mbísi] OBJECT DEPICTIVE  
 Kambale 3s.ate 9meat **MO** 9raw  
 ‘Kambale ate the meat raw.’
- d. Kám bale átwa [akaratásí \*(**mo**) bihán de] RESULTATIVE  
 Kambale 3s.cut 12paper **MO** 8piece  
 ‘Kambale cut the paper into pieces.’

- SECONDARY PREDICATION: MEDIATED BY PARTICLE **MO**

## EVIDENCE FOR T IN COPULAR CLAUSES: SECONDARY PREDICATION

- Inversions not possible in secondary predication (suggests less structure with **MO**), but if **ni** occurs in those contexts, then, inversion is possible (suggests more structure with **ni**)

(6) a. ngáconsiderere [Magúlu mo mulidére] (exs from Schneider-Zioga & Mutaka 2015)

Is.consider Magulu MO Ileader

‘I consider Magulu the leader.’

b. \*Ngáconsiderere [omulidéré mo Magúlu]

Is.consider Ileader MO Magulu

‘I consider the leader to be Magulu.’

c. Ngáconsiderere [omulidéré kó **ni** [Magúlu \_\_\_\_ ]]

Is.consider Ileader that be Magulu

‘I consider the leader to be Magulu.’

d. Ngáconsiderere [omulidéré kw’á-lí **í-ni** [Magúlu \_\_\_\_ ]]

Is.consider Ileader that’3s.be i-be Magulu

‘I consider the leader to be Magulu.’

## EVIDENCE FOR T IN COPULAR CLAUSES: SECONDARY PREDICATION

- Inversions not possible in secondary predication (suggests less structure), but if **ni** occurs in those contexts, then, inversion is possible (suggests more structure with **ni**)

(7) a. Mobawazire      Kambale ko yo    mwami  
AFF-2-think-TAM    Kambale KO YO    I chief  
'They imagine Kambale chief.'

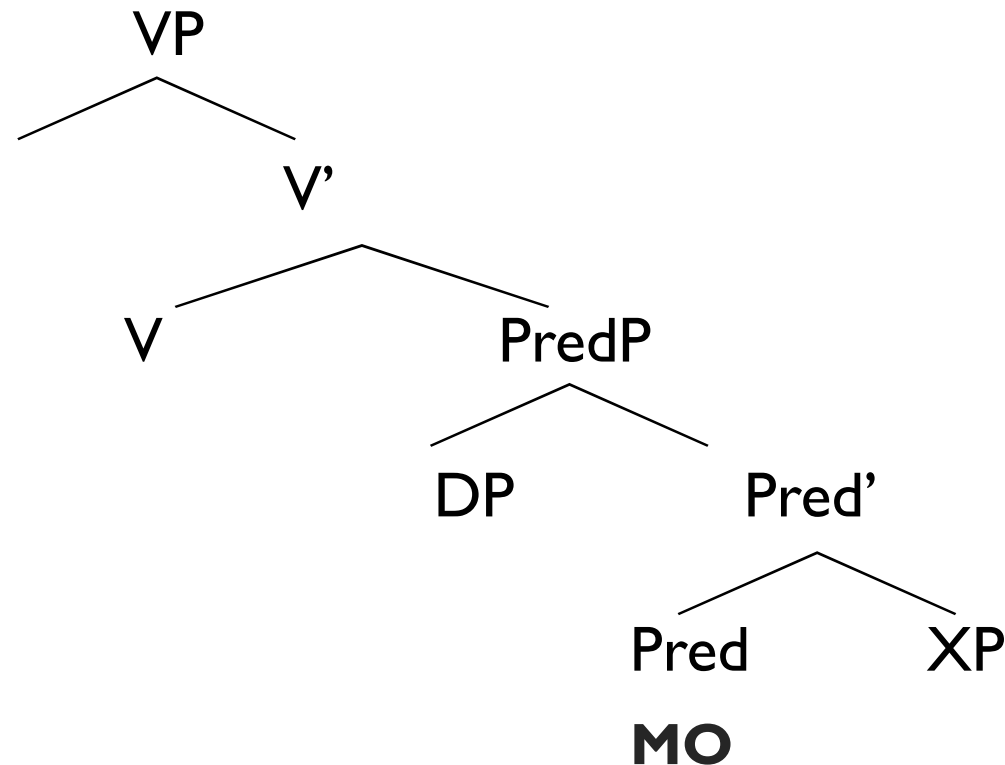
b.\*Mobawazire      omwami ko/nga yo    Kambale  
AFF-2-think-TAM    I chief    KO/ as YO    Kambale  
*intended*: 'They imagine the chief to be Kambale.'

c. Mobawazire      [omwami nga **ni** [Magúlu \_\_\_\_ ]]  
AFF-2-think-TAM    I chief  
'They imagine the chief to be Magulu.'

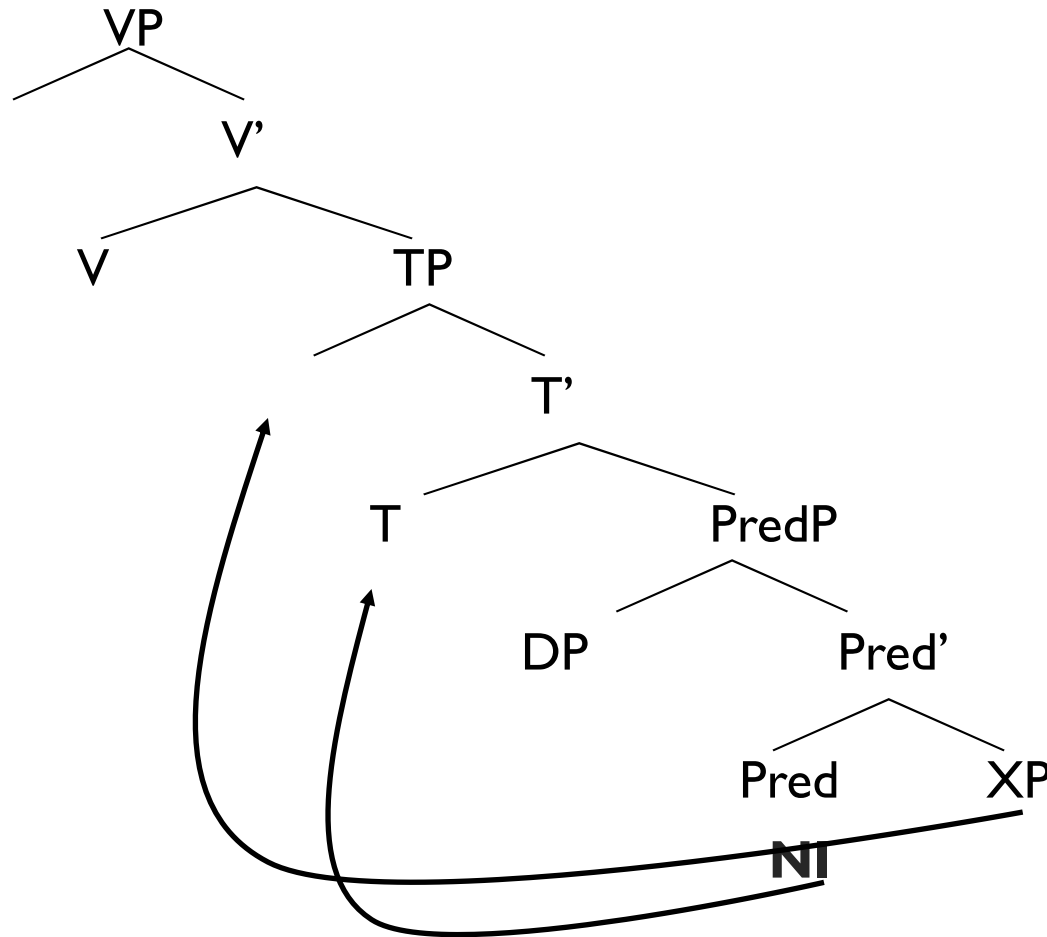
## EVIDENCE FOR T IN COPULAR CLAUSES: SECONDARY PREDICATION

- Inversions not possible in secondary predication headed by **MO** (suggests less structure with **MO**), but if **ni** occurs in those contexts, then, inversion is possible (suggests more structure with **ni**)

(8) **a&b** support the proposal that small clauses headed by **mo** are maximally pred phrases:



(9)

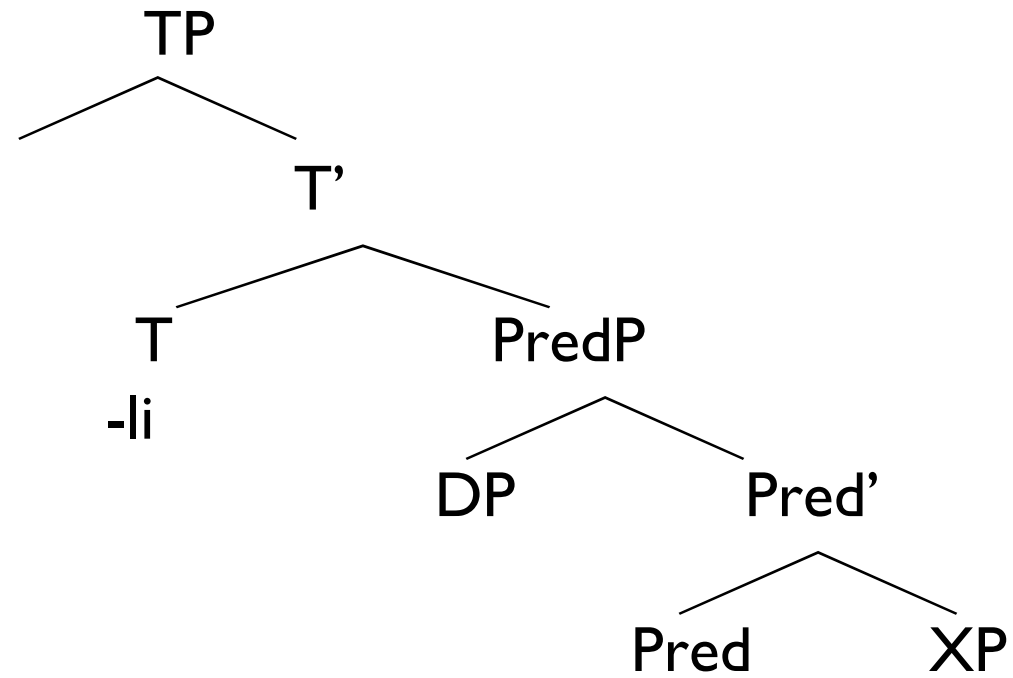


Examples (6)c&d; (7c), grammatical examples of inversion in secondary predication, suggest that the structure associated with **NI** is bigger than **MO** and indeed big enough that the pred head can move higher so the predicate can be close enough to spec TP, without being interfered with by the subject of the PredP



# COPULAR CLAUSE WITH -LI

(12)



## PROPOSAL: RE [+PART] LICENSING

- There is a [+PART] feature on the T+PRED probe that must be overtly realized.  
→ an agreeing locative copula can do this as a last resort.
- Third person does not have to participate in a  $\varphi$ -valuation relation.
- Assuming Deal's (2015) interaction/satisfaction system of agreement, T+pred in Kinande has [+PART] interaction feature. T = [INT: +PART]



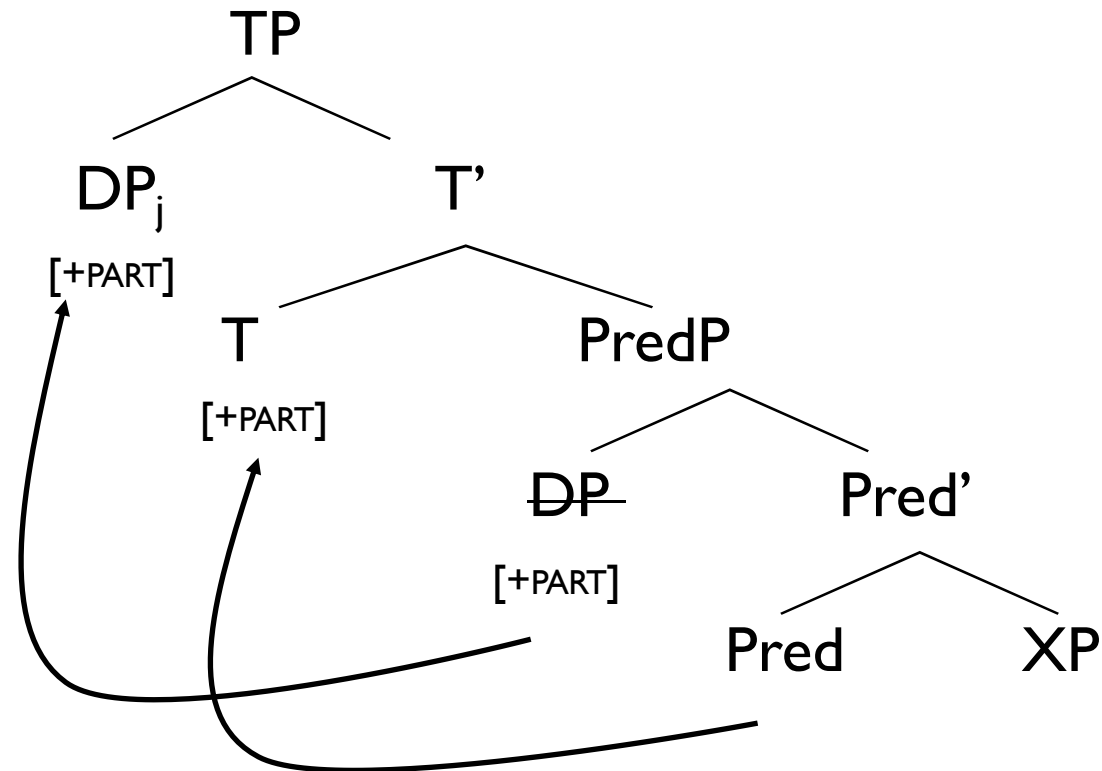
## PROPOSAL: RE [+PART] LICENSING

- There is a [+PART] feature on the T+PRED probe that must be overtly realized → Preminger (2019): “A [participant] feature on a DP that is a canonical agreement target must participate in a valuation relation.” see also: Béjar & Rezac 2003 a.o.’s
- Preminger (2019): **THE NO-NULL-AGREEMENT GENERALIZATION**  
“There is no such thing as morpho-phonologically undetectable  $\varphi$ -feature agreement.” ([+PART] are the interactional features)



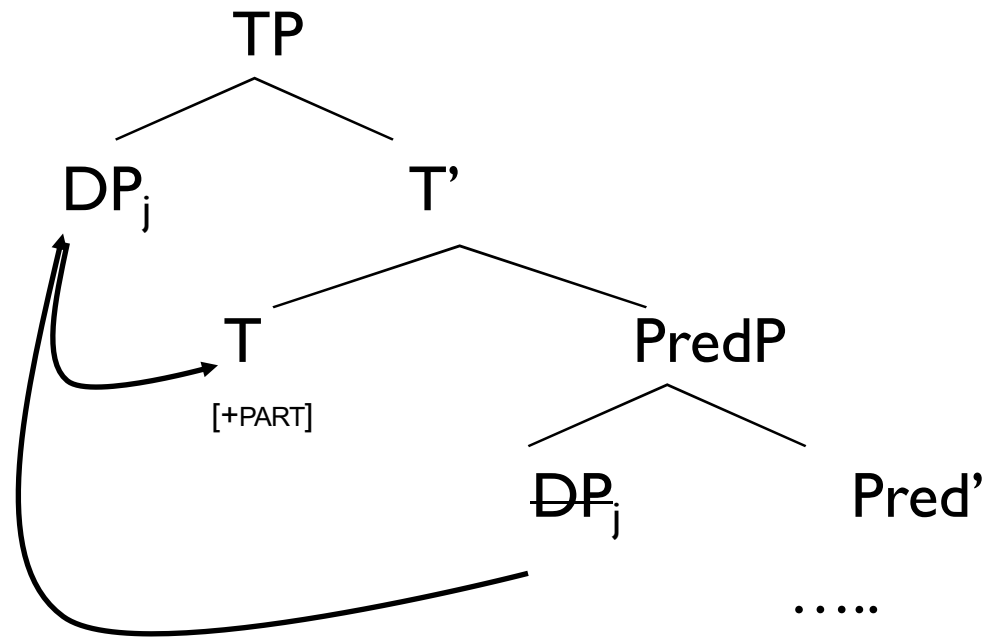
# CONDITIONS ON [+PART] LICENSING

(13')



# CONDITIONS ON [+PART] LICENSING

(13'')



## -LI VERSUS NI

- -li is an allomorph of PRED head when it is [+participant]  
= [PRES + PRED head]
- NI otherwise

## EVIDENCE FOR [+PART] COPULA

- Hierarchy effects in assumed identity sentences. The context: playing a card game where we all have to exchange names and call the new names out if our cards match. The following is the assigning of names part of the game.

(14)

iwe u-li iye you 2 <sup>nd</sup> -BE him/her 'You are her/him.'	ingye ni iye *nyi-li / *in-di I NI him/her I <sup>st</sup> s-BE I <sup>st</sup> s-BE 'I am her.'	oyu ni iye that.one NI him/her 'That guy is her.'
*iwe u-li ingye you 2 <sup>nd</sup> -BE I <i>intended:</i> "You are me."	*ingye nyi-li iwe I I <sup>st</sup> -BE you. <i>intended:</i> "I am you."	
*iwe ni ingye you NI I <i>intended:</i> "You are me."	*ingye ni iwe I NI you <i>intended:</i> "I am you."	iye ni iwe
iwe u-kandi-by-a ingye you 2 <sup>nd</sup> -will-be-FV I 'You will be me.' (agreeing copula)	ingye hano yi-li iwe I I <sup>9</sup> here I <sup>9</sup> -BE you <i>literally:</i> 'I here is you.'	iye ni ingye

## EVIDENCE FOR [+PART] COPULA

- Hierarchy effects in assumed identity copular sentences care about [+PART] features.
- Hierarchy effects within the verb phrase does not care about only [+PART] features.
- Hierarchy effects differ depending on the probe involved.





## PCC EFFECTS WITHIN THE VERB PHRASE: EFFECT ON POSITION OF MORPHEMES

(16)

	AUG+NC	subject form:	preverbal object form:	enclitic object form:
1 <sup>st</sup> per NCI		N- (ni-) (nyi-)	-nyi- (N-)	N/A
2 <sup>nd</sup> per NCI		u-	-ku-	N/A
<b>NCI</b>	<b>(o)mu</b>	<b>a-</b>	<b>-mu-</b>	<b>N/A (except as last resort)</b>
1 <sup>st</sup> per NC2		tu-	-tu-	N/A
2 <sup>nd</sup> per NC2		mu-	-ba-	N/A
NC2	(a)ba	ba-	-ba-	-bo
NC3	(o)mu	a-	N/A	-go
NC4	(e)mi	i-	N/A	-yo
NC5	(e)li	li-	-li-	-lo
NC6	(o)ma	a-	N/A	-go

# PCC EFFECTS WITHIN THE VERB PHRASE: AGREEMENT PARADIGM

(16')

	AUG+NC	subject form:	preverbal object form:	enclitic object form:
<b>class 7</b>	<b>(e)ki</b>	<b>ki-</b>	<b>-ki-</b>	<b>-kyo</b>
<b>class 8</b>	<b>(e)bi</b>	<b>bi-</b>	<b>-bi-</b>	<b>-byo</b>
<b>class 9</b>	(e)N	yi-	N/A	-yo
<b>9a</b>	i			
<b>9b</b>	∅			
<b>class 10</b>	<b>(e)si</b>	<b>si-</b>	<b>-si-</b>	<b>-syo</b>
	(e)si-oN			
<b>class 11</b>	<b>(o)lu</b>	<b>lu-</b>	<b>-lu-</b>	<b>-lo</b>
<b>class 12</b>	<b>(a)ka</b>	<b>ka-</b>	<b>-ka-</b>	<b>-ko</b>
<b>class 13</b>	<b>(o)tu</b>	<b>tu-</b>	<b>-tu-</b>	<b>-to</b>
<b>class 14</b>	<b>(o)bu</b>	<b>bu-</b>	<b>-bu-</b>	<b>-Bo</b>
<b>class 15</b>	<b>(o)ku</b>	<b>ku-</b>	<b>-ku-</b>	<b>-ko</b>

# PCC EFFECTS WITHIN THE VERB PHRASE: AGREEMENT PARADIGM

(16'')

	AUG+NC	subject form:	preverbal object form:	enclitic object form:
<b>class 16</b>	<b>(a)ho</b>	<b>ha-</b>	N/A	<b>-ho</b>
<b>class 17</b>	<b>oko</b>	<b>ku-</b>	N/A	<b>-ko</b>
<b>class 18</b>	<b>omo</b>	<b>mu-</b>	N/A	<b>-mo</b>
<b>class 19</b>	<b>(e)hi</b>	<b>hi-</b>	<b>-hi-</b> (when plural of cl 12)	<b>-hyo</b>
<b>class 24</b>	<b>(∅)e/∅</b>	<b>i-</b>	N/A	<b>-yo</b>

## PCC EFFECTS WITHIN THE VERB PHRASE

- The (usual) absence of enclitics of noun class I and 1<sup>st</sup> & 2<sup>nd</sup> person enclitics predicts no hierarchical interactions within these persons.
- As a last resort, Kinande allows a third person enclitic; Enclitics not possible for 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person; The 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular enclitic cannot occur with a simple transitive verb:

(17) Kambale a-mu-langira / \*Kambale a-langira-yo  
Kambale 3s-him/her-saw      Kambale 3s-saw-him/her (I-pronoun)  
'Kambale saw him/her.'      *intended*: 'Kambale saw him/her.'

## INTERIM SUMMARY

- Presence of probe [INT: +PART] is responsible for the distribution of the invariant copula as well as copula that can express agreement being last resort form for 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person.
- That the probe indeed has this property was supported by person hierarchy effects (PCC-type effects).

## SECOND PUZZLE

1st & 2nd person focused subjects:	3rd person focused subjects:
a. ingye ( <b>*nyi-li</b> )      mugéni/múli I            1st-be            1guest/1tall	b. KAMBALE/iyondi <b>*ni/ok: y-o</b> mugalímu/múli KAMBALE/ who <b>*NI / 1-foc</b> 1teacher/1tall
‘I am the one who is a/the guest/tall.’ *‘I am a/the guest/tall.’	‘Kambale is the one who is a/the teacher/tall.’ ‘Who is a/the teacher/Who is tall?’

TABLE 8 – FOCUS & COPULAS

### GENERALIZATIONS

- **Agreeing** copula is **incompatible** with focused subjects **for 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person**: repair is no potentially agreeing form.
- **Invariant** copula is **incompatible** with focused/wh-extracted subjects **for 3<sup>rd</sup> person**. A pronominal-looking focus particle expresses agreement in gender.

## FOCUS MOVEMENT

- See Schneider-Zioga (2007) for evidence that focus constructions in Kinande are mono-clausal.
- Recall Deal (2015) for [INT] features (tells us which features must be copied to the probe.)
- I propose:
  - FOC [INT: +GENDER]
  - COP (=T+PRES) [INT: +PARTICIPANT]

(18) a. [ ... [ I/you<sub>j</sub> [<sub>FocP</sub> FOC<sup>0</sup> [..... [T+PRED] ... ] ] ] ... ]

b. [ ... [ Kamble/she<sub>j</sub> [<sub>FocP</sub> FOC<sup>0</sup> [.... [T+PRED] ... ] ] ] ... ]

## FOCUS MOVEMENT

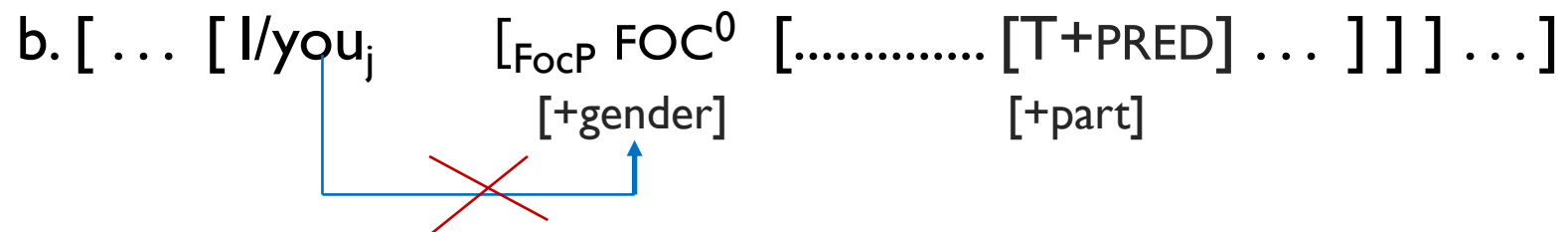
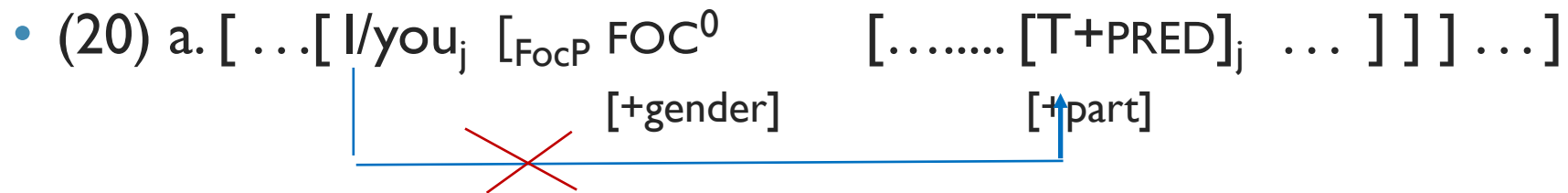
- Focus particle is higher than the copula—cf. structure involving focus in the left edge with focused constituent followed by an agreeing particle followed by a (non-present tense) copula.

(19) iyóndi yó [<sub>tp</sub> \_\_\_\_\_ wabyá \_\_\_\_\_ mugalímu okó mwak'owálábâ ]  
Iwho IFOC AA-was Iteacher I7LOC last.year?  
'Who was the teacher last year?'

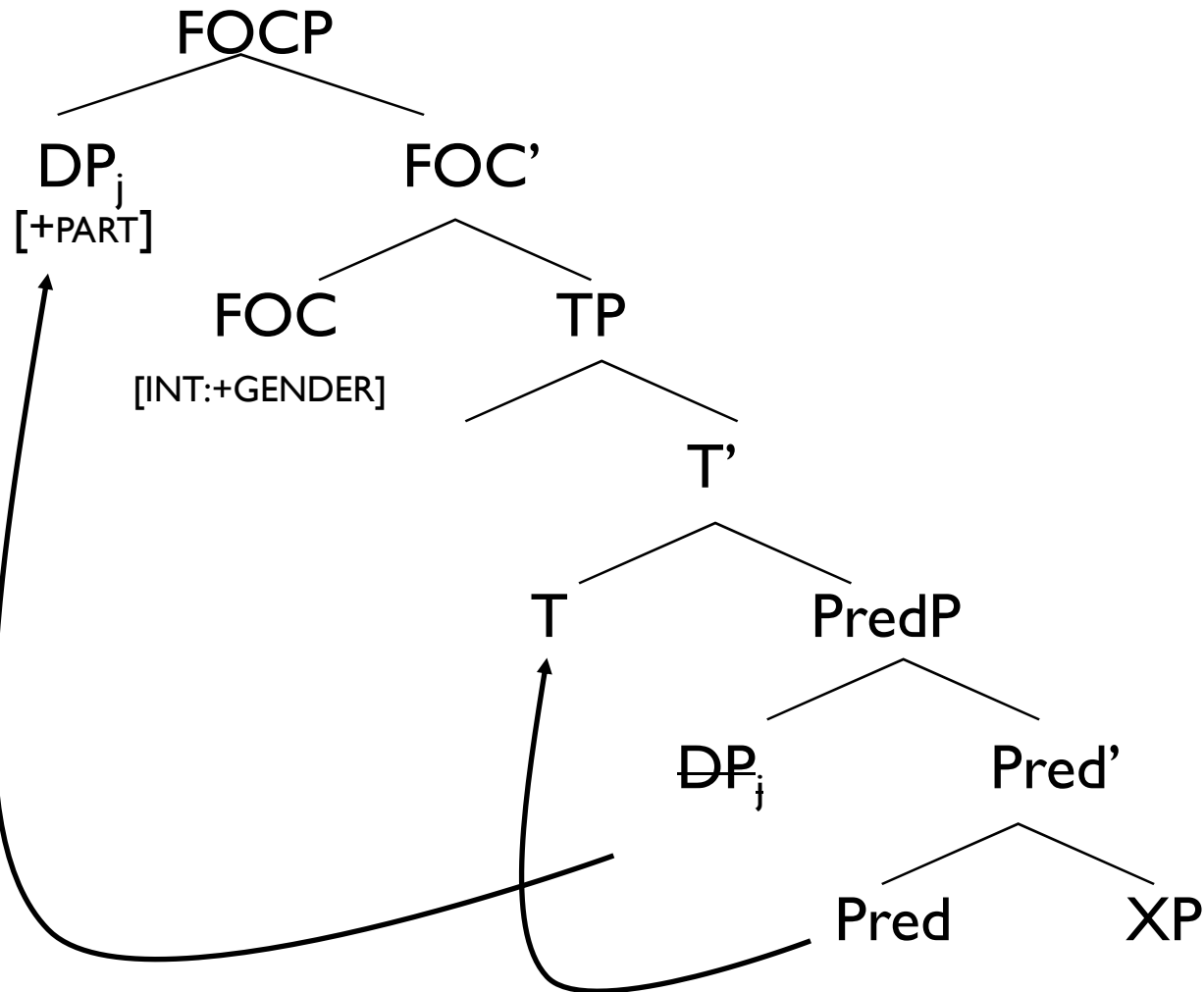


# FOCUS MOVEMENT: 1<sup>ST</sup> & 2<sup>ND</sup> PERSON

- Last resort locative copula isn't possible—focus blocks the valuation if such longer distance valuation is possible; repair of failed agreement is no overt copula.
- 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person have no associated gender features. Foc marker undergoes failed agreement, which results in no form occurring.



(21)

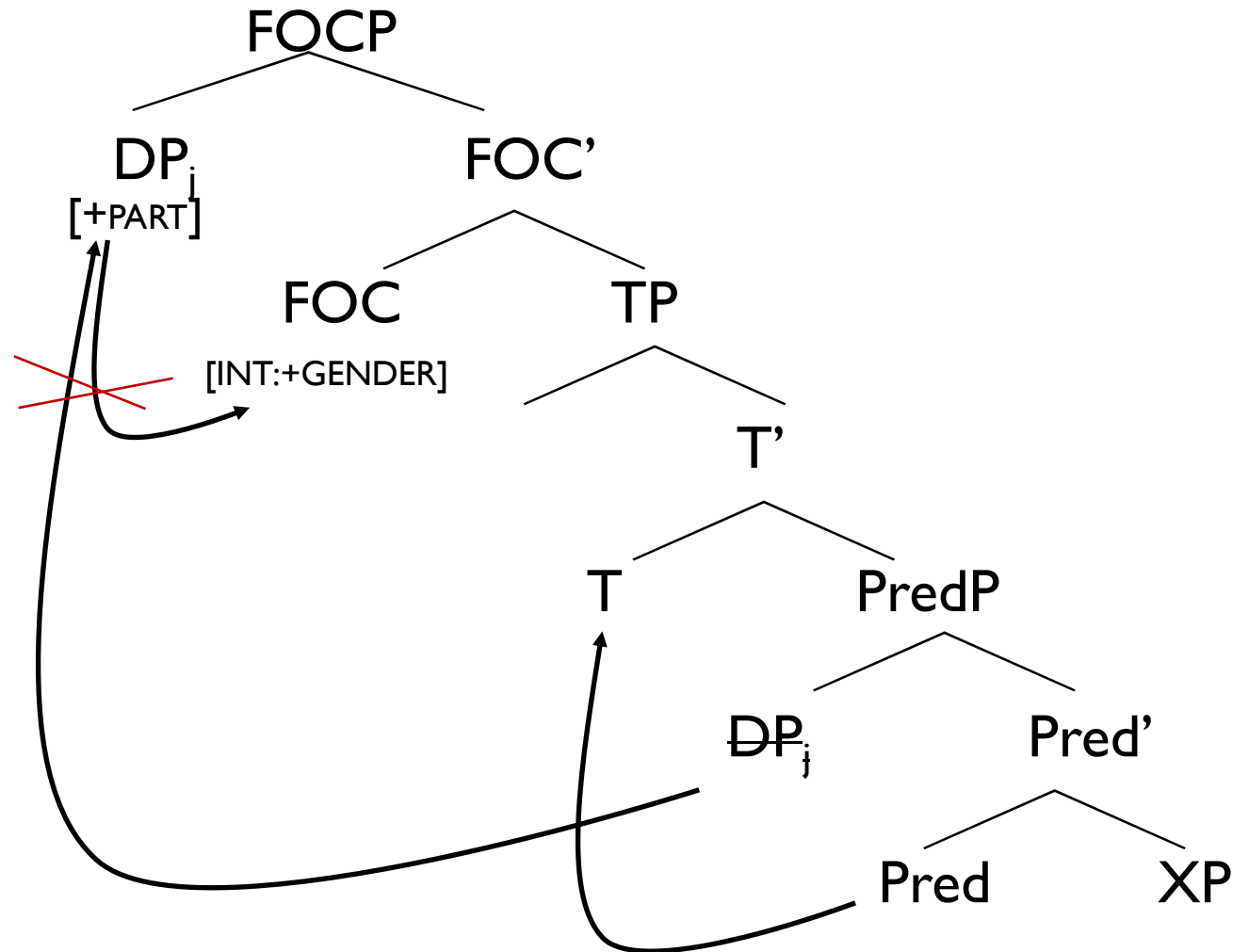


Focused subject of a predicational clause. Information structure:

FOCUS TOPIC

(DP transits directly to spec of FocP because DP doesn't need licensing via relation to T—well established for Kinande, and many Bantu languages)

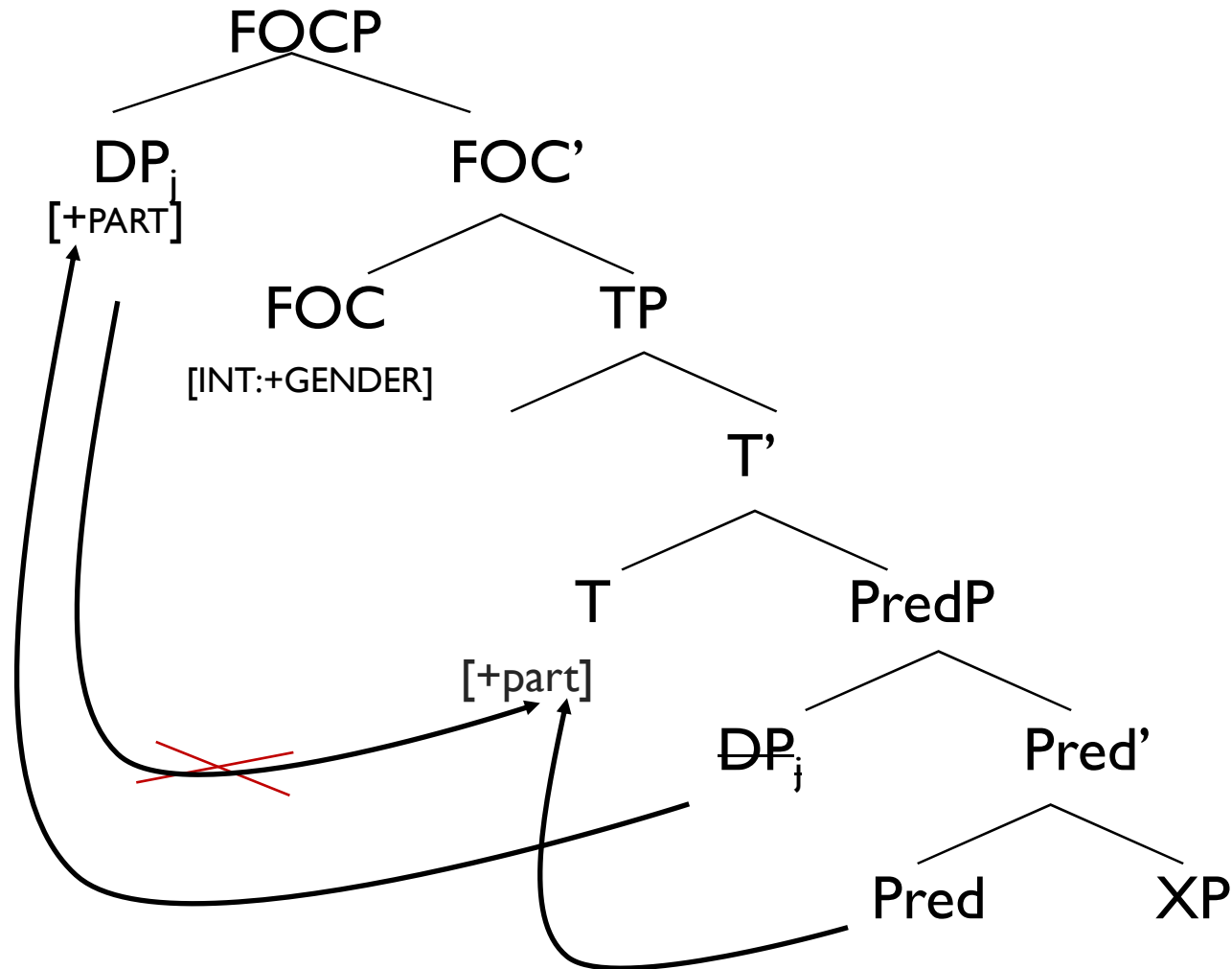
(21')



Focused subject of a predicational clause.  
Information structure:  
FOCUS TOPIC

(DP [+PART] in spec of FocP cannot interact with FOC, which is looking for [+GENDER], since it lacks gender features. Failed agreement repaired with lack of overt FOC marker.)

(21')



- (DP [+PART] in spec of FocP cannot value [+PART] COP because focus intervenes.
- Preminger (2019): “A [participant] feature on a DP that is a canonical agreement target must participate in a valuation relation.” see also: Béjar & Rezac 2003 a.o.’s
- Preminger (2019): **THE NO-NULL-AGREEMENT GENERALIZATION** “There is no such thing as morpho-phonologically undetectable  $\varphi$ -feature agreement.”
- Therefore, the best repair of failed [+PART] agreement (failed valuation of [+PART] is lack of COP.)

## NON-LAST RESORT, LOCATIVE -LI

(22) a. Nina Nyamuhanga, Ekyusa, oy' **u-li** oko kīkūba kya Tata, yo wabirimũmĩnyĩsya.  
is.also God 7only.child that **AA-li** in 7bosom 7of Father, IFOC AAexplained.him  
'...the only begotten God who is in the bosom of the Father, He has explained Him.'

(John 1:18, Kinande Bible 1980 edition)

- locative copulas can, in principle, occur in focused constructions.

## NON-LAST RESORT, LOCATIVE -LI

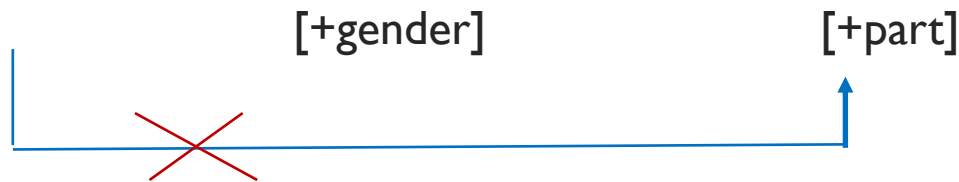
(22)b. ni iwe u-li omonyumba  
be you 2<sup>nd</sup> –be LOC-9house  
'it is you who are in the house.'

- Note that the true locative copula, which does not bear [+PART], remains in focus construction with a locative predicate even with 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person subjects.
- It is difficult to find 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person relative clauses that could clearly illustrate that semantically locative copulas do not delete when 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person undergo A'-movement.
  - to see this, consider that subject relatives can, in principle, be built around a verb that is prefixed with an augment that matches its agreement class. But, because 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons have no augments, such relative clauses are impossible
    - no subject relatives built on augmentation for 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person (relative clauses of the type: SUBJECT aug-V “you who are ...”)

# FOCUS MOVEMENT: 3<sup>RD</sup> PERSON

- 3<sup>rd</sup> persons have gender features
- Focus intervenes, so no copula valued → failed agreement;
- FOC [+GENDER] features copied to FOC & valued. FOC [INT: +GENDER]

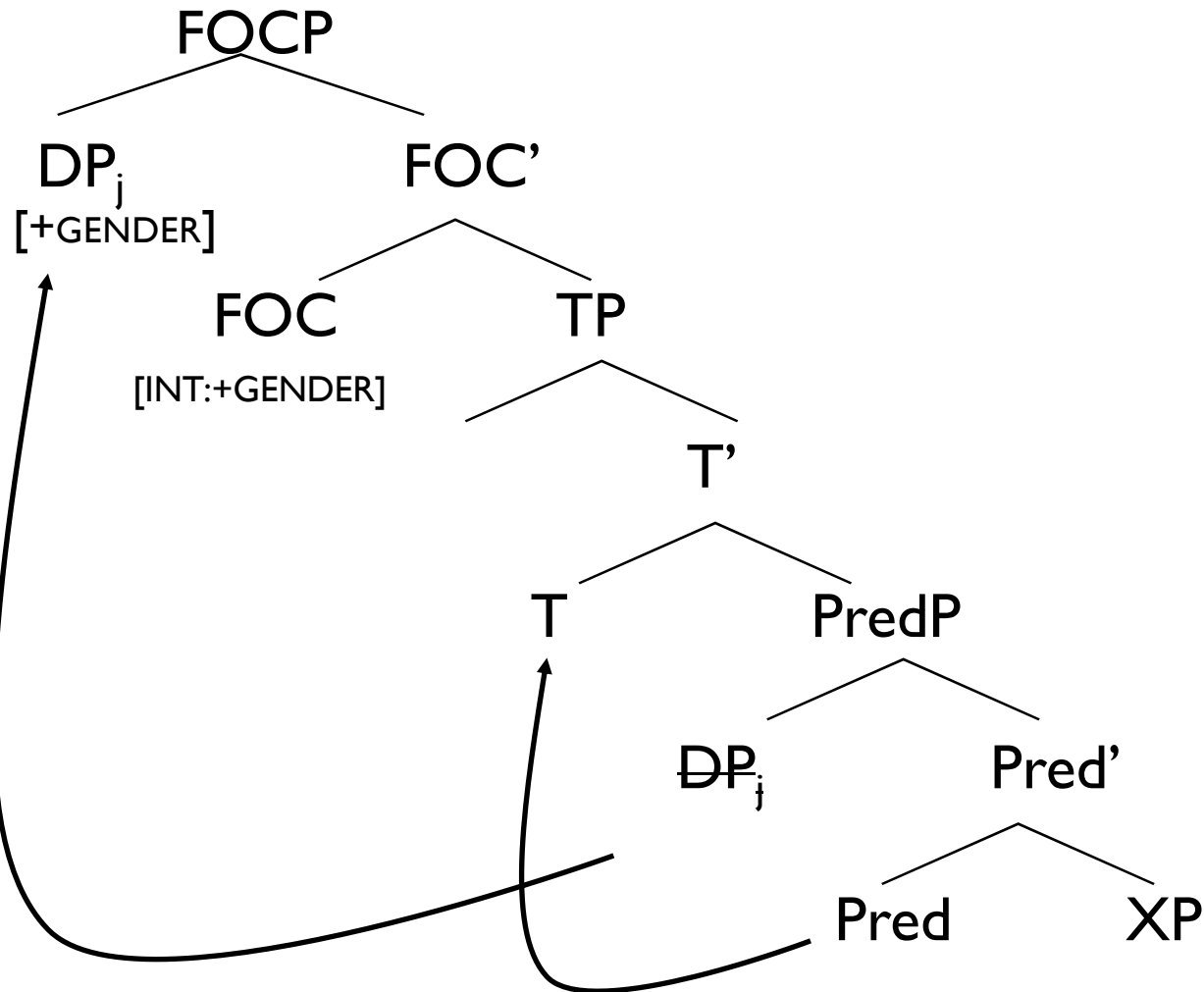
(23) a. [ ... [ Kambale<sub>j</sub> [<sub>FocP</sub> FOC<sup>0</sup> [ ..... [T+PRED]<sub>j</sub> ... ] ] ] ... ]



b. [ ... [ Kambale<sub>j</sub> [<sub>FocP</sub> YO [ ..... T ... ] ] ] ... ]



(24)



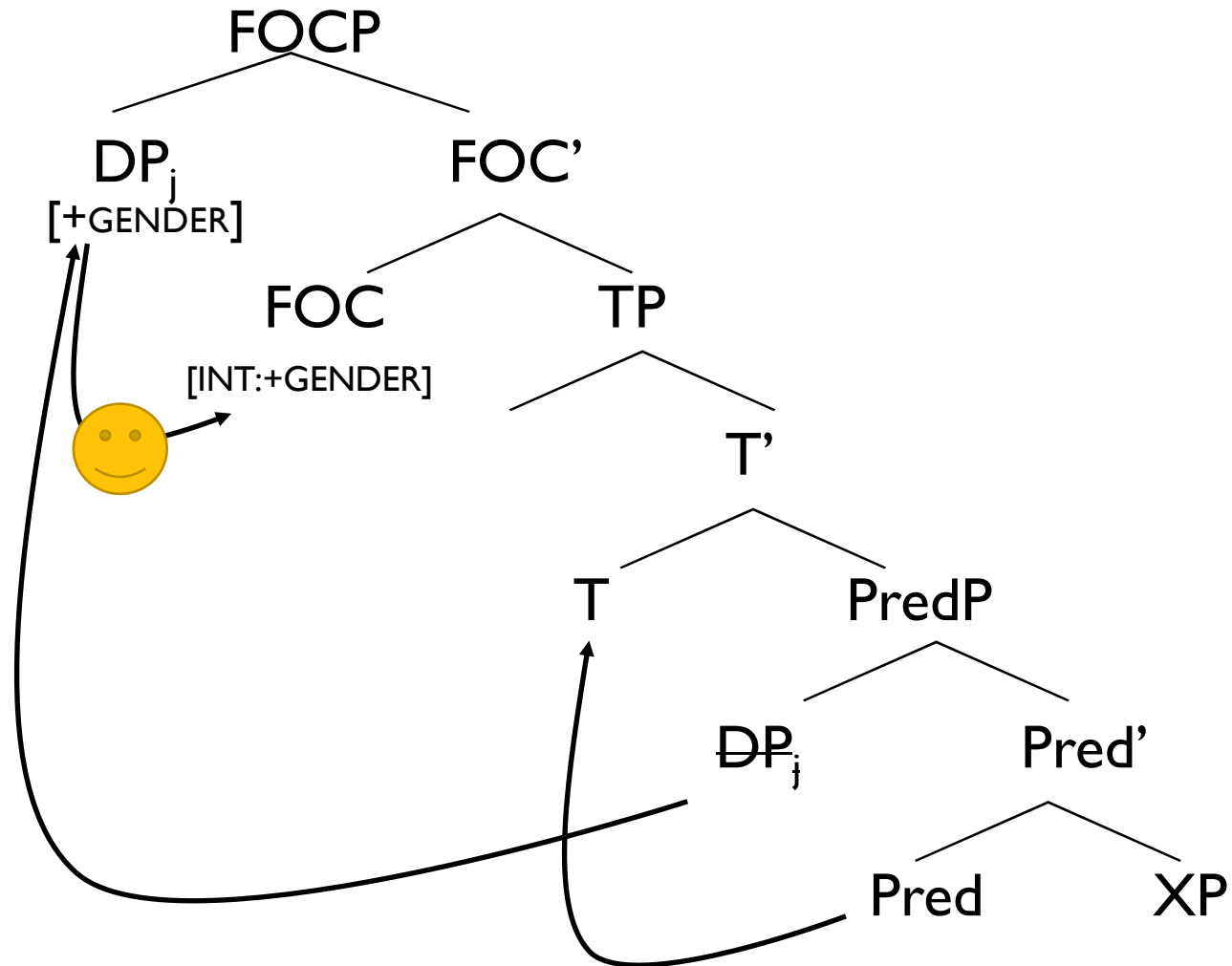
Focused subject of  
a predicational  
clause. Information  
structure:

FOCUS TOPIC

(DP transits  
directly to spec of  
focP because DP  
doesn't need  
licensing via  
relation to T—well  
established for  
Kinande, and many  
Bantu languages)



(24')



Focused subject of a predicational clause. Information structure: **FOCUS TOPIC**

(Gender features of focused DP copied onto FOC element which is looking for interaction with **[+GENDER]** )

## INTERIM SUMMARY

- Focus prevents valuation of [+PART] features
- [+PART] features must be syntactically and morphologically (i.e., overtly) expressed along the lines of Preminger (2019): “A [participant] feature on a DP that is a canonical agreement target must participate in a valuation relation.”

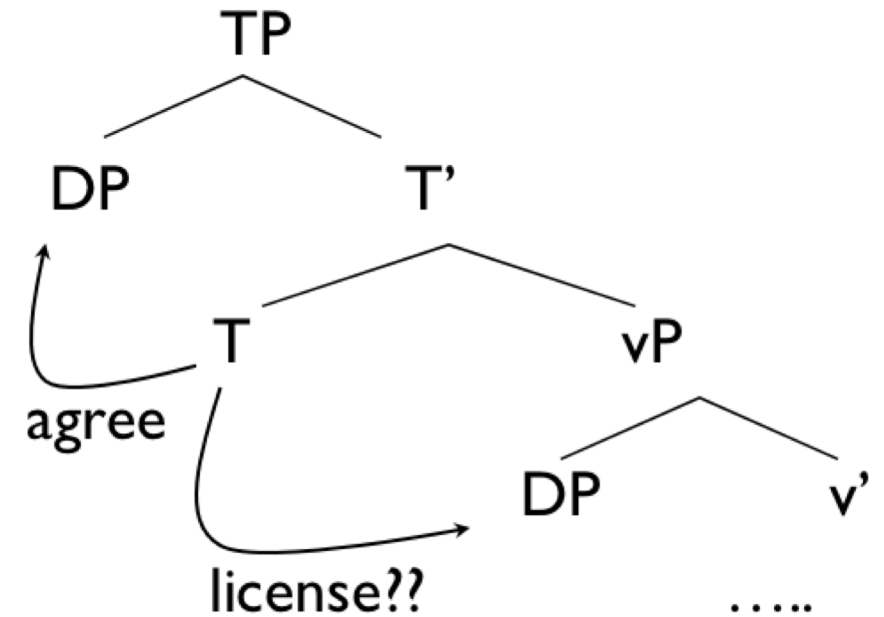
# INTRODUCING THE THIRD PUZZLE: CLASSIC LICENSING PUZZLE

(25) a. omo mulongo mwásátiré múlúme, twabúlíré ng' akálwa hayi.  
 18LOC 3village 18danced 1man 1PL.ask if 3s.leaving 16where  
 'A man danced in the village; we wonder where he is coming from.'

b. In the park  $\checkmark$  sit/\*sits [three children] very quietly.



c. In the park \*sit/ $\checkmark$  sits [a small child].

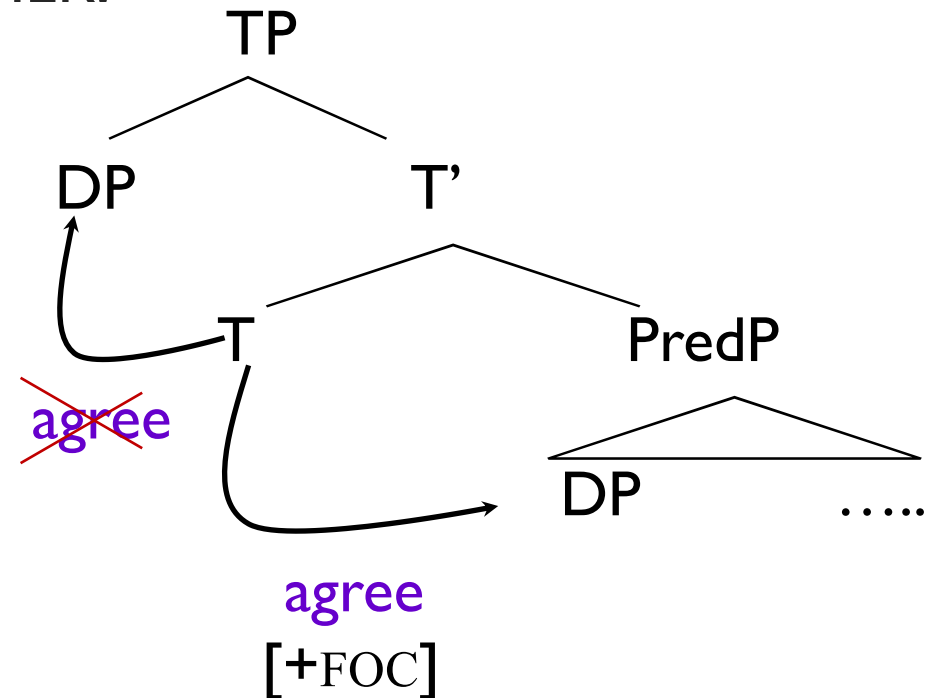


- Agree is claimed to always be upward in Bantu languages (cf. Baker 2003, a.o.), and in Kinande in particular.

# INTRODUCING THE THIRD PUZZLE: CLASSIC LICENSING REVEALED

(26) émbugá    **I'**        **ôlúhi** / **y'**        **ómugalímu**    wage  
 9problem    **||**FOC    **||**WAR/    **|**FOC        **|**TEACHER        my  
 'The problem is the WAR' / '... is my TEACHER.'

- Unexpected downward Agree!



## THIRD PUZZLE

<b>focused</b> post copular XP=[names, pronouns]	<b>focused</b> post copular XP = [all other 3pers nominals]
a. émbugá <b>ni Kámbale/iwe</b> 9problem ni 1Kambale/you ‘The problem is Kambale/you.’	b. émbugá <b>l’ ôlúhi / y’ ómugalímu wage</b> 9problem 11foc 11war/ 1foc teacher my ‘The problem is the war/my teacher.’

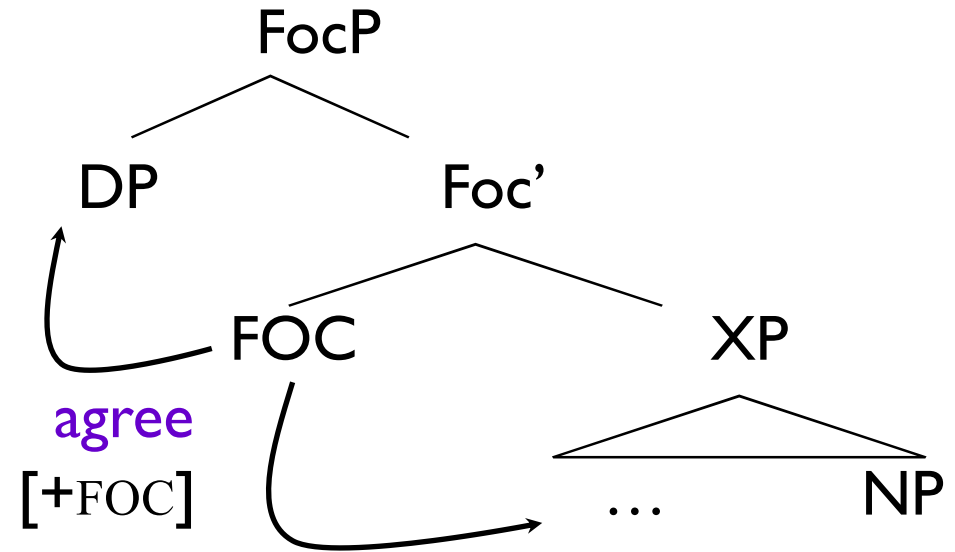
TABLE 9 – SPECIFICATIONAL CLAUSES

In specificational sentences, which have an obligatory information structure of TOPIC followed by **FOCUS**, the *focus* particle is also required. AGREE, which, in specificational clauses, is in terms of gender-features and the feature *focus*, is exceptionally downward. However, no *focused* names (class 1a expressions) nor any pronouns (1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, or 3<sup>rd</sup> person of any gender) can value the *focus* copula and an invariant particle (**NI**) results instead under those circumstances. A (downward) agreeing *focus* copula (**-O**) results for all other third person nominals. (see Hedberg & Schneider-Zioga 2015 for details)

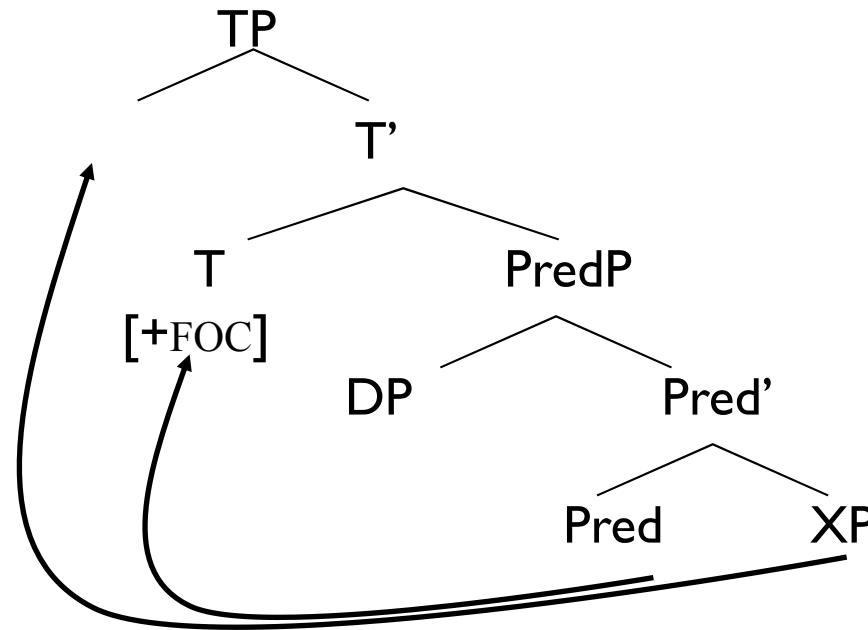
# AGREEMENT IN FOCUS & GENDER

- (27) **olúhi** **lo** mbugá/ **ómugalímu** wage **yo** mbugá  
 | | war | | FOC 9problem/ | teacher my | FOC 9problem  
 ‘The WAR is the problem’/ ‘My TEACHER is the problem’

Directionality of focus agreement is not fixed (cf. (27) to (26))



(28)



Specificational clauses:  
TOPIC FOCUS  
predicate subject

order in specificational clause suggests that the structure associated with **Pred** is big enough that the pred head can move higher, expanding the domain within which the predicate is close enough to spec TP, to move across the subject (cf. den Dikken 2006).

DISTRIBUTION OF **NI** & **-O** WHEN A HIGHER AUXILIARY OCCURS IS CONSISTENT WITH CONCLUSION IT IS IN COPULAR POSITION

- (29) a. ómwibí      **ni**      Magúlu  
 I thief      **NI**      Magulu  
 ‘The thief is Magulu.’
- b. ómwibí      **abyá** \*(**í-ni**)      Magúlu  
 I thief      was      **NI**      Magulu  
 ‘The thief was Magulu.’
- c. ...ómwami      kw’ **á-lí**      \*(**í-ni**)      Magúlu  
 I king      that’ 3s-is      **NI**      Magulu  
 ‘...the king to be Magulu.’



DISTRIBUTION OF **NI** & **-O** WHEN A HIGHER AUXILIARY OCCURS IS CONSISTENT WITH CONCLUSION IT IS IN COPULAR POSITION

(30) a. Omugalimu **a-ka-sya-bya** i-**ni**-ndi?

1 teacher 3S-TAM-FUT-be **NI**-who

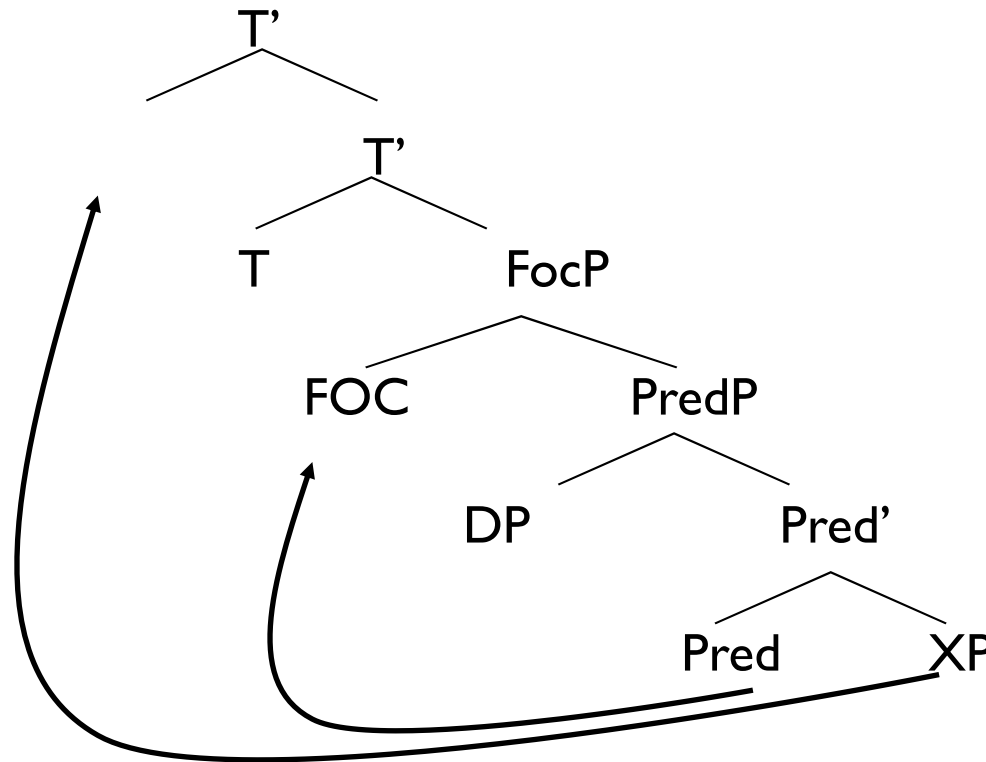
‘Who will be the teacher?’

b. ebyálya ebyo nábyá nanzire kutsíbú, bya-**byá** í-**lwó** lukondi

8food 8that 1s-was 1s.like best, 8.was i-11FOC 11bean

‘What I liked best was beans.’

(31)



Specificational clauses:  
TOPIC FOCUS  
predicate subject

revised analysis of structure in specificational clause, including auxiliary forms, suggests that the structure associated with **FOC+Pred** is big enough that the pred head can move higher, expanding the domain within which the predicate is close enough to spec TP, to move across the subject (cf. den Dikken 2006).

Specificational clauses: the form of agreement is sensitive to augments (or lack thereof). Generalizations:

- (32)
- copula is **NI** if focused expression is [-augment]
  - copula is agreeing **-O** if focused expression is [+augment]

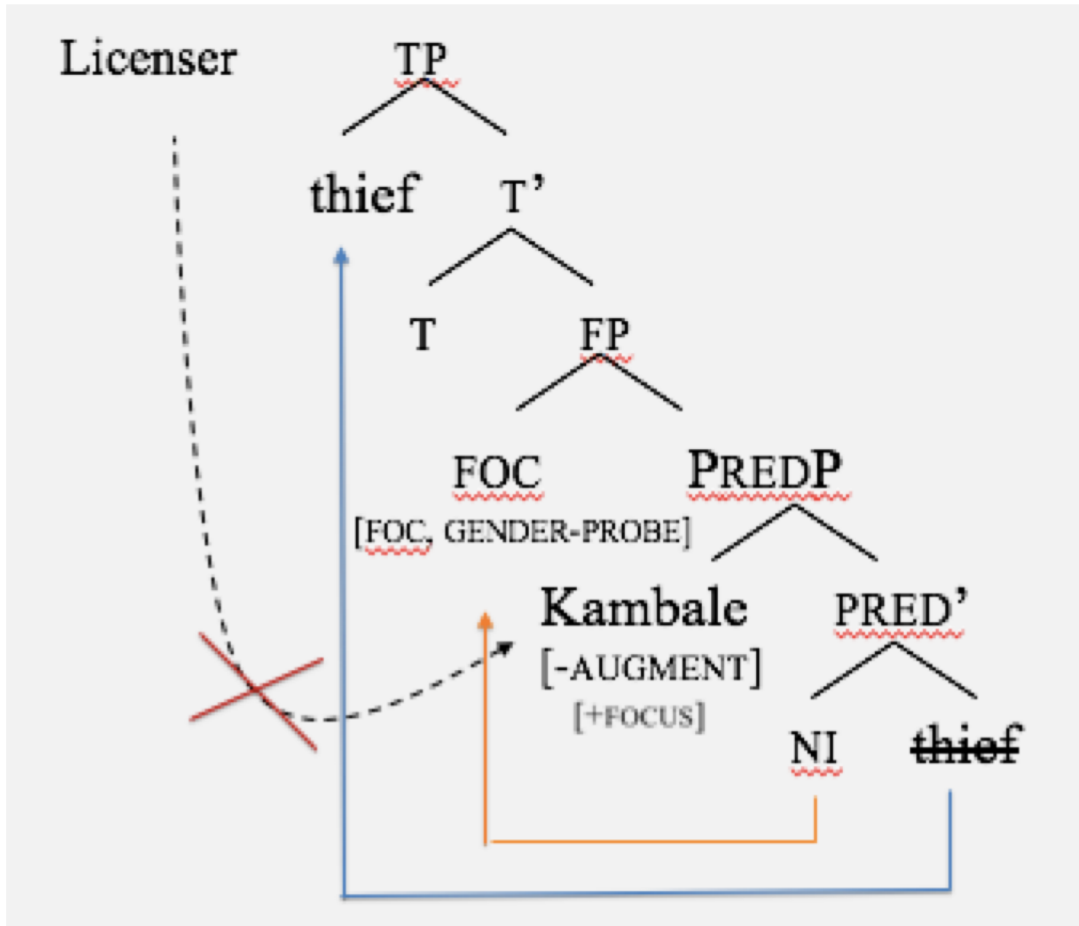
post copular XP = [-augment]	post copular XP = [+augment]
<p>a. ómwibí ni Kámbale            1thief NI 1Kambale            ‘The thief is Kambale.’</p>	<p>d. ómwibí yó ‘mugalímu wage            1thief 1FOC 1teacher 1my            ‘The thief is my teacher.’</p>
<p>b. émbugá ni iwe            9problem NI you            ‘The problem is you.’</p>	<p>e. émbugá lô ‘lúhi            9problem 11FOC 11war            ‘The problem is the war.’</p>
<p>c. ómwibí abyá *(í-ni) Magúlu            1thief was NI 1Magulu            ‘The thief was Magulu.’</p>	<p>f. [ebyalya ebyo nyanzire kutsibu] w’ amatimo            8food 8that I.like strongly 6FOC 6bananas            ‘The food that I like best is bananas.’</p>

# WHICH NOMINALS CANNOT VALUE AGREE?

subject/object	tonic pronouns (of all classes)
ingye (1s)	i+AGR??+e
itwe (1p)	i+AGR+e
iwe (2s)	i+AGR+e
inywe (2p)	i+AGR??+e
iye (3s)	i+GENDER+e (cf: yo)
ibo NC2	i+AGR+O
iyo NC4	i+AGR+O
iryo NC5	i+AGR+O
ikyo NC7	i+AGR+O
ibyo NC8	i+AGR+O

1A (proper names)	2A (proper names— Name+associates)
[Ka-mbale] -AUG+12+name	aboKambale +AUG+2+name
cannot value upward. form of copula= <b>ni</b>	can value upward. form of copula= <b>bo</b>

TABLE 10 – NOMINAL STRUCTURES NEVER TAKING AUGMENTS



- Licensing is formally driven. **Not** driven by animacy, for example.
  - pronouns that indicate inanimate referents need licensing
  - animate names with augments (class 2a) do not need licensing.
- Licensing necessary for unaugmented expressions only.
- Foc blocks licensing.
- unlicensed expressions cannot value the probe in question.
- cf:
 

(33) abibi                      b'                      **a**boMagulu  
           aug2bad.one    2FOC            aug.2Magulu  
           'The bad guys are Magulu and his associates.'

## SPECIFICATIONAL AGREEMENT

- *Gender* values  $\text{FOC}^0$ :  $\text{FOC} [\text{INT: +GENDER}]$
- Licensing of [-augment] expressions, prevented by intervention of  $\text{FOC}^0$
- Unlicensed nominal cannot value probe. Failed agreement results in **NI**. Since [+PART] is not relevant, a less radical repair than deletion of the copula is possible.
- Note that unaugmented nominals outside the domain of focus have no trouble valuing a  $\text{FOC} [\text{INT: +GENDER}]$  probe (recall TABLE 8, example b.):

b. Kambale **yo** mugalímu/múli  
Kambale  $\text{FOC}$  teacher/tall  
'Kambale is a teacher/tall.'

DOWNWARD AGREE IS NOT DUE TO A STRATEGY  
OF FIRST AGREE AND THEN INVERT!

(34) a. aboMagulu **ni** babibi  
2Magulu COP 2bad.one  
'Magulu and associates are thieves.'

b. ababibi **b'** aboMagulu  
2bad.one 2FOC 2Magulu  
'The thieves are Magulu and associates.'

c. iwe **uli** embuga  
you 2<sup>nd</sup> -li 9problem  
'You are the problem.'

d. Embuga **ni** iwe  
9problem COP you  
'The problem is you.'

## CONCLUSION & EXTENSIONS

- Agreement in focus versus agreement in topic/non-focus have different syntaxes
- The distribution of copulas and their agreement possibilities in Kinande largely follow from interactions of conditions on person licensing and licensing of unaugmented expressions in the syntax
- Licensing problems for nominals can be one source of agreement failure



## CONCLUSION & EXTENSIONS

- We note as an extension that first and second person are not part of the gender based system—yet, they can hyper-raise & hyper-agree. This tells us it is not something about gender valuing that allows hyper-raising/hyper-agreement
- Finally, this newly discovered paradigm involving copular clauses and focus reveals another area of the grammar of Kinande that manifests anti-agreement.

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