

# Additive Focus in Kinande

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## 1. Introduction

Additive focus markers convey meanings translated by *too* and *also* in English. In this paper I present a preliminary investigation of the syntax of an additive focus marker in the Bantu language Kinande. In Kinande, the morpheme *na*, literally “and/with,” is used for additive focus of nominals. Following Krifka (1999), I will call the expression which is in focus the associate of the additive focus marker.<sup>1</sup> The focus marker *na* immediately precedes the associate:

- (1) [*na* Kambale] mwahikere  
and 1Kambale Aff.1.arrived  
‘Also KAMBALE arrived.’

There is an alternate way of forming additive focus of a nominal. The associate of the additive focus marker can precede the marker. However, in that case, the additive focus marker consists of the morpheme *na* followed by a pronoun that agrees with the associate in person, number, and noun class:<sup>2</sup>

- (2) [Kambale] [*na-ye*] mwahikere  
1Kambale and-3s Aff.1.arrived  
‘KAMBALE, too, arrived.’

The distribution of the two morphologically related additive focus markers differ. The *na* that occurs in the *na*+nominal expression (1) is able to precede the nominal it is associated with in virtually any thematic position in the tree. The *na*+pronoun variety (2) is restricted.<sup>3</sup> Essentially, it can only

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<sup>1</sup>I capitalize the word that is the associate for perspicuity whenever it seems necessary for clarity. The capitalization should not be interpreted as representing English-type focus prosody.

<sup>2</sup>Marten (2012) studies additive focus in Swahili. Although Swahili lacks the *na*+nominal associate possibility of expressing additive focus that Kinande has, it shares with it the *na*+pronoun additive focus construction. In addition, Swahili has several more additive focus makers than Kinande does. Elicitation and translation tasks (from Swahili into Kinande) did not reveal any additional additive focus markers of nominal expressions in Kinande aside from those discussed in the text above.

<sup>3</sup>Because additive focus is mediated through agreement as opposed to, for example, pitch accent, noun phrases but not verbs can be marked for additive focus with *na*+pronoun. When a verb is the associate of additive focus, it is immediately preceded by *nibýá*, which means “even” and immediately followed by the additive focus marker *na*:

- (i) kundi Tékelá *nibýá* mwáhúkíre *n'* esamáki  
because Thekla even/then/so aff.1.cooked and fish  
‘Because Thekla COOKED the fish, ALSO.’

Alternately, the expression *nibýá na* can immediately follow the verb.

occur in non-thematic positions and in this way has a distribution that is very similar to quantifiers in situations of quantifier float.<sup>4</sup>

The paper is organized as follows. In section 1, I introduced additive focus of nominals in Kinande. In section 2, I study the distribution of the two expressions and establish the paradigm that confirms the descriptive generalization that the *na+pronoun* additive focus marker occurs only in non-thematic positions. I note that this is the same generalization that is relevant for quantifier float. In section 3, I consider the syntactic structure of additive focus particles and their associates. In particular, I argue that the *na+pronoun* additive focus structure is distinct syntactically from the *na+nominal* associate structure. Specifically, the *na+pronoun* additive focus structure involves adjunction whereas the *na+nominal associate* involves conjunction. I adopt and extend to the distribution of additive focus markers Boskovic's (2004) analysis of quantifier float including the proposal, following Lebeaux (1988), that adjuncts can be inserted acyclically. This captures the distribution of *na+pronoun* additive focus markers, which are restricted to non-thematic positions. In section 4, I summarize the discussion and present a conclusion.

## 2. The distribution of additive focus markers

### 2.1. Subject/object asymmetry

In this section I consider the distribution of additive focus markers. As already noted, the prenominal additive focus marker *na* can precede any nominal. Therefore, in addition to being able to precede a subject (3), it can also precede a direct object (4):

(3) [*na* Kambale] mwahikere  
and 1Kambale Aff.1.arrived  
'Also KAMBALE arrived.'

(4) Kambale mwalire [*n'* **ebikene**]  
Kambale 1.ate and '8yams  
'Kambale ate also YAMS.'

If we note where we can have a postnominal additive focus marker, we observe that it is not possible for a DP that occurs in a theta position to be an associate of a postnominal additive focus marker. This observation characterizes the contrast between grammatical postnominal additive focus of a subject (5) and ungrammatical postnominal additive focus of an object (6):

(5) [Kambale] [*na-ye*] mwahikere  
1Kambale and-3s Aff.1.arrived  
'KAMBALE, too, arrived.'

(6) \*Kambale mwalire [**ebikene<sub>i</sub>**] [*na-byo<sub>j</sub>*]  
Kambale 1.ate 8yams and-8  
'Kambale ate YAMS, ALSO.'

The following descriptive generalization holds of the data: the subject in (5) is in a non-theta position and a local postnominal dependency is possible. The object in (6) is in a theta position and such a dependency is impossible. In other words, a postnominal additive focus marker is possible in non-thematic positions only. Provided that a postnominal additive focus marker is in an adjoined position, this difference in grammaticality is predicted based on the descriptive generalization that adjunction is not possible to a theta position as this presumably interferes with theta assignment (Chomsky 1986, attributed to Kyle Johnson).

<sup>4</sup>See Bošković (2004) for insightful discussion of q-float and thematic status of noun phrases to which the quantifier is related.

## 2.2. Postnominal additive focus markers are found only in non-thematic positions

In order to show that the generalization that postnominal additive focus markers are restricted to non-thematic positions is not a spurious generalization, I will consider a more complete paradigm here. Note that in addition to a subject allowing a locally “floated” postnominal additive focus marker, a longer distance postnominal *na+pronoun* additive focus marker is also possible. In this example the postnominal *na+pronoun* follows the verb, whereas its associate precedes the verb in subject position:

- (7) a. Kambale<sub>j</sub> agenda **na**-ye<sub>j</sub>  
 1Kambale 1.left and-3s  
 ‘KAMBALE left ALSO.’
- b. Abana<sub>j</sub> bakandirya **na**-bo<sub>j</sub> (ebikene)  
 2child 2.will.eat and-2 (8yams)  
 ‘The children will also eat (yams).’

It might seem that the longer distance *na+pronoun* additive focus marker associated with the subject violates the generalization that the postnominal additive focus marker only occurs in non-thematic positions. That is, it might seem that here a postnominal additive focus marker occupies a thematic position in the verb phrase. However, it is well established that the verb raises to a very high position in Kinande (Baker & Collins 2006, among others), thereby opening up the possibility that functional projections that occur above the verb phrase in many languages are located below the raised verb in Kinande. Moreover, as extensively discussed in Buell (2009), an immediately postverbal (IAV) position exists across a number of Bantu languages that appears to be a functional position rather than a thematic one. Moreover, Halpert (2008) and Richards (2010) report for the dialect of Kinande that they investigate, that in Object Subject Reversal constructions,<sup>5</sup> a functional projection headed by what is known in the literature on Kinande as a linker appears BEFORE the verb phrase internal subject, where it can be occupied by phrases other than the verb phrase internal subject (example from Halpert (2008)):

- (8) Esyóngwé si-ká- seny-ere omo-musitu **mo** bakali  
 9wood 9s.T.chop.appl loc18.3village 18link 2women  
 ‘WOMEN chop wood in the village.’ (O V Loc S)

Halpert’s (and Richards’) data suggest the presence of a functional projection in Kinande that is higher than vP, which would provide a non-thematic site for long distance additive focus markers when subjects are involved:

- (9) Kambale<sub>j</sub> ... [FunctionalP ... [ ∅ na-pro<sub>j</sub> ] [Functional’ Functional [vP ... [VP ... ]]]]

Therefore, a postnominal additive focus marker that occurs in immediate postverbal position can be analyzed as occurring in a non-thematic IAV position in Kinande.

This claim is strengthened by a number of concurring observations. Firstly, consider a postnominal additive focus marker that has the subject as its associate. If such an additive focus marker occurs in sentence final position when there is a transitive verb, it is only acceptable as an afterthought, if accepted at all:<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup>Object Subject Reversal constructions are found in many Bantu languages. In these constructions the logical object occupies the preverbal “subject” position and the logical subject remains internal to the verb phrase. Verbal morphology indicates active voice and subject/verb agreement is with the logical object, which occupies the preverbal “subject” position.

<sup>6</sup>My consultants were not in complete agreement over the possibility of an “afterthought” additive focus reading. One found the possibility of using a postnominal additive focus marker as an afterthought much more likely than the other.

- (10) a. Kambale atuma na-ye ebaruha  
 1Kambale 1.sent and-3s 9letter  
 ‘KAMBALE sent a letter ALSO.’
- b.??Kambale atuma ebaruha na-ye  
 1Kambale 1.sent 9letter and-3s  
 ‘Kambale sent a letter, also.’

This supports the claim that the non-thematic IAV position is the relevant one for the postnominal additive focus marker.

Secondly, if there is an expletive subject, so that the logical subject remains within the verb phrase internal thematic position, a postnominal additive focus marker is no longer possible. In other words, when the logical subject remains within the verb phrase, it behaves like a direct object with respect to the distribution of additive focus markers.<sup>7</sup>

- (11) \*Mo-ha-satire Kambale na-ye  
 aff.16.danced Kambale and-3s  
 LITERALLY: There danced Kambale also.

Thirdly, in passive constructions, it is possible for the theme, which through passivization occupies the structural subject position, to be the associate of a postnominal additive focus marker. The postnominal marker can be in either immediate postnominal position (12a) or in the more distant postverbal position (12b):

- (12) a. [ebikene<sub>j</sub>] [na-byo<sub>j</sub>] mobyalirwe  
 8yam and-8 8.ate.PASS(ive)  
 ‘YAMS, TOO were eaten.’
- b. [ebikene<sub>j</sub>] mobyalirwe [na-byo<sub>j</sub>]  
 8yam 8.ate.PASS and-8  
 ‘YAMS were eaten, ALSO.’

Recall that a theme that remains within the VP, where it receives its thematic role, cannot be the associate of a postnominal additive focus marker:

- (13) \*Kambale mwalire [ebikene<sub>j</sub>] [na-byo<sub>j</sub>]  
 Kambale 1.ate 8yams and-8  
 ‘Kambale ate YAMS, ALSO.’

The passivized theme (12a&b), in contrast, occupies a non-thematic preverbal position where it can be the associate of a postnominal additive focus marker. This is expected given the descriptive generalization about the distribution of such focus markers. Furthermore, the postverbal *na+pronoun* additive focus marker that has the passivized theme as associate (12b) is also expected. The passivized theme can transit through the same pre-vP functional position that logical subjects are able to make use of and therefore, given the descriptive generalization, a postverbal *na+pronoun* additive focus marker is expected.

The following table summarizes the generalizations I have presented so far:

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<sup>7</sup>I assume that the postverbal subject must remain in its thematic position rather than vacuously move to the non-thematic IAV position where it should be possible for a postnominal additive focus marker to occur. Since there is no motivation for such a movement, this assumption is warranted.

(14) **GENERALIZATIONS re: distribution of additive focus markers**

GENERALIZATIONS				
<i>active</i>				<i>passive</i>
	subject (associate)	post-verbal subject (associate)	direct object (associate)	passived theme (associate)
<i>na</i> +DP	√	√	√	√
DP <i>na</i> + <i>pro</i>	√	*	*	√
<i>na</i> + <i>pro</i> in Theta position?	NO	YES	YES	NO

2.3. *Postnominal additive focus markers in more complex verb phrases*

We saw that a theme in direct object position cannot be the associate of a postnominal additive focus marker. However, if more complex verb phrases are considered, the situation is different. We consider now double object constructions. Kinande is a symmetrical Double Object Construction (DOC)/applied construction language, which means that either order of theme and goal/benefactive is grammatical and that either argument can pronominalize or passivize. That is, both arguments behave like direct objects of the verb. This is not demonstrated in this paper due to space restrictions. A discussion of word order variation within the verb phrase can be found in Schneider-Zioga & Mutaka (2014).

A postnominal additive focus marker can have a direct object theme as associate (15a) if a DOC or applied construction is involved as long as the word order within the verb phrase is such that the direct object theme precedes the goal/benefactive. A pronominal *na*+nominal expression is grammatical as well (15b):

- (15) a. Kambale ahukira [eBikene<sub>i</sub> na-Byo<sub>j</sub>] By' esyómbwá  
 1Kambale 1.cooked 8yam and-8 LK8' 10dogs  
 'Kambale cooked also yams for the dogs.'
- b. Kambale ahukira [na eBikene<sub>i</sub>] By' esyómbwá  
 1Kambale 1.cooked and 8yam LK8' 10dogs  
 'Kambale cooked also yams for the dogs.'

To see why (15a) is grammatical, we can note that applied constructions and DOCs in Kinande are high applicatives (see Schneider-Zioga 2014 for evidence that Kinande has high applicative), which means they have the basic order Goal/Ben Theme. High applicatives “denote a relation between an event and an individual [whereas] low applicatives ... denote a relation between two individuals. (Pylkkänen 2002 p.19)” I here analyze the verb *eriha* ‘to give’ as involving a high applicative despite the lack of an overt applied morpheme. There is some semantic support for this analysis in that in Kinande, the order *eriha* Goal Theme (16) does not imply a necessary relation between the individuals. That is, consistent with a high applicative analysis, this word order in Kinande does not imply that the goal necessarily possesses the theme.

- (16) eriha Nadiné y' ekitábu  
 inf.give 1Nadine 1LK' 7book  
 'to give a book to Nadine.'

Moreover, I have detected no asymmetries for verbs with overt applicatives and *eriha* in terms of preferred word order or related behaviors. In other words, both types of multiple object verbs appear to behave alike and from that perspective, tentatively justify a uniform analysis.<sup>8</sup>

Following Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) and related work, high applicatives have the following structure:

(17) [...T [<sub>VP</sub> EA [<sub>v'</sub> [<sub>v</sub> V ] [<sub>AppIP</sub> Ben [<sub>AppI'</sub> APPL [<sub>VP</sub> V... ]]]]]]]

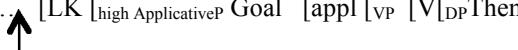
Concretely, in the sentences under consideration (15), external merge plus verb raising yields:

(18) .....ahukira [<sub>AppIP</sub> esyombwa [*appl* [<sub>VP</sub> ~~ahukira~~ na eBikene ]]]  
 cook.appl dogs ~~appl~~ ~~cook~~ and yams

In (18) both the Goal/Ben and the theme occupy thematic positions. However, note in (15) and (16) that in applied and other transitive constructions in Kinande, two XPs are separated by a functional morpheme known as the linker (**LK**). The linker occurs just in case there are two (or more) XPs within the verb phrase. In Schneider-Zioga (2014), I essentially follow Baker and Collins (2006) in locating the linker as the head of a phrase that is immediately subordinate to vP and that immediately dominates the VP and its related arguments and adjuncts<sup>9</sup> (where EA=external argument and IA=internal argument):

(19) [...T [<sub>VP</sub> EA [<sub>v'</sub> [<sub>v</sub> V ] [<sub>LKP</sub> [<sub>LK'</sub> **LK** [<sub>AppIP</sub> Ben [<sub>AppI'</sub> APPL [<sub>VP</sub> V (IA) ]]]]]]]]]

For the order *Theme LK Goal*, the order of interest in (15), to occur, the theme must have undergone internal merge to the specifier of the non-thematic linker phrase (see Schneider-Zioga 2014 for a more detailed discussion):

(20) Linker phrase: [·  [LK [<sub>high ApplicativeP</sub> Goal [appl [<sub>VP</sub> [V [<sub>DP</sub> Theme]]]]]]]]

This means that in (15) the theme occurs in the specifier of a verb phrase internal functional projection. This is not a thematic position; therefore, a postnominal additive focus marker in this position is correctly predicted to be grammatical.<sup>10 11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> An alternative analysis of the verb *eriha* is that it takes a small clause (see Schneider-Zioga & Mutaka (2014) for discussion). Following den Dikken (2006), the small clause would be headed by a functional category F, which mediates the predication relation between the theme (subject of the predication) and the goal (predicate). We would have the following structure where the verb takes a small clause:

(i) [... [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>v'</sub> [<sub>v</sub> V ] [<sub>FP</sub> Theme [<sub>F'</sub> F [<sub>Predicate</sub> Goal ]]]]]]]

F' is an X'-level projection and therefore precludes adjunction by standard assumptions about possible adjunction sites. The goal is involved in theta assignment. Moreover, the theme, which is the subject of the predication, is in a theta-position where it receives its theta role. There is, however, a non-theta marked projection outside the verb phrase to which the postnominal additive focus marker can adjoin: namely, it can adjoin to the prelinker position, as is also possible for high applicatives.

<sup>9</sup> My proposed structure below the linker differs somewhat from theirs, but in the point of the location of the linker phrase as separating the external argument from everything else, we are in agreement.

<sup>10</sup> This view of the distribution of postnominal additive focus markers correctly predicts that a local postnominal additive focus marker associated with the theme will not be possible when the order in the DOC is Goal Theme. This is because the high applicative structure means the theme is externally merged within VP in a theta position and still occupies that position, given the word order Goal Theme. Adjunction to a theta position is not allowed:

(i) ??Kambale aha esyombwa sy' [~~esyombwa~~ APPL [<sub>VP</sub> V [**eBikene**]<sub>j</sub>] [**na-Bo**]<sub>j</sub>]]  
 Kambale gave 10dogs LK10 8yams and-8

The data are not completely clear here. One consultant clearly rejects this word order, but the judgments of the other consultant are not robust concerning this and related sentences. Additional elicitation of data is necessary with pragmatics more carefully controlled before definitive generalizations can be made in this case.

If the above picture is correct, we also expect that benefactives and goals, expressions which are theta marked by the applied head, will be restricted in a way similar to the direct object/theme. Namely, we expect that a goal/benefactive cannot be the associate of a local postnominal additive focus marker, unless there is a linker present, and hence a ditransitive or similar structure is involved. (See Schneider-Zioga (2014) for extensive discussion of what type of construction linkers occur in.) A benefactive that involves an intransitive verb and therefore no linker does not allow a postnominal additive focus marker, although the prenominal possibility, *na+nominal expression*, is fine. This is expected since the benefactive is in a theta position in this case:

- (21) a. Mobimbirira na Amani  
 aff.2.sang.appl and Amani  
 ‘They sang for AMANI, ALSO.’
- b.\*Mobimbirira Amani na-ye  
 aff.2.sang.appl Amani and-3s

In contrast, the benefactive/goal can be associated with a postnominal additive focus marker in constructions with linkers when the order is Goal/Benefactive Theme:

- (22) a. Kambale aha [abana<sub>y</sub>] [na-bo<sub>y</sub>] b' ebikene  
 Kambale 1.gave 2children and-2 LK' 8yams  
 ‘Kambale gave also the CHILDREN yams.’
- b. Kambale ahukira [esyombwa<sub>y</sub>] [nasyo<sub>y</sub>] sy' enyama  
 Kambale 1.cooked.appl 10dog and-10 LK' 9meat  
 ‘Kambale also cooked meat for the dogs.’

The grammaticality of (22) is not surprising because the goal has moved out of the thematic specifier of applied phrase position and occupies the specifier of the functional linker phrase. That the goal/benefactive occupies the specifier of linker phrase is indicated by the fact that a linker immediately follows the postnominal additive focus marker. Therefore, the data involving goals/benefactives conform to our generalization about postnominal additive focus markers and thematic positions.

I summarize in the following table the generalizations concerning applicative/DOC constructions and the distribution of the postnominal additive focus marker:

- (23) **GENERALIZATIONS re: The distribution of additive focus markers in applied/DOC constructions**

GENERALIZATIONS					
mono-transitives			ditransitives - (theme as associate)		ditransitives - (goal/ben as associate)
	direct object (associate)	applied object (associate)	TH GOAL	GOAL TH	GOAL TH
<i>na</i> +DP	√	√	√	√	√
DP <i>na</i> + <i>pro</i>	*	*	√	??	√
<i>na</i> + <i>pro</i> in Theta position?	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO

<sup>11</sup>Note that the restrictions on adjunction in verb phrase internal positions would still remain virtually identical if give-type verbs were analyzed as small clause constructions instead of high applicatives. This is because the theme and goal that would occur in a small clause structure within the verb phrase would involve arguments in thematic positions.

### 3. The relation between the additive focus marker & its associate

In this section I consider the structure of additive focus particles and their associates. Additive focus means that the predication in question holds of at least one entity other than the associate of the additive focus marker. Reconsider then sentence (1):

- (24) [*na* Kambale] mwahikere  
and 1Kambale Aff.1.arrived  
'Also KAMBALE arrived.'

This sentence is understood as the conjunction of the presupposition *someone arrived* and the assertion *Kambale arrived*. Note that the morpheme that indicates additive focus is a conjunction/comitative morpheme.<sup>12</sup> Therefore, I propose for *na+nominal expression* that a null referent is part of a conjoined expression that indicates additive focus, where the null referent occupies the first conjunct and the expression in focus occupies the second conjunct:

- (25) [     ∅     na Kambale]  
      null referent and Kambale  
Literally: 'some pragmatically determined person and Kambale'  
'also Kambale'

The features of this null referent are supplied wholly pragmatically.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, although the proposed structure is a conjoined expression, it is not interpreted as formally plural since only one conjunct (the associate) has formal phi-features. If this conjoined structure is correct for *na+associate*, it is impossible to analyze *associate+na+pronoun* as involving the same structure. For example, it would not be possible to analyze the associate as moving from the complement of the additive focus marker position to its specifier, since a conjoined structure is involved. In fact, it is straightforward to extend Benmamoun's (1999) analysis of quantifiers and quantifier float in Arabic to Kinande postnominal additive focus constructions. When the additive focus marker follows the associate (26a), the additive focus marker is part of a conjoined expression: [ $\emptyset$  *na-ye*] that is adjoined to the projection which is the argument that DP (26b) is part of:

- (26) a. [[Kambale] [ $\emptyset$  *na-ye*]] mwahikere  
      1Kambale and-3s aff.1.arrived  
      'KAMBALE ALSO arrived.'
- b. [[DP] [ $\emptyset$  *na-pro* ]]  
      and

The following consideration supports an adjoined structure as a plausible analysis when there is a postnominal additive focus marker: It is not possible to extract out of DPs in Kinande yet the associate of the additive focus marker can occur at some distance from it. Therefore, if this displacement involves movement, it cannot be movement directly from the DP that the additive focus marker is part

<sup>12</sup>As in many Bantu languages, the morpheme *na* has many functions. In addition to being a conjunction and/or comitative marker in Kinande, it has functions carried out by adpositions in a language like English such as marking an agent in a passive, indicating an instrument, etc.

<sup>13</sup>An anonymous reviewer asks how this analysis might relate to additive focus particles in languages like English where the additive focus particle does not look like a conjunction. As the reviewer points out, this issue admittedly deserves further investigation and argumentation. Nonetheless, in preliminary favor of the proposal in this text, I note that the lexical items used for additive focus in English are historically derived from linking expressions such as: *so* (a strengthened form of the OE *swa* is found in "also"). Therefore, it might be worth evaluating a conjunction analysis for languages other than Kinande.

of. If however there is some type of appositive construction [[DP] [  $\emptyset$  **na-pro** ]], there are two separate DPs. The proposed structure predicts then what we have observed: the *na+pronoun* construction will have a necessarily restricted distribution, because it is adjoined to the projection it modifies and adjunction is not possible to arguments in thematic positions.

Given my proposed structures when additive focus markers are involved and the generalizations I have been able to establish about the distribution of pre and postnominal additive focus markers, it is clear that additive focus markers in Kinande have a syntax that is very similar to the syntax of quantifier float in many languages: the postnominal additive focus marker appears in nonthematic positions, just as has been argued for quantifier float by Boskovic (2004), for example. The idea that adjunction can be acyclic (Lebeaux 1988, adopted by Boskovic 2004) can account for the fact that a nominal expression can start off in a position to which a theta role is assigned and still end up as an associate of an additive focus marker. This is possible as long as the associate ends up in the specifier of a projection that does not need a theta role, or it transits through one. The first case is illustrated by the following example, where the associate occupies the preverbal subject position, a position to which a theta role is not assigned:

- (27) [[Kambale] [**na-ye**] mwahikere  
 1Kambale and-3s aff.1.arrived  
 ‘KAMBALE, too, arrived.’

If adjunction is acyclic, it can take place at the point where the postnominal additive focus marker actually occurs—in the preverbal subject position. The second case is exemplified by “additive focus marker float.” Recall that Kinande has a non-thematic IAV position that the subject can transit through as it moves into the non-thematic preverbal position. Acyclic adjunction can adjoin the additive focus marker at that postverbal point:

- (28) Kambale<sub>i</sub> agenda **na-ye**<sub>j</sub>  
 1Kambale 1.left and-1  
 ‘KAMBALE left ALSO.’

In short, a quantifier float type analysis extended to floated and non-floated additive focus constructions can straightforwardly provide a technical account for the empirical observations I presented concerning the distribution of pre- and postnominal additive focus markers.

#### 4. Conclusion

In this paper I have presented an overview of the syntax of additive focus in Kinande. Additive focus markers and their syntax have not been well studied in Bantu languages and have not previously been studied in Kinande, in particular. I noted that Kinande has both a prenominal additive focus marker and a postnominal additive focus marker. That is, either the additive focus marker (immediately) precedes its associate, or it follows it. The two markers are morphologically related, but not identical. The syntax of the postnominal additive focus marker is very much like the syntax of quantifier float reported in the literature. This type of additive focus system has not been documented in other Bantu languages as far as I have been able to determine. I discussed an object/subject asymmetry involving the distribution of postnominal additive focus markers. I argued there was a syntactic basis for this asymmetry. Finally, this study of the syntax of additive focus in Kinande strengthened the case that a functional category exists within vP in Kinande.

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