

Subordinate clause types and the left periphery in Kikuyu*

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1 Introduction

- This talk investigates cross-linguistic and language-internal variation in the components of the left periphery, based on data from Kikuyu (or Gĩkũyũ), a Bantu language spoken primarily in Kenya.
- I identify two types of CPs in Kikuyu, illustrated in (1a-b).¹ Both CP types are finite and able to inflect for tense and agreement—but one is unable to host information-structural material in its left periphery (e.g., FocP).
- **The absence of this material correlates with the ability for subjects to undergo *A-movement* (hyperraising) out of such clauses (see also Yoshimoto (2012) on Japanese).**

- (1) a. Mwangi a-r-ecir-i-a [CP1 **atĩ** Njeri nĩ-a-ra-rug-a nyama]
Mwangi 1SM-PROG-think-TR-FV **that** Njeri FOC-1SM-PROG-cook-FV meat
'Mwangi thinks that Njeri is cooking the meat.' (CT1)
- b. kũ-haan-a [CP2 **ta** Mwangi a-ra-iy-ir-e kĩndũ]
15SM-seem-FV **like** Mwangi 1SM-PROG-steal-PST-FV thing
'It seems like Mwangi stole something.' (CT2)

- **Proposal:** A CP is *defective* for phase impenetrability purposes whenever it lacks any featural or structural components that are otherwise expected to be present within the CP domain.
 - ▷ In Kikuyu, defective CP domains are those that lack syntactic structure associated with information structure.
 - ▷ Because these CPs are defective, *A-movement* can take place out of them.

Roadmap:

- §2 The Kikuyu left periphery
- §3 Subordinate clause types
- §4 Defective phases and hyperraising
- §5 Parallels with Japanese factive complements

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¹There are other CPs that can be categorized into the two clause types discussed in this talk. For reasons of space, however, I will illustrate the two clause types with *atĩ* 'that'-clauses and *ta* 'like'-clauses respectively throughout.

2 The Kikuyu left periphery

- In this section, I present an overview of the CP domain in Kikuyu, concentrating in particular on focus.
- Kikuyu has a prefix *nĩ* encoding focus.² In declarative clauses and yes/no questions, *nĩ* may appear on the verb (2). *Note*: The examples in this section all involve CT1.

- (2) a. mũndũ (**nĩ**-)a-kũ-gũr-a ngari
man (FOC-)1SM-FUT-buy-FV car
'The man will buy a car.' (*when present, 'nĩ' encodes something akin to assertion/verum focus*)
- b. Mwangi **nĩ**-a-rug-ag-a?
Mwangi FOC-1SM-cook-HAB-FV
'Does Mwangi cook?'

- In *wh*-questions and focus fronting, the same prefix obligatorily associates with the extracted element instead (3).

- (3) a. **n**-ũũ ũ-ror-ir-e mũtumia
FOC-who AA.SM-look-PST-FV woman
'Who looked at the woman?'
- b. **nĩ** ibuku Mwangi a-he-ir-e Kamau
FOC book Mwangi 1SM-give-PST-FV Kamau
'Mwangi gave a book_F to Kamau.'

- **Three ways to form a *wh*-question:** (a) full movement to the matrix left periphery; (b) partial movement to an embedded left periphery; (c) *wh*-in situ.

- (4) a. **nĩ kĩĩ** Wambui a-r-ecir-ia [atĩ Mwangi a-ra-thom-a ___]
FOC **what** Wambui 1SM-PROG-think-FV that Mwangi 1SM-PROG-read-FV
'What does Wambui think Mwangi is reading?'
- b. Wambui a-r-ecir-ia [atĩ **nĩ kĩĩ** Mwangi a-ra-thom-a ___]
Wambui 1SM-PROG-think-FV that FOC **what** Mwangi 1SM-PROG-read-FV
'What does Wambui think Mwangi is reading?'
- c. Wambui a-r-ecir-ia [atĩ Mwangi a-ra-thom-a **kĩĩ**]
Wambui 1SM-PROG-think-FV that Mwangi 1SM-PROG-read-FV **what**
'What does Wambui think Mwangi is reading?'

- In (4b), the moved *wh*-phrase surfaces to the *right* of the complementizer *atĩ* 'that.'
- **An articulated CP (Rizzi 1997):** The CP is not a single projection, but rather a set of hierarchically ordered *subprojections*.
 - ▷ *Force*⁰: locus of complementizers, e.g., *atĩ* 'that.'
 - ▷ *Foc*⁰: locus of focus-related elements, such as the prefix *nĩ*. \bar{A} -extracted elements land in FocP.
 - ▷ (See Cable (2010) for a similar proposal for Tlingit.)

- (5) [_{CP} ForceP [FocP [_{TP} AgrP [...]]]]

²This prefix is thought to have arisen from a copula diachronically (Nurse 2008), but is now generally analyzed as a focus marker (Clements 1984, Schwarz 2003, 2007, Schardl 2014).

- I assume that $nĩ$ is always generated in Foc^0 regardless of whether it ends up affixed to an \bar{A} -moved constituent or the rest of the verbal complex (Schwarz 2003, 2007). See **Appendix** for a full analysis.
- **Important:** The availability of $nĩ$ in a given clause will be used to diagnose the presence of left-peripheral structure (FocP) in that clause.

Section takeaway:

- Kikuyu allows both full and partial *wh*-movement, as well as *wh*-in situ.
- \bar{A} -moved elements associate with a focus prefix $nĩ$. $nĩ$ may also surface on the verb in yes/no questions and to express assertion or verum focus.
- I assume an articulated CP, consisting of (minimally) two subprojections: ForceP and FocP. FocP is where $nĩ$ originates; it is also where \bar{A} -movement lands.

3 Subordinate clause types

3.1 Overview

- The two clause types under investigation are repeated in (6a-b). The clause types are, for the most part, selected for by different predicates.

- (6) a. Mwangi a-r-ecir-i-a [_{CP1} **atĩ** Njeri $nĩ$ -a-ra-rug-a nyama]
 Mwangi 1SM-PROG-think-TR-FV **that** Njeri FOC-1SM-PROG-cook-FV meat
 ‘Mwangi thinks that Njeri is cooking the meat.’ (CT1)
- b. $kũ$ -haan-a [_{CP2} **ta** Mwangi a-ra-iy-ir-e $kĩndũ$]
 15SM-seem-FV **like** Mwangi 1SM-PROG-steal-PST-FV thing
 ‘It seems like Mwangi stole something.’ (CT2)

- Both clause types are finite, make full tense/agreement distinctions, and have complementizers—suggesting that all the embedded clauses shown above are CPs.
- However, CT1 and CT2 display a number of differences (7):

- (7) *Properties of CT1 and CT2:*

	CT1	CT2
Focus prefix $nĩ$	Available	Unavailable
Partial movement	Possible	Impossible
Negation	<i>nd/ti</i>	<i>ta</i>

- **Proposal:** The clusterings of properties above can be reduced to a *single difference*: CT2 lacks the information-structural syntax that is otherwise present in an articulated CP domain.

- (8) a. CT1:
-
- b. CT2:
-

3.2 No *nĩ* in CT2

- I showed earlier that ‘that’-clauses (and matrix clauses) allow *nĩ* to show up on verbs and on partially moved *wh*-words. Repeated below:

- (9) a. Mwangi a-r-ecir-i-a [CP1 atĩ Njeri **nĩ**-a-ra-rug-a nyama]
 Mwangi 1SM-PROG-think-TR-FV that Njeri FOC-1SM-PROG-cook-FV meat
 ‘Mwangi thinks that Njeri is cooking the meat.’
- b. Wambui a-r-ecir-i-a [CP1 atĩ **nĩ** **kĩĩ** Mwangi a-ra-thom-a ___]
 Wambui 1SM-PROG-think-TR-FV that FOC **what** Mwangi 1SM-PROG-read-FV
 ‘What does Wambui think Mwangi is reading?’

- Conversely, *nĩ* is wholly unavailable in CT2 clauses (on the verb or on a fronted nominal) (10). (10b) additionally shows that partial movement is also impossible in these clauses (though long-distance *wh*-movement and *wh*-in situ are fine).³

- (10) a. Mwangi a-haan-a [CP2 ta (***nĩ**-)a-ra-rug-a]
 Mwangi 1SM-seem-FV like (***FOC**-)1SM-PROG-cook-FV
 ‘Mwangi seems to be cooking.’
- b. (**nĩ** **kĩĩ**) kũ-haan-a [CP2 ta (***nĩ** **kĩĩ**) Mwangi a-ra-rug-a (**kĩĩ**)]
 (FOC what) 15SM-seem-FV like (***FOC what**) Mwangi 1SM-PROG-cook-FV (what)
 ‘What does it seem like Mwangi is cooking?’

- Claim:** These properties are related; *wh*-movement is contingent on the presence of *nĩ*. In (10), *nĩ* is impossible because FocP is missing in the CP domain; as a result, partial *wh*-movement is also impossible.

- Further support:** *Wh*-movement is similarly blocked when *nĩ* is absent for other reasons—e.g., in certain negative contexts.

▷ As I will discuss later, *nĩ* and the negation morpheme *nd-* cannot co-occur (11). The presence of this negation morpheme (and consequent absence of *nĩ*) forces *wh*-in situ (12).

- (11) mwana (***nĩ**-)nd-a-gũ-thom-a ibuku
 child (***FOC**-)NEG-1SM-FUT-read-FV book
 ‘The child will not read the book.’ (*fine without nĩ*)

- (12) a. Njeri **nd**-a-kũ-rug-a **kĩĩ**
 Njeri NEG-1SM-FUT-cook-FV **what**
 ‘What will Njeri not cook?’
- b. ***kĩĩ** Njeri **nd**-a-kũ-rug-a ___
what Njeri NEG-1SM-FUT-cook-FV
Intended: ‘What will Njeri not cook?’

- Thus, we find two cases where the absence of *nĩ* correlates with the impossibility of *wh*-movement. For CT2, this is due to the absence of FocP.

³Interestingly, CT2 clauses allow a cleft-like construction in lieu of partial movement, as shown below. Whether this construction truly involves clefting is not clear; I will leave a more thorough investigation of this construction for future research.

- (i) kũ-haan-a [CP2 ta **arĩ** **kĩĩ** Mwangi a-ra-rug-a]
 15SM-seem-FV like COP **what** Mwangi 1SM-PROG-cook-FV
 ‘What does it seem like Mwangi is cooking?’

3.3 Different negations

- Further support for the proposal comes from the behaviour of negation.
- Kikuyu has *two negation morphemes*, used in different syntactic contexts.
- The first is NEG1: *nd/ti* (phonologically allomorphic); used in CT1 declarative clauses and yes/no questions.

- (13) a. mwana **nd**-a-gũ-thom-a ibuku
 child NEG1-1SM-FUT-read-FV book
 ‘The child will not read the book.’
- b. Mwangi **nd**-a-rug-ag-a?
 Mwangi NEG1-1SM-cook-HAB-FV
 ‘Doesn’t Mwangi cook?’

- As shown earlier, the focus prefix *nĩ* is unavailable in the presence of NEG1. This suggests that *nĩ* and NEG1 are both hosted in Foc^0 , but *only one is allowed to surface at a time*. See Laka (1990).
- In contrast, our second kind of negation, *ta*, can co-occur with *nĩ*, e.g., in *wh*-questions:

- (14) [_{CP1} n-ũũ ũ-**ta**-rĩ rugu rwa metha]
 FOC-who AA.SM-NEG2-COP under 9.of table
 ‘Who is not under the table?’

- **Proposal:** NEG1 and NEG2 occupy different positions in the syntax; while NEG1 is found in Foc^0 , NEG2 is lower (for concreteness, I will refer to this position as Neg^0).⁴

▷ *Prediction (in light of the above):* NEG1 is unavailable in CT2. This is borne out (15), which shows that NEG2 must be used.

- (15) a. *Mwangi a-haan-a [_{CP2} ta **nd**-a-ra-rug-a]
 Mwangi 1SM-seem-FV like NEG1-1SM-PROG-cook-FV
 Intended: ‘Mwangi seems to not be cooking.’
- b. Mwangi a-haan-a [_{CP2} ta a-**ta**-ra-rug-a]
 Mwangi 1SM-seem-FV like 1SM-NEG2-PROG-cook-FV
 ‘Mwangi seems to not be cooking.’

3.4 Interim summary

- CT2 lacks FocP in its left periphery; as a result, such clauses disallow *nĩ* and partial movement, as well as other focus-sensitive elements hosted in Foc^0 such as NEG1.
- In contrast, the CT1 left periphery has FocP, so all of the above is available.
- The different clusterings of properties between CT1 and CT2 can therefore be reduced to the presence vs. absence of FocP in the left periphery.

⁴That *nĩ* and NEG1 occupy Foc^0 is supported by the observation that *nĩ* and NEG1 trigger Beck (2006)-style intervention effects, as shown in Branan (2015) and Yuan (in prep.) for Kikuyu and Abels & Muriungi (2008) for the closely related language Kiitharaka. Crucially, Yuan (in prep.) moreover demonstrates that NEG2 does not induce intervention effects.

4 Defective phases and hyperraising

- **Hypothesis:** The absence of certain CP-level material that is otherwise expected to be present results in the CP being *defective* for phase impenetrability purposes.
 - ▷ Because the content within a defective phase is not sent to the interfaces upon Merging C^0 , it is visible to content *outside* of the phase.
- For example, it has been long noted that **subjunctive CPs** permit their subjects to undergo *hyperraising* (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1999, Uchibori 2000, Zeller 2006). An example from Zulu (Zeller 2006) in (16):⁵

(16) Zulu:

- a. ku-fanele [_{CPsubj} ukuthi **abantwana** ba-fund-e]
 LOC-ought that **child2** SM2-study-SUBJ
 'It is necessary that the children study.'
- b. **abantwana** ba-fanele [_{CPsubj} ukuthi ___ ba-fund-e]
child2 SM2-ought that SM2-study-SUBJ
 'The children must study.' (Zeller 2006, citing van der Spuy 2001)

- That the construction in (16b) truly involves A-movement is demonstrated in (17): the idiomatic reading of (17a) is preserved in the raising construction in (17b).
- (cf. English: *It seems that the cat got out of the bag* and *The cat seems to have gotten out of the bag.*)

(17) Zulu:

- a. izandla zi-ya-gez-an-a
 hand8 SM8-FOC-wash-REC-FV
 'The hands wash each other.'
 (→ Two people do something for each other, implying benefits for cooperation)
- b. **izandla** zi-fanele [_{CPsubj} ukuthi ___ zi-gez-an-e]
hand8 SM8-ought that SM8-wash-REC-FV
 'It is vital that one hand washes another.'
 (idiomatic reading available) (Zeller 2006)

⁵In addition to Zeller's work, Halpert (2015) demonstrates that Zulu permits A-movement out of finite (phasal) CPs, as shown in (i). Halpert argues that this is possible because matrix T^0 Agrees with the embedded CP, as shown by the optional clausal agreement, thus 'unlocking' the phase (in the sense of Rackowski & Richards 2005). Assuming that the Agree step does not take place with subjunctive CPs, we may conclude that non-defective (strong) phases permit hyperraising only once something extra has taken to place to ensure that such phases are no longer opaque.

(i) Zulu:

- a. **uZinhle** u-bonakala [ukuthi ___ u-zo-xova ujeqe]
 AUG.1Zinhle 1S-seem that 1S-FUT-make AUG.1bread
 'It seems that Zinhle will make steamed bread.'
- b. **uZinhle** ku-bonakala [ukuthi ___ u-zo-xova ujeqe]
 AUG.1Zinhle 17S-seem that 1S-FUT-make AUG.1bread
 'It seems that Zinhle will make steamed bread.' (Halpert 2015)

- The proposal in the literature is that T⁰ in subjunctive clauses is *deficient*, in that it lacks certain T⁰-related features such as tense (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1999, Uchibori 2000, Zeller 2006).

▷ Putting this together with the notion of *feature inheritance* (that the features of T⁰ originate in C⁰ (Chomsky 2008, Miyagawa 2010; a.o.)): the absence of certain formal features on C⁰ causes it to be a defective phase head.

- **However, Kikuyu exhibits hyperraising out of *finite* clauses (18).**

▷ Unlike the subjunctive clauses above, these clauses are fully finite, inflecting for subject-verb agreement and tense/aspect.

▷ These are the CT2 constructions. While the analysis for subjunctives cannot extend to Kikuyu, CT2 in Kikuyu and subjunctives are similar in that *something is missing at the CP-level*.

▷ The CP-domain of CT2 is missing syntactic structure.

(18) a. kũ-haan-a [CP2 ta **andũ othe** m-arĩ njaa]
15SM-seem-FV like people 2.every 2SM-COP.LOC outside
'It seems like everyone is outside.'

b. **andũ othe** ma-haan-a [CP2 ta ___ m-arĩ njaa]
people 2.every 2SM-seem-FV like 2SM-COP.LOC outside
'Everyone seems to be outside.'

- The alternation in (18) is truly due to A-movement:

(i) Unlike *copy raising* constructions (in which the matrix subject is base-generated in its surface position; Rogers 1974, Asudeh 2002, Landau 2011, Asudeh & Toivonen 2012; a.o.), the Kikuyu examples do not presuppose that the matrix subject is cognitively/perceptually available to the speaker:

(19) *Context: A and B walk into Tom's kitchen. There's no sign of Tom, but there are various things bubbling away on the stove and there are several ingredients on the counter, apparently waiting to be used.*

a. It seems like Tom is cooking.

b. Tom seems to be cooking.

c. #Tom seems like he is cooking.

(Asudeh & Toivonen 2012)

(20) *Context: You enter Mwangi's house, and Mwangi is nowhere to be found. However, you see peeled vegetables next to a pot of boiling water in the kitchen. You say:*

a. kũ-haan-a [CP2 ta **Mwangi** a-ra-rug-a irio]
15SM-seem-FV like **Mwangi** 1SM-PROG-cook-FV food
'It seems like Mwangi is cooking food.' (≈ (19a))

b. **Mwangi** a-haan-a [CP2 ta ___ a-ra-rug-a irio]
Mwangi 1SM-seem-FV like 1SM-PROG-cook-FV food
'Mwangi seems to be cooking food.' (≈ (19b))

(ii) Further evidence for A-movement comes from the fact that quantificational expressions reconstruct under the matrix verb:

(21) *Context: You are inside a small auditorium and notice that all the seats are filled. Later, you look around again and notice three empty seats. You say:*

a. kũ-haan-a [CP2 ta **andũ atatũ** ma-thi-ir-e]
15SM-seem-FV like **people 2.three** 2SM-leave-PST-FV
'It seems like three people left.' (*seems* > 3)

- b. **andũ atatũ** ma-haan-a [_{CP2} ta ___ ma-thi-ir-e]
people 2.three 2SM-seem-FV like 2SM-leave-PST-FV
 'Three people seem to have left.' (*seems* > 3)

- By now, we have seen two distinct properties of CT2 clauses:
 - (i) They lack the left peripheral subprojection associated with focus.
 - (ii) They permit their subjects to undergo raising across a CP boundary.
- **Proposal:** (ii) follows from (i). Just as subjunctive CPs are defective because they lack C⁰-related *features*, CT2 clauses in Kikuyu are defective because they lack *syntactic structure* associated with CP.
 - ▷ This defectiveness allows embedded subjects of these clauses to be accessible for higher operations.

5 Parallels with Japanese factive complements

- **A parallel with Japanese:**
 - ▷ In Japanese, local scrambling behaves like A-movement, while long-distance (cross-clausal) scrambling displays \bar{A} -properties (Tada 1993, Abe 1993, Goto 2014).
 - ▷ A-scrambling a quantificational expression above a pronoun feeds variable binding; \bar{A} -scrambling does not (because the scrambled element reconstructs to the position of the gap).
 - ▷ However, long-distance A-scrambling *is* possible out of certain kinds of CPs (Nemoto 1993, Uchi-bori 2000, Yoshimoto 2012). I illustrate with complements of factive verbs below:

(22) *Japanese; A-scrambling out of factive complements:*

- a. *soko_i-no sotugyoosei-ga [_{CP} Ken-ga **mittu-izyoo-no daigaku_i-ni** syutugansu-ru
it-GEN graduate-GEN Ken-NOM **three-or.more-GEN university-DAT** apply-PRES
 koto-o/no-o] wasure-ta
 C-ACC/C-ACC forget-PST
Intended: 'Their_i graduates forgot that Ken had applied to three or more universities_i.'
- b. ?**mittu-izyoo-no daigaku_i-ni** soko_i-no sotugyoosei-ga [_{CP} Ken-ga ___
three-or.more-GEN university-DAT it-GEN graduate-GEN Ken-NOM
 syutugansu-ru koto-o/no-o] wasure-ta
 apply-PRES C-ACC/C-ACC forget-PST
 'To three or more universities_i their_i graduates forgot that Ken had applied.' (Yoshimoto 2012)

- Yoshimoto (2012) demonstrates that topicalization⁶ happens to be prohibited in these CPs.⁷

(23) *Japanese; no topicalization within factive complements:*

- Ken-wa [_{CP} zibun-no kodomo-?***wa** kono hon-o yon-da no-o/koto-o] kookaisi-ta
 Ken-TOP self-GEN child-TOP this book-ACC read-PST C-ACC/C-ACC regret-PST
Intended: 'Ken regretted that, as for his child, s/he had read this book.' (Yoshimoto 2012, citing Miyagawa 2011)

⁶Note that topicalization here refers only to thematic topics, not contrastive topics, though both are marked with *-wa*. Yoshimoto points out that the contrastive reading is still available; however, the thematic topic reading disappears in the CPs that permit long-distance A-scrambling.

⁷Yoshimoto discusses focus as well, though the facts here are less straightforward. I will set focus in Japanese aside and refer readers to Yoshimoto (2012; p.31-37) for details.

- Crucially, these two properties are *related*. As (24)-(25) demonstrates, CPs that do permit clause-internal topicalization do not permit A-scrambling.
 - ▷ In (25), scrambling a quantificational constituent above the pronoun does *not* feed variable binding.
 - (24) Ken-wa [_{CP} kono hon-wa Naomi-ga yon-da to] it-ta / omot-ta / kii-ta
 Ken-TOP this book-TOP Naomi-NOM read-PST C say-PST think-PST hear-PST
 ‘Ken said/thought/heard that, as for this book, Naomi had read it.’
 - (25) a. *soitu_i-no hahaoya-ga [_{CP} Hanako-ga **dare_i-ni** deatta to] omotta no?
the.person-GEN mother-NOM Hanako-NOM **who-DAT** met C thought Q
Intended: ‘His_i mother thought Hanako met whom_i?’
 - b. ***dare_i-ni** soitu_i-no hahaoya-ga [_{CP} Hanako-ga ___ deatta to] omotta no?
who-DAT the.person-GEN mother-NOM Hanako-NOM met C thought Q
Intended: ‘Whom_i did his_i mother think that Hanako met ___?’ (Goto 2014)
- Thus, Japanese makes a split between CP-types that is remarkably similar to Kikuyu.
 - ▷ The CPs that do *not* allow left-peripheral topics *do* allow A-movement across the CP edge. (≈ CT2 in Kikuyu)
 - ▷ The CPs that *do* allow left-peripheral topics do *not* allow A-movement across the CP edge. (≈ CT1 in Kikuyu)
 - Yoshimoto’s (2012) analysis on the basis of this Japanese data ends up very similar to mine.
 - ▷ Following Haegeman’s (2006) treatment of adverbial clauses, the left periphery of Japanese CPs that permit A-scrambling is *truncated*. These clauses lack ForceP and the subprojections licensed by Force such as TopP and FocP.
 - ▷ Truncated clauses are defective phases.

6 Conclusion

- In this talk, I provided evidence from Kikuyu that the distinction between strong and defective CP phases has to do with the content of the articulated left periphery:
 - ▷ In Kikuyu, CPs come in two types: ones that have CP-level subprojections associated with information structure and ones that do not. The ones that do not permit long-distance A-movement out of them.
- I showed that this is reminiscent of the behaviour of subjunctive clauses cross-linguistically, suggesting that CPs are defective *whenever* some CP-level material is missing, whether featural or structural.
- I moreover showed that Japanese behaves similarly to Kikuyu, in that long-distance A-scrambling is permitted only out of CPs that independently lack left-peripheral structure.
- **An avenue for future work:** Cross-linguistic (and especially cross-Bantu) exploration of hyperraising!
 - ▷ Within Bantu, various (disparate) analyses have been proposed regarding why languages allow hyperraising (Harford Perez 1985, Carstens & Diercks 2013, Halpert 2015; a.o.). Can any of these be conflated or combined under broader principles?

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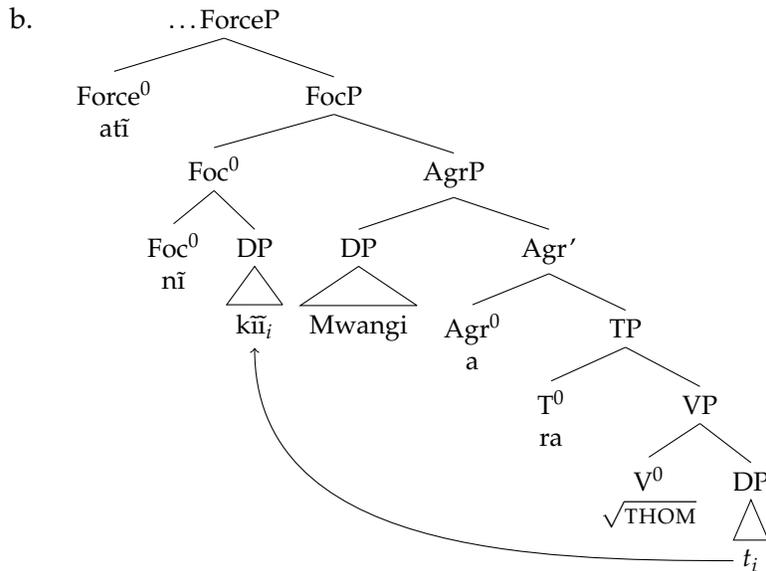
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A Wh-movement in Kikuyu

- **Proposal:** Wh-movement and focus fronting instantiate *complement-forming movement* (Pesetsky 2007, 2013), triggered by the presence of *nĩ*.
- That is, wh-movement and focus fronting to FocP results in the extracted element forming a *complement* to Foc⁰ rather than a specifier. Schematized in (26):

- (26) a. Wambui a-r-ecir-i-a [atĩ nĩ kĩĩ Mwangi a-ra-thom-a ___]
 Wambui 1SM-PROG-think-TR-FV that FOC what Mwangi 1SM-PROG-read-FV
 'What does Wambui think Mwangi is reading?'



Motivations:

- First, this accounts for the *nĩ*-XP word order straightforwardly without recourse to additional morpheme-reordering operations.
- Second, this provides an explanation for why *nĩ* cannot surface on the verb in these cases. Assuming that word formation requires structural adjacency (Bobaljik 1994, Harley 2013), the structure in (26) shows that this is blocked by the presence of the Undermerged XP.
- Finally, and more importantly, I assume with Abels & Muriungi (2008) that *nĩ* is a focus-sensitive operator that computes the focus semantic value of its sister (see also Cable 2010, Schardl 2014, Kotek 2014).
 - ▷ Complement-forming movement is necessary in order to establish this syntactic configuration, if *nĩ* is to take a *wh*-word or focus fronted element as its sister (in the absence of movement, *nĩ* takes the clause, AgrP, as its sister). See Yuan (in prep.) for details.